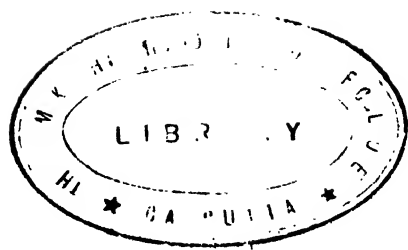


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MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYS

THE ESSAYES
OF
MICHAEL LORD OF
MONTAIGNE

TRANSLATED BY
JOHN FLORIO

EDITED
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND A GLOSSARY

BY
HENRY MORLEY,
LL.D., LATE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

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INTRODUCTION.

"ALL the world," says Montaigne, "may know me by my book, and my book by me;"¹ and again, to my Lady of Duras, "all I seek to reap by my writings is, that they will naturally represent and to the life pourtray me to your remembrance."² "His," he says, "is a book consubstantial with its author; a member of my life. Have I," he asks, "misspent my time to take account of myself so continuously and so curiously?"

Whoever has read this book through, closely and attentively, can say that, so far as such knowledge is possible, he knows one other man as nearly as he knows himself. Many writers have been autobiographical; but they have set forth their deeds and shown their characters as they wish others to see them. Montaigne alone has sought, with philosophical serenity, to study life in the one man he knew. "Others," he said, "fashion man, but I repeat him."³ "I look within myself; I have no business but with myself."⁴ The events of his life only concern him as external accidents when they serve to extend in any way the knowledge of that inner life which is himself. "I write," he says, "not my gesta, but myself and my essence."⁵ He quotes Pliny, who writes that every man is a good discipline unto himself, always provided he be able to pry into himself, and adds, "this is not my doctrine, it is but my study, and not another man's lesson but mine own; yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the same. What serves my turn may haply serve another man's; otherwise I mar nothing; what I make use of is mine own."⁶ Men are stayed by custom from talking of themselves, because they cannot do so without boasting. "But grant," he adds, "that it is a fault in me to write about myself, I ought not, following my general intent, to refuse an action that publisheth this crazed quality, since I have it in myself, and I should not conceal this fault, which I have not only in use, but in profession." "I dare," he says, "not only speak of myself but speak alone of myself,"⁷ and "never man handled subject that he understood better than I mine."⁸ His philosophic frankness has no limit whatever. "I dare speak what I dare do."⁹ "So it is, that if any man shall look into these memorials, he will find that I have said all, or indicated all. What I cannot express, the same I point at with my finger. I leave nothing to be desired or divined of me."¹⁰ "Whatsoever a long acquaintance or continual familiarity might have gained a man in many wearisome years, the same hath he in three days fully seen in this register, and that more safely and exactly. A pleasant fantasy is this of mine. Many things I would be loth to tell a particular man, I utter to the whole world; and concerning my most secret thoughts and inward

¹ P. 446.
² P. 188.

³ P. 399.
⁷ P. 481.

⁵ P. 409.
⁸ P. 416.

⁴ P. 337.
⁶ P. 429.

⁹ P. 187.
¹⁰ P. 503.

knowledge, I send my dearest friends to a stationer's shop."¹ Whoever would find fault with him has an advantage in his book; let him magnify into trees the vices of which Montaigne himself displays the roots, and employ for offence not only those which possess, but those which threaten him, since offence hath her rights beyond justice.² He says that he does not write to tell the outward history of his life, or outward facts. "I endeavour not to make things known, but myself. . . . If I study, I only endeavour to find out the knowledge that teacheth or handleth the knowledge of myself, and which may instruct me how to die well and how to live well."³

"Yea," he writes, "but, will some tell me this design in a man to make himself a subject to write of might be excused in rare and famous men—men who by their reputation had bred some desire in others of their acquaintance. It is true, I confess it, and I know that a handicraftsman will scarcely look off his work to see an ordinary man; whereas, to see a notable great person come into a town he will leave both work and shop. . . . This admonition is most true, but it concerneth me very little. I erect not here a statue to be set up in the market-place of a town, or in a church, or any public place. It is for the corner of a library, or to amuse a neighbour, a kinsman, or a friend of mine withal, who by this image may haply take pleasure to renew acquaintance and to converse with me. Others have been emboldened to speak of themselves because they have found worthy and rich subjects in themselves; I, contrariwise, because I have found mine so barren and so shallow, that it cannot admit any suspicion of ostentation. I find not so much good in myself, but I may speak of it without blushing."⁴ "My best good hath some vicious taint."⁵ He says that he writes, "not to establish the truth, but to find it out."⁶ "If I did absolutely seem good and wise unto myself, I would boldly declare it."⁷ What was the whole study of Socrates but truly to know himself? "Forso-much as Socrates had truly only nibbled on the precept of his God to know himself, and by that study had learned to condemn himself, he alone was esteemed worthy of the name of wise. Whosoever shall so know himself, let him boldly make himself known by his own mouth."⁸ "I had rather," he says, "understand myself in myself than in Cicero."⁹ "I have from infancy inured myself to view my own life in other men's lives;" and he recognizes in this study the striving after that knowledge which beyond all others brings the fruit of knowledge; since "only wisdom is wholly turned into itself."¹⁰ And to be wise is, again, according to Montaigne, to draw the one music from the many instruments or circumstances of life: "As in a concert of instruments one hears not severally a lute, a viol, a flute, or a pair of virginals, but a perfect full harmony—the assembly and fruit of all those instruments in one."¹¹

Being at Bar-le-Duc, Montaigne saw presented to King Francis II. a portrait that the King of Sicily had made of himself, and he asks, "Why is it not as lawful for every man else to pourtray himself with his pen, as it was for him to do it with a pencil?"¹² "It is an ordinary fault: we endeavour more that men shall speak of us than how and what they speak, and it sufficeth us that our name run in men's mouths in what manner soever. It seemeth that to be known is in some sort to have life and continuance in other men's keepings. As for me, I hold that I am but in myself; and of this other life of mine, which consisteth in the knowledge of my friends, being simply and barely considered in myself, well I wot I neither feel fruit nor enjoyment of it, but by the vanity of fantastical opinion."¹³ "I have nothing that is mine own but myself."¹⁴ "I make no account of goods which I could not employ to the use of my life. Such as I am I would be elsewhere than in paper. My study and endeavour have been to

¹ P. 303.² P. 187.³ P. 475.⁴ P. 301.⁵ P. 189.⁶ P. 335.⁷ P. 304.⁸ P. 189.⁹ P. 321.¹⁰ P. 340.¹¹ P. 550.¹² P. 195.¹³ P. 345.¹⁴ P. 552.

do and not to ~~write~~. I have applied all my skill and duty to frame my life. Lo, here mine occupation and my work. I am a less maker of books than of anything else."¹ "It is a melancholy humour, and consequently a hateful enemy to my natural complexion, bred by the anxiety and produced by the anguish of carking care, whereinto some years since I cast myself, that first put this humorous conceit of writing into my head. And finding myself afterward wholly unprovided of subject, and void of other matter, I have presented myself unto myself for a subject to write and argument to descant upon. It is the only book in the world of this kind and of a wild extravagant design. Moreover, there is nothing in it worthy the marking but the fantasticalness. For to so vain a ground and base a subject the world's best workmen could never have given a fashion deserving to be accounted of."²

It remains true that the "Essays" of Montaigne are "the only book in the world of this kind." The history of essay-writing in modern literature begins with Montaigne, and then passes to Bacon. Each used the word essay in its true sense, as an assay, or analysis, of some subject of thought. Bacon's assay was of life, generally in many forms, with full attention to its outward circumstances. Montaigne's assay was of the inner life of man, as it was to be found in the one man's life that he knew. The first two books of the three forming Montaigne's "Essays" were first published in 1580, when the author's age was forty-seven. The third book followed in 1588, four years before its author's death. Montaigne died in 1592, at the time when Shakespeare passed from reshaping of the plays of others to the writing of his own; and the "Essays" had passed through twelve editions in France, when John Florio entered at Stationers' Hall in 1599, and published in 1603, the translation by which Montaigne first became familiar to English readers. Of two volumes of Florio's Montaigne in the British Museum, one bears the autograph of Shakespeare as its owner; another that of Ben Jonson. The interest of our great dramatists in this unique study of character was inevitable, and there is clear evidence of the attention with which Shakespeare read Florio's Montaigne.

When Shakespeare, in *The Tempest*, represents the kind old Gonzalo as inventing talk to divert the King's mind from the grief on which it broods, he imagines what he would do if he had the shaping of a commonwealth to his own fancy, and says:

I' the commonwealth, I would by contraries
Execute all things : for no kind of traffic
Would I admit ; no name of magistrate ;
Letters should not be known ; no use of service,
Of riches, or of poverty ; no contracts,
Successions ; bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none ;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil ;
No occupation ; all men idle, all ;
And women too ; but innocent and pure :
No sovereignty.

It has always been pointed out by editors of Shakespeare that this passage is a paraphrase from the thirtieth "Essay" of Montaigne's First Book, as translated by Florio:—"A nation . . . that hath no kind of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politic superiority ; no use of service, of riches, or of poverty ; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle ; no respect of kindred, but common ; no apparel, but natural ; no manuring of lands ; no use of wine, corn, or metal. The very words that import lying, falsehood, treason, dissimulation, covetousness, envy, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them." Although otherwise obvious enough, the reader will find

particular evidence in the Glossary to this book, under the word "Idle," that Shakespeare was here following Montaigne in Florio's translation.

A recent writer¹ argues that Shakespeare took the character of Montaigne as the original of Hamlet, and supposes that Ben Jonson, in his *Volpone*, attacked Shakespeare for railing through Hamlet at Montaigne. I do not accept either of these opinions. Shakespeare certainly was with Montaigne, and not against him. One passage in *Hamlet*, that is of the essence of the play, has a parallel in Montaigne much truer than that which the critic finds for it:—

Let us know,
Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
When our deep plots do pall; and that should learn us,
There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.

The parallel in Florio here suggested is "Therefore do our designs so often miscarry. . . . The heavens are angry, and I may say envious of the extension and large privilege we ascribe to human wisdom, to the prejudice of theirs, and abridge them so much more unto us by so much more we endeavour to amplify them." The real parallel is in another passage that contains, as this does not, the thought expressed by Shakespeare: "My consultation doth somewhat roughly hew the matter, and by its first shew, lightly consider the same; the main and chief point of the work I am wont to resign to Heaven."²

Montaigne's communings with his own mind involve of course much incidental reference to the outward facts of his own life. Study of inner life can never exclude outward circumstance. But since it is only in the deeper sense that Montaigne is an autobiographer, we must now piece together his account of his own life with a little that is told of him by others.

"I was born," he says, "between eleven of the clock and noon, the last of February 1533, according to our computation, the year be beginning the first of January." This he wrote soon after he had begun his *Essays*—in the nineteenth of his First Book,³ and added: "It is but a fortnight since I was thirty-nine years old." He had therefore, in March 1572, lately begun his essay-writing. Let us take first, therefore, the facts of his life from 1533 to 1572; or, roughly speaking, its first forty years.

Montaigne's father was Pierre Eyquem, of gentle birth when men of gentle birth inherited rights and privileges from which others were excluded. He was Seigneur de Montaigne, an estate not far from Bordeaux, in the province of Perigord. Montaigne was solidly built on a height in what is now known as the arrondissement of Bergerac, in the department of Dordogne. There were other families who had estates of the same name. "I have no name," he says, "that is sufficiently mine: of two I have, the one is common to all my race, yea, and also to others. There is a family at Paris and another at Montpellier called Montaigne, another in Brittany, and one in Saintonge surnamed De la Montaigne. The removal of one only syllable may so confound our web as I shall have a share in their glory, and they perhaps a part of my shame. And my ancestors have heretofore been surnamed Higham or Eyquem, a surname which also belongs to a house well known in England. As for my other name (Michel), it is anybody's that shall have a mind to it."⁴ Montaigne wrote only Eyquem; it is Florio who adds the English form of the

¹ Mr. Jacob Feis, in a book entitled *Shakspeare and Montaigne: an Endeavour to Explain the Tendency of "Hamlet" from allusions in Contemporary Works*. London. 1884.

² P. 476.

³ P. 28.

⁴ Pp. 321-2.

name. Of his English kindred Montaigne wrote in another place, when referring to the frequency of change that he had seen not only in English politics, but also in religion, that he is the more grieved "because it is a nation with which my countrymen have heretofore had so inward and familiar acquaintance, that even to this day there remain in my house some ancient monuments of our former alliance."¹

Montaigne inherited a want of faith in physicians, to which he ascribed the comparative longevity of his forefathers. "The antipathy," he says,² "which is between me and their art is to me hereditary. My father lived threescore and fourteen years, my grandfather threescore and nine, my great grandfather very near fourscore, and never tasted or took any kind of physic. . . . Let them not upbraid me with these infirmities which now have seized upon me; is it not sufficient to have lived seven and forty years in good and perfect health for my part? Suffer it to be the end of my career, yet is it of the longest. Mine ancestors, by some secret instinct and natural inclination, have ever loathed all manner of physic; for the very sight of drugs bred a kind of horror in my father. The Lord of Gaujac, mine uncle by the father's side, a man of the church, sickly even from his birth, and who notwithstanding made his weak life to hold sixty-seven years, falling once into a dangerous and vehement continued fever, it was by the physicians concluded that unless he would aid himself (for they often term that aid which is indeed hindrance), he was but a dead man. The good soul, affrighted as he was at that horrible sentence, answered thus, 'Why then, I am a dead man'; but shortly after, God made their prognostication to prove vain." Montaigne goes on to tell that the youngest of his father's brothers, the Lord of Bussagnet, was the only one who submitted himself to the doctors: and his life was short. Considering what medical practice was, among the best, in Montaigne's day, and what indeed it is now, with too many practitioners who have wasted in youth the opportunities of better knowledge, we may think that good sense ran in his family so far as concerned the care to preserve life.

Pierre Eyquem was in the wars in Italy. Returning out of Italy in the year 1528 at the age of thirty-three,³ an age at which his son considered him to be well stricken in years, he married, and of the nine children of his marriage Michel was the third, born between nine and ten years later. Michel Montaigne was tormented in his latter days with the disease of which his father died, stone in the bladder. It may be supposed, he says, that he inherited this tendency, although his father never felt trouble from it until the age of sixty-seven. "I was born five and twenty years before his sickness, and during the course of his healthy state, his third child."⁴ In his healthy state Montaigne's father was a man of unusual vigour. "He spoke," says his son,⁵ "little and well, few words but to the purpose, and was ever wont to intermix some ornament taken from vulgar books, and above all Spanish, among his common speeches. And of all Spanish authors none was more familiar to him than Marcus Aurelius." His demeanour and carriage was ever mild, meek, gentle, and very modest, and above all grave and stately. There is nothing he seemed to be more careful of than his honesty, and to observe a kind of decency in his person and orderly decorum in his habits, were it on foot or on horseback. He was exceeding nice in performing his word or promise; and so strictly conscientious and obsequious in religion, that generally he seemed rather to incline towards superstition than the contrary. Though he were but a little man, his courage and vigour was great. He was of an upright and well-

¹ P. 297.² P. 380.³ P. 171.⁴ P. 388.⁵ P. 171.

⁶ Antonio de Guevara, who published in 1529 a book called "Dial for Princes, or Marcus Aurelius," a sort of Cyropædia for the instruction of Charles V., by setting before him the model of a prince. Guevara's book was translated into Latin, Italian, French and English.

proportioned stature, of a pleasing, cheerful-looking countenance, of a swarthy hue, nimbly addicted, and exquisitely nimble unto all noble and gentlemanlike exercises. I have seen some hollow staves of his filled with lead, which he wont to use and exercise his arms withal, the better to enable himself to pitch the bar, to throw the sledge, to cast the pole, and to play at fence; and shoes with leaden soles, which he wore to inure himself to leap, to vault, and to run. I may without blushing say that in memory of himself he hath left certain petty miracles amongst us. I have seen him, when he was past threescore years of age, mock at all our sports, and out-countenance our youthful pastimes; with a heavy furred gown about him to leap into his saddle, and to make the pommada round about the table on his thumb." Where now can we find a staid elderly gentleman, punctilious in preserving orderly decorum in his habits, were it on foot or on horseback, who will walk round a table, head downward, upon his fingers and thumbs? Montaigne's father was from childhood also absolutely and wholly free from taint of the licentiousness that in his days corrupted France. Strong family feeling bound Pierre Eyquem to his brothers, and his sons to one another;¹ but one son fell at Rome in a duel, the victim of false notions of honour;² another was killed by a blow from a tennis-ball.³

"That good father it pleased God to allot me (who hath nothing of me but thankfulness for his goodness, which indeed is as great as great may be), even from my cradle," says Montaigne, "sent me to be brought up in a poor village of his, where he kept me so long as I sucked, and somewhat longer, breeding me after the meanest and simplest common fashion." One object of the father in this was "to acquaint and re-ally me with that people and condition of men that have most need of us; and he thought I was rather bound to respect those which extend their arms unto me than such as turn their back toward me. And that was the reason he chose no other gossips to hold me at the font than men of abject and base fortune, that so I might the more be tied unto them. His purpose hath not altogether succeeded ill. I willingly give and accost myself unto the meaner sort, whether it be because there is more glory gotten by them, or through some natural compassion which in me is infinitely powerful."⁴

Having bound Michel to humanity at large by giving him godfathers and godmothers from among the peasantry on his estate, Pierre Eyquem lost no time over the culture of his boy's mind. "Being yet at nurse," says Montaigne, "and before the first loosing of my tongue, I was delivered to a German (who died since, a most excellent physician in France), he being then altogether ignorant of the French tongue, but exquisitely ready and skilful in the Latin. This man, whom my father had sent for of purpose, and to whom he gave very good entertainment, had me continually in his arms, and was mine only overseer. There were also joined unto him two of his countrymen, but not so learned, whose charge was to attend, and now and then to play with me; and all these together did never entertain me with any other than the Latin tongue. As for others of his household, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himself, nor my mother, nor man, nor maid-servant, were suffered to speak one word in my company, except such Latin words as every one had learned to prattle with me. It were strange to tell how every one in the house profited therein. My father and my mother learned so much Latin that for a need they could understand it when they heard it spoken, even so did all the household servants, especially such as were nearest and most about me. To be short, we were all so Latinized that the towns round about us had their share of it, inasmuch as even at this day many Latin names, both of workmen and their tools, are yet in use amongst them. And as for myself, I was about six years old, and could

¹ P. 84.² P. 354.³ P. 29.⁴ P. 366.⁵ P. 366.⁶ P. 78.

Understand no more French or Perigordin than Arabic; and, without art, without books, rules, or grammar, without whipping or whining, I had gotten as pure a Latin tongue as my master could speak; the rather because I could neither mingle or confound the same with other tongues."¹ Latin as a picked scholar could speak it when among scholars Latin was still, in speech and writing, the common language of the Republic of Letters, was thus made Montaigne's mother tongue. For a long time he thought in Latin; and when taken by surprise, as on one occasion when his father swooned in his presence, his natural exclamations were in Latin. Greek afterwards the careful father hoped to teach by art, but as a sport in which declensions and conjugations were tossed playfully to and fro. Education was to be without pain. Michel Eyquem in his whole youth felt the rod twice only, and that but lightly. His father's educational system laid so much stress on gentleness that, to avoid shock to the child's system by rough startling from a heavy morning sleep, it was one servant's business to awaken him by playing music. The son's philosophical mind must have been in part inherited from the kind soldier father who had himself received but little formal education. When Montaigne met afterwards in France the great Scottish scholar George Buchanan, tutor of James the Sixth of Scotland, First of England, Buchanan told him that he "was about to write a treatise on the education of children, and that he took the model and pattern from mine."² This was at the time when Buchanan, exile from Scotland, had taught the Humanities at Bordeaux, where he had Montaigne in his class, and wrote two Latin tragedies; had gone with friends and fellow-teachers from Bordeaux to Portugal, to join in the work of a newly founded university at Coimbra; and after other adventures had been invited to Italy by the Marshal de Brissac, of whose son he had charge for five years, partly in France, partly in Italy. Montaigne must have been a man of about thirty when George Buchanan observed in him the result of Pierre Eyquem's method of education, with which he had become acquainted when Michel Eyquem, six years old, was first sent to the Collège de Guyenne at Bordeaux, a little new boy who spoke no language but Latin, and that with so much purity, that although he now had Muretus and George Buchanan among his daily tutors, "they have often told me," he says,³ "that in mine infancy I had the Latin tongue so ready and so perfect, that themselves feared to take me in hand."

The château of Montaigne, near the village of Saint Michel, five leagues from Bergerac, was built, as its name indicated, on a hill, and Pierre Eyquem busied himself in it with the education of his children, additions to his buildings, care of his people and his vines. He had also seigniorial rights at Lahontan, in the mountains of Perigord, and a house at Bordeaux, where he took prominent place among the citizens. He was one of the town council of Bordeaux at the time when his son began his studies in the town, and on August 1, 1554, when the son's age was twenty-one, the father became Mayor of Bordeaux. He went to the king's court to advance the interests of the town, and Jean Darnal's Supplement to the Chronicles of Bordeaux records that there were sent after him ten casks of wine to be used in presents to courtiers who helped him. His two elder sons having been trained to arms, he trained Michel, his third boy, to civil life. He sent him to the College of Guyenne in Bordeaux at the age of six, where he had Guillaume Guérente, Marc Antoine Muret, and George Buchanan among his teachers; but the system of education was bad, and although the father secured that some particular exceptions should be made in his son's favour, especially that there should be no harsh forcing, "so it was," says Montaigne,⁴ "it was ever a college. My Latin tongue was forthwith corrupted, whereof, by reason of discontinuance, I lost all manner of use; which new kind of education stood me in no other stead but that at my

first admittance it made me to overskip some of the lower forms, and to be placed in the highest. For at thirteen years of age, that I left that college, I had read over the whole course of philosophy (as they call it), but with so small profit that I can now make no account of it." A judicious teacher, he says, winked at his habit of following his own course of reading among the Latin authors, whose language was as a mother tongue to him. The teacher, head of the college, was the learned Portuguese Govea, Andreas Goveanus, who had invited Buchanan to Bordeaux, and who took Buchanan to Coimbra. Little Michel fastened first, at seven years old, with great eagerness on Ovid's "Metamorphoses," then he went on for his own pleasure to Virgil, Terence, Plautus, and had these for his pleasure books; the strict method of his father denying access to King Arthur, Lancelot, Amadis of Gaul, and Huon of Bordeaux. To the last Montaigne knew such romances only by their names, and took upon trust his father's opinion of their character. He was indolent, of bad memory, with a mind placidly active in its own way. If that way had been stopped by a teacher's intolerance of other paths than those appointed to be trodden, he would have learnt nothing. "No man," he says, "did ever suspect I would prove a bad, but an unprofitable man; foreseeing in me rather a kind of idleness than a voluntary craftiness. I am not so self-conceited but I perceive what hath followed. The complaints that are daily buzzed in mine ears are these: that I am idle, cold, and negligent in offices of friendship and duty to my kinsfolk; and touching public offices that I am over-singular and disdainful." The Essays show what was the inner life so read by critics from without. He says also that "even from my tenderest infancy some noted in me a kind of I know not what fashion in carrying of my body and gestures, witnessing a certain vain and foolish *fierté*. This I will first say of it, that it is not inconvenient to have conditions so peculiar and propensions so incorporated in us that we have no mean to feel or way to know them."¹

There is reason to think that when Michel Eyquem left the college at Bordeaux he was sent to Toulouse to study law. In his Essays he speaks more than once of having been at Toulouse in his youth. He says:² "Being young, I saw a law case which Corras, a counsellor of Toulouse, caused to be printed, of a strange accident of two men who presented themselves one for another." The case occurred at Toulouse when Michel Eyquem was a student of law; the printing of it, with the commentary by Corras, was in 1565, when Montaigne's age was thirty-two. Again he says,³ when speaking of the Force of Imagination, "Simon Thomas was a great physician in his days. I remember upon a time coming by chance to visit a rich old man that dwelt in Toulouse, and who was troubled with the cough of the lungs, who discoursing with the said Simon Thomas of the means of his recovery, he told him that one of the best was to give me occasion to be delighted in his company, and that fixing his eyes on the liveliness and freshness of my face, and setting his thoughts on the jollity and vigour wherewith my youthful age did then flourish, and filling all his senses with my flourishing estate, his habitude might thereby be amended and his health recovered. But he forgot to say that mine might also be impaired and infected." Another argument has been drawn from the number of Montaigne's friends in after-life who certainly studied at Toulouse, and were of an age to have been fellow-students with him, and from the number of young men who were sent to that university as a place of training for official life.

Pierre Eyquem lost no time in providing his son with official occupation. The King of France, Henry II., impoverished by war, raised money by

¹ P. 32.² P. 528.³ P. 35. The inference from these two passages was suggested by M. Alphonse Grûn in *La Vie publique de Michel Montaigne*. Paris. 1855.

taxation and the sale of offices. He proposed to establish a new Court of Aids for Guyenne, Auvergne, and Poitou. The citizens of Périgueux desired that it should be established in their town, negotiated vigorously against much opposition, and obtained their wish in July 1554. The Court of Aids was constituted, and first met in the hall of the Town Council at Périgueux on December 16, 1554, Pierre Eyquem de Montaigne being fourth in the list of its first members. But Pierre Eyquem had in the preceding August been elected Mayor of Bordeaux. He also gave his energies with particular zeal to labour for the interests of Bordeaux. His son Michel was then twenty-one years old, near the end of his law studies; and there is evidence that Michel became early in life a member of the Court of Aids at Périgueux. The inference is, that his father, as soon as he conveniently could do so, retired in Michel's favour, having duly bought the royal permission necessary to qualify a young man under thirty for the holding of such an office. The Court of Aids at Périgueux existed only for about three years. On December 3, 1557, the magistrates who had composed it were received into the Parliament of Bordeaux, and one of them was now Michel Eyquem. There remains a paper bearing Michel's signature, in which he adds to his quality of counsellor in the Parliament of Bordeaux, "and formerly in the *cours des généraux*." Members of a Court of Aids were called *Généraux Conseillers*, from a technical division of the territory under their care into *Généralités*. At some time, then, between December 1554 and December 1557, Pierre Eyquem de Montaigne secured for his son Michel a post in public affairs on the Council of the Court of Aids at Périgueux; and in December 1557, at the age of twenty-four, he became a member of the Parliament of Bordeaux. He there became the colleague of Etienne de la Boétie, then twenty-seven years old, in whom he found his friend of friends. In the Parliament of Bordeaux Michel Eyquem prepared the way for the four years of that sweet society which ended with the early death of his friend in the year 1563. Etienne de la Boétie was not only a good poet of the school of Ronsard; he shared his friend's love of liberty, and expressed his feeling in a treatise against the absolute rule of one man, which he entitled *Discours de la Servitude volontaire*, "but those who have not known him," says Montaigne, "have since very properly re-baptized the same *Contre-un*." In his first youth he writ it, by way of essay, in honour of liberty against tyrants. It hath long since been dispersed amongst men of understanding, not without great and well-deserved commendation; for it is full of wit, and containeth as much learning as may be; yet doth it differ much from the best he can do." "But to that pamphlet," adds Montaigne, "I am particularly much bounden, forasmuch as it was the instrumental means of our first acquaintance. For it was showed me long time before I saw him, and gave me the first knowledge of his name, addressing and thus nourishing that unspotted friendship which we (so long as it pleased God) have so sincerely, so entire and inviolably maintained between us, that truly a man shall not commonly hear of the like; and amongst our modern men no sign of any such is seen. So many parts are required to the erecting of such a one, that it may be counted a wonder if fortune once in three ages contract the like." "If I compare," he says again, "the rest of my life unto the four years I so happily enjoyed the sweet company and the dear, dear society of that worthy man, it is nought but a vapour." As was said of another friendship:

The path by which we twain did go,
Which led by tracts that pleased us well,
Thro' four sweet years arose and fell,
From flower to flower, from snow to snow.

In the year 1849 there was discovered among the MSS. in the Imperial Library a receipt by Michel Eyquem de Montaigne for ninety-three sols, tournois, being a quarter's salary for his office of *conseiller du roy en la Court au Parlement de Bordeaux, et auparavant en la Court des généraux*. This document, already cited as evidence that Michel Eyquem was a member of the Court of Aids at Périgueux, is valuable now for its date, the 4th of October 1567; since this proves that Montaigne remained in the Parliament of Bordeaux for at least ten years. There is record also of his having been present in the Bordeaux Parliament a year later, in November 1568; and two contemporary writers, Scevole de Sainte Marthe and Lacroix du Maine severally record that he resigned his place in the Bordeaux Parliament on the death of his elder brother, to take up the profession of arms. Montaigne was the third son. His two elder brothers were named de Saint-Martin and Beauregard; his younger brothers were named d'Arsac, de Mattecoulon and de la Brousse. "A brother of mine, called Captain Saint Martin," says Montaigne,¹ "a man of three and twenty years of age, who had already given good testimony of his worth and forward valour, playing at tennis, received a blow with a ball, that hit him a little above the right ear, without any appearance of contusion, bruise or hurt, and never sitting or resting upon it, died within six hours after of an apoplexy which the blow of the ball caused in him." If he was only one year older than his brother Michel, the date of this death, the latest possible date, would have been 1555. His brother Beauregard was by Michel's side at the deathbed of Etienne de la Boétie, on the 18th of August, 1563. This, then, must be the brother whose death made Michel heir to the lands and château of Montaigne, and upon whose death Michel exchanged the gown for the sword. The date of his death is not known. It must have preceded that of his father, who died in 1569, and we have a note in the Essays of the father's little trust in what Michel would be able to do as head of the house. Towards the close of his own life Montaigne wrote: "He who left me my house in charge, considering my humour, which was to stay at home so little, foresaw I should be the overthrow of it. He was deceived: I am now as I came unto it, if not somewhat better; and that without any office or church living, which are no small helps." It is certain, however, that Michel Eyquem did not give up his post in the Parliament of Bordeaux until by his father's death he had become Seigneur de Montaigne. His father died in 1569, and the registers of the Bordeaux Parliament record that Michel de Montaigne resigned his office on the 24th of July 1570, in favour of Florimond de Raymond. Montaigne's father died at the age of seventy-four, having been until the year 1562 a vigorous man, and then for seven years tormented by the stone, of which he died.

Thus Michel Eyquem became at the age of thirty-six lord of Montaigne. That a mind so contemplative should have preferred the career of a soldier to that of counsellor in State affairs, as Montaigne certainly did, will surprise no one who follows closely his analysis of his own life. "Being very young," he says,² "I besought Fortune above all things that she would make me a knight of the Order of St. Michael, which in those days was very rare, and the highest tip of honour the French nobility aimed at. She very kindly granted my request: I had it. In lieu of raising and advancing me from my plan for the attaining of it, she hath much more graciously entreated me, she hath debased and depressed it, even unto my shoulders and under." He received the order of St. Michael in 1571.

When Montaigne succeeded to the charge over his father's house and lands he had been four years married. He married, in 1565, Françoise de la Chassaigne, daughter to one of his colleagues in the Parliament of Bordeaux.

"I was married," he says,¹ "at thirty years of age, and commend the opinion of thirty-five, which is said to be Aristotle's." Sons were born, whom he began to train as carefully and gently as his father had trained him; "but such is my ill-hap that they all die very young, yet hath Leonora, my only daughter, escaped this misfortune, and attained to the age of six years and somewhat more" [she was born on the 9th of September 1571, and lived to be married and have children of her own], "for the conduct of whose youth and punishment of her childish faults (the indulgence of her mother applying itself very mildly unto it) was never other means used but gentle words."

Montaigne's father, as we have seen, thought that his son Michel would prove a bad householder, because he stayed at home so little. There is frequent reference in the *Essays* to the pleasure that he took in travelling about. He was happiest on horseback. "If I be once on horseback," he says,² "I alight very unwillingly, for it is the seat I like best whether I be sound or sick." Again:³ "I hate all manner of riding but a-horseback, and can less endure a litter than a coach, and by the same reason more easily a rough agitation upon the water, whence commonly proceedeth fear, than the soft stirring a man shall feel in calm weather." Again in his latter years:⁴ "Myself, as crazed with the colic as I am, can sit eight, yea sometimes ten hours on horseback without wearing or tiring. No weather is to me so contrary as the scorching heat of the parching sun. . . . I love rainy and dirty weather as ducks do. The change either of air or climate doth nothing dis-temper me. All heavens are alike to me, I am never vexed or beaten but with internal alterations such as I produce myself, which surprise and possess me least in times of wayfaring." Again:⁵ "I should choose to wear out my life with my seat in the saddle, ever riding."

Montaigne's rides often brought him to Paris, where, like other gentlemen of France, he could be in attendance about the Court. Though at home in all countries, and in many respects citizen of the world, "I can never," said Montaigne,⁶ "mutiny so much against France, but I must needs look on Paris with a favourable eye; it hath my heart from my infancy. The more other fair and stately cities I have seen since, the more her beauty hath power and doth still usurpingly gain upon my affection. I love that city for her own sake, and more in her only subsisting and own being than when it is full fraught and embellished with foreign pomp and borrowed garish ornaments; I love her so tenderly that even her spots, her blemishes and her warts are dear unto me. I am no perfect Frenchman but by this great, matchless city, great in people, great in regard of the felicity of her situation; but above all, great and incomparable in variety and diversity of commodities; the glory of France, and one of the noblest and chief ornaments of the world. God of His mercy free her, and chase away all our divisions from her."

A Latin inscription found in an antechamber to the library of the Château de Montaigne, and communicated to the Academy of Bordeaux in the beginning of this century, sets forth that Montaigne, weary of Court service and public affairs, on the last day of February (1571), at the age of thirty-eight, consecrated the rest of his life to liberty, tranquillity and ease.⁷

It is certain that while in the Parliament of Bordeaux, Montaigne had been sometimes in attendance at the Court of Henry II., who succeeded Francis I. in 1547, at the age of twenty-nine. There were four factions then at Court;

¹ P. 194.² P. 143.³ P. 438.⁴ P. 498.⁵ P. 505.⁶ P. 497.

⁷ "Anno Christ. . . . (MDLXXI. ?) æt 38, pridie calend. martii, die suo natali, Mich. . . . Mont. . . . servitii aulici et munerum publicorum jamdudum pertæsus, se integ. . . . in docturam virginum sinu recessit ubi quietus et omnium securus quantillum id tandem superabit decursi multa jam plus parte spatii, si modo jam fata ducant, exiguas istas sedes et dulces latebras avitas (?) que libertati suæ tranquillitatiq. et otio consecrav."

that of the brave and austere soldier the constable Montmorenci, under whom the king had been trained to arms, and whom Henry raised from disgrace and established at Court, styling him his compeer; that of the Guises, who were rivals and enemies to Montmorenci; that of the king's mistress, Diana of Poitiers; and that of his wife, Catherine of Medicis. Well might Montaigne pray on behalf of Paris, "God of His mercy chase all her divisions from her." The licentiousness of the Court of Henry II. was even beyond that of the Court of Francis I. Montaigne's Essays show the inner life of their writer touched in many ways by the conditions of the time. He shares the low opinion of women that came of the degradation of womanhood, trained only in vanity, deprived of the teaching that develops judgment and prepares for the right conduct of life. In England, at a later time, even the holy George Herbert ranked women between sick folks and those whom passions sway, when picturing the constant man,

who when he is to treat
With sick folks, women, those whom passions sway,
Allows for that and keeps his constant way.

He might almost have taken that association of ideas out of Montaigne, who says,¹ when speaking of the readiness of an empty mind to yield to the first persuasion, "and that's the reason why children—those of the common sort—women and sick folks, are so subject to be misled and so easy to swallow gudgeons." Montaigne shared also the licentious taint from which in his time few gentlemen of France were free, and looked back with reverence to his father's complete freedom from it, as to one of the lost virtues of an elder and a better time. But while he saw clearly the source of the degradation of women in the customs that denied them proper training of their minds, he saw not less clearly that the intellectual disparity between women and men was the result of evil custom and no part of the order of nature. "I say," he said,¹ "that both male and female are cast in one same mould; instruction and custom excepted, there is no great difference between them. Plato calleth them both indifferently to the society of all studies, exercises, charges and functions of war and peace in his Commonwealth. And the philosopher Antisthenes took away all distinction between their virtue and ours. It is much more easy to accuse the one sex than to excuse the other."

Another grief of the times was the bitterness of controversy between Catholic and Reformer, between ruler and ruled. One of the first acts of Henry II. was to issue an edict confirmatory of religious penalties. A blasphemer was to have his tongue pierced with a hot iron, but all heretics were to be burnt alive. In Bordeaux, when Montaigne was seventeen years old, a revolt against taxation had been punished by filling the great square with gibbets upon which two hundred citizens were hanged, tearing one citizen asunder with four horses, breaking two upon the wheel, one of whom wore at the same time a red hot crown upon his head.

Let me repeat here what I have said already in my *Life of Palissy*. I know no words that can depict the wretched state of the French people at this time. Incessant war had taken brave young men out of the fields, and left thousands of them dead on a foreign soil, or returned them to the country men of debauched lives, bullies, cripples. The immense cost of these wars had been defrayed by oppressive taxes, recklessly imagined, cruelly enforced. The lust and luxury of a debased Court had grown fat for years upon the money of the poor. Almost every year saw the creation of new salaried officials, whom the people had to carry on their backs, and pay besides for doing them the honour to be burdens. The morals of the people were perverted, they were im-

poverished, embittered, made litigious, and devoured by lawyers before judges of whom scarcely one in ten was unassailable by bribe. The Church was a machine for burning heretics and raising tithes. Against the debasing influence of a corrupt Court, which extended among all ranks of the nobility, and through them was displayed before the ignorant among their fields,—against the vice bred in the camp and dispersed along the march of armies, or brought home by thousands of disbanded soldiers,—the Church, as a whole, made not one effort to establish Christian discipline. Pastors laboured only at the shearing of their flocks, bishops received in idle and luxurious abodes their own large portion of the wool. Instead of dwelling in their bishoprics, and struggling for the cause of Christ, no less than forty of these bishops were at this time in Paris, holding their mouths open like dogs for bits of meat, and struggling for the cause of Guise or Montmorenci.

One or two passages in Montaigne's *Essays* show that he had been at the Court of Henry II. "I have seen," he says,¹ "our King Henry the Second, who could never hit on the right name of a gentleman of Gascony, and did even call a lady waiting on the Queen by the general surname of her house, because that of her father was so harsh and hard to be remembered." In another place² he names the Master of the Horse to Henry II. as the best rider he had known. After Henry II. had been accidentally killed by a lance-thrust at a tournament, in June 1559, Montaigne, then twenty-six years old, was about the Court. We may not fairly infer presence at the accident from a passage³ in which Montaigne says, "there are other handy sports indiscreet, fond and sharp, just after the French manner, which I hate mortally; I have a tender and sensible skin. I have in my days seen two Princes of our royal blood brought to their graves for it. It is an ill-seeming thing for men in jest to hit, or in sport to strike one another." Elsewhere he associates himself incidentally with the years wearing of mourning at the court.

Francis II. was not sixteen when he succeeded Henry II., and he was then already married to Mary Queen of Scots. He reigned only for a year and a half, but Montaigne followed the Court of Francis II. into Lorraine when, as he says,⁴ "being at Bar-le-Duc, I saw for the commendation of René the King of Sicily's memory a picture which with his own hands he had made of himself, presented unto our king, Francis the Second." The boy king Francis II. died on December 5, 1560, and was succeeded by a brother six years younger, who, as Charles IX., was under guardianship of the Queen-mother, Catherine of Medicis.

Catherine sought at first to secure the throne by staying the strife of parties, but as the Chancellor l'Hôpital said to the Parliament of Paris, "the Devil had taken care of the religious contests and there was no peace to be had." There was civil war with its worst horrors, massacre, torture, and France overrun with lawless hordes, who slew and plundered in the name of God. Children played in the streets at Catholic and Huguenot, cursing one another. But to the outward ornament of Paris there was added in such days as these the first shaping of the Palace of the Tuileries.

That Montaigne before his retirement from the Parliament of Bordeaux had been in attendance also on the Court of Charles IX. is shown by a passage in his *Essay concerning cannibals*. "Three of that nation . . . were at Rouen in the time of our late King Charles the Ninth, who talked with them a great while. . . . I talked a good while with one of them."⁵ Montaigne looked on the cannibals as less barbarous than his own people, torn as they were by the fury of civil war. "I think," he said,⁶ "there is more barbarism in eating men alive than to feed upon them being dead; to mangle by tortures and torments a body full of lively sense, to roast him in pieces, to make dogs and

¹ P. 457.² P. 137.³ P. 147.⁴ P. 470⁵ P. 335.⁶ P. 98.⁷ P. 96.

swine to gnaw and tear him in mammocks (as we have not only read but seen very lately, yea, and in our own memory, not amongst ancient enemies, but our neighbours and fellow-citizens, and which is worse under pretence of piety and religion), than to roast and eat him after he is dead."

In August of the year 1571, the year of that inscription in the Château de Montaigne in which, if it came really from his hand, Montaigne declared himself to have withdrawn from the turmoils of public life to freedom and peace, Montaigne was in Paris arranging for the printing of the poems of his friend Etienne de Boëtie. It was not the first occasion of his coming into communication with the printers, for in 1569 he had published, in accordance with the wishes of his father, a translation of a book on Natural Theology by Raymond Sebond. The occasion of this publication and the character of the book will be found described in the twelfth Essay of Montaigne's Second Book. Not long before his death the father had exhorted the son to translate this volume into French: the son had done so to the father's satisfaction. Then the father had wished that the translation should be printed, and, Montaigne having printed it without delay, it had appeared in 1569. And now in August 1571 Montaigne is engaged on the printing of the poems of Etienne de la Boëtie. One of the dedications was to his friend the Chancellor l'Hôpital. It was the time of the treacherous peace that preceded the Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572. First appeared, at the end of November 1571, a little volume of thirty-one leaves, announcing the verses that were not published until the following year, with a dedication dated September 1, 1572. The inscription in the château, dated at the end of February 1571, does therefore correspond to a turning-point in Montaigne's life, when he withdrew to his manor-house resolved to possess his soul in patience, occupied himself at once with pious care of poems left by his dead friend—"if," he says,¹ "with might and main I had not upheld a friend of mine whom I have lately lost, he had surely been mangled and torn in a thousand shapes"—and at this time began to write his Essays. In the last chapter of their Second Book, printed in 1580, he says,² "I am grown elder by seven or eight years since I began them;" and in the nineteenth Essay of the First Book, he says, after giving the exact date of his birth, "it is but a fortnight since I was thirty-nine years old,"³ which gives the middle of March 1572 as the time when that Essay was being written. The essay writing would have been begun, therefore, in 1571, and at a date later than his birthday in that year; perhaps after his return from Paris in November, and thus the writing of the First and Second Books did cover eight years of his life.

But during those eight years Montaigne did not wholly separate himself from the Court. Francis I. had established among the throng of attendants upon his Court a distinction between the old title of Valet of the Chamber and a new title of Gentleman of the King's Chamber. This title had remained in use and was sought by French nobles. Now Montaigne wrote himself in 1580, on the title-page of the first edition of his Essays, Chevalier of the Order of St. Michael, and *Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roi*. The same title is used in the second edition of the translation of Raymond Sebond, published in 1581; but it was not used in the first edition, printed in 1569. We have seen that Montaigne obtained the order of St. Michael in 1571, the year in which he began his Essays. The gentlemen of the king's chamber were originally paid. Their number multiplied, and in the reign of Charles IX. their payment was reduced by one-half. In 1577 the Venetian ambassadors at the Court of Henry III. reported them to be numberless, the distinction having become much coveted; and to most of them, under such circumstances, as doublets to Montaigne, the honour carried no more with it than the right of

wearing the badge of a golden key that signified the privilege of access to the presence of the king. M. Alphonse Grün, in his *Vie Publique de Michel Montaigne*, has shown that a certain undated letter of counsel from Catherine de Medicis, which she speaks of as having caused "Montagne" to write that it may be read the more easily, was addressed, not to Charles IX., but, in August 1578, to Henry III., and that her secretary "Montagne" was a Jacques de Montagne, a follower of the Guises, whose signature is wholly different from that of Michel de Montaigne. Some writers had founded upon this document a supposition that Montaigne, when at the French Court, had acted as secretary to the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis. There is no evidence to determine the year between 1571, when he began his *Essays*, and 1580, when he published the First and Second Books of them, that Montaigne obtained his rank of gentleman of the king's chamber. But there is evidence of substantial action by Montaigne in effort against civil war. De Thou used in his *Memoirs* information from Montaigne, and tells that when he asked Montaigne what he took to be the causes of the civil war, he ascribed them chiefly to the deadly feud between the Duke of Guise and the King of Navarre, between whom, said Montaigne, he had formerly ("aliquando") mediated when they were both at Court. "Some persuade me," said Montaigne, in one of his earlier *Essays*,¹ "to write the affairs of my time, imagining I can see them with a sight less blinded by passion than other men, and perhaps nearer, by reason of the access which fortune hath given me to the chiefest of divers factions." The time when the two great chiefs of faction were together in Paris was from 1572 to February 3, 1576, when Henry of Navarre shook off inaction, and escaped from Paris, whence he rode out as to a hunting-party, not to return until he came as King of France. Montaigne's intervention in the interest of peace belongs, therefore, to the time when he was writing the First Book of his *Essays*.

Another trace of Montaigne's employment upon public affairs of his time has been found in MS. records of the Parliament of Bordeaux. On the 11th of May 1574, he brought to the Parliament, of which he had been a member, letters from the Duc de Montpensier, and, after the letters had been read, made a long speech. But there is no record of the purport of his mission. The Duc de Montpensier commanded one of the armies levied against the Huguenots, and operating in Poitou. Montaigne, no doubt, served in his army. The chief praise of a French gentleman, says Montaigne, is that he should be, in the old Roman sense, a valiant man. "When after the phrase of our Court and nobility we speak of a worthy man or an honest man, we thereby infer no other thing than a valiant man; after the usual Roman fashion. For the general denomination of virtue doth amongst them take her etymology of force or might. The only proper and essential form of our nobility in France is military vocation."² Though he wrote of war like a philosopher, Montaigne liked the soldier better than the politician,³ and, with other French gentlemen, he may now and then have joined an army as a volunteer.

The praise of Marie Gournay, his daughter by adoption, which is to be found in the seventeenth *Essay* of the Second Book,⁴ was not in the edition of 1580; for he did not meet her until 1588. This passage was one of many afterwards inserted by Montaigne.

Having printed at Bordeaux, earlier in the year, that first edition, of which the preface was signed at Montaigne on the 1st of March, of his *Essays*, not yet containing the Third Book, Montaigne, now forty-seven years old, was become subject to the disease that tormented him in later life. "I am grown elder," he writes in the last of the *Essays* then published,⁵ "elder by seven or eight years since I began them, nor hath it been without some new purchase.

¹ P. 41.² P. 191.³ P. 564.⁴ P. 339.⁵ P. 386.

I have, by the liberality of years, acquainted myself with the stone-colic." He travelled therefore to Italy to try the waters of different places famous for their baths.

On the way a journal was kept, at first by a servant, afterwards by himself, without any thought at all of publication. M. Prunin, busy on a History of Perigord, having obtained leave of its occupant, M. le Comte de Ségur de la Roquette, to search in the Château de Montaigne for records that would help him, was allowed to turn over the contents of an old chest of neglected papers, and found in it the original MS., of 178 pages, which contained the journal of these travels of Montaigne. It was published in two small volumes in 1774, as *Journal du Voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie par la Suisse et l'Allemagne en 1580 et 1581, avec des Notes par M. de Querlon*. Montaigne left his château on June 22, 1580, was present for a short time at the siege of La Fère, when the Comte de Grammont having been killed in the siege, Montaigne and other friends conveyed his body to Soissons. "I assisted," he says in the Third Book of his Essays,¹ "to convey the dead body of the Lord of Grammont from the siege of La Fère, when he was untimely slain, to Soissons. I noted that everywhere as we passed along we filled with lamentations and tears all the people we met, by the only show of our convoy's mourning attire, for the deceased man's name was not so much as known or heard of about those quarters." By September 5 Montaigne was only at Beaumont-sur-Oise; thence he went on to Plombières, where he stayed some days for the use of the waters. Travelling on through Switzerland he conversed there with the Protestant theologians to understand their religious point of view, but was not attracted to the theology of Calvin. He found much pleasure in the mountains and people of the Tyrol, and notes concerning them his common experience of the little faith a traveller should put in the opinions of others as to what will give him pleasure. In Italy, from Roveredo through Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, Montaigne hurried first to Venice, which he had "a great hunger to see." Then his way was through Rovigo, Ferrara, Bologna, to Florence, where he found food and lodging bad, and was led to remark that he knew no people so wanting in handsome women as the Italians. He puts Florence far below Venice, and pairs it with Bologna. On November 30 he reached Rome, where he stayed five months. "I cannot," he says,² "so often survey the vast tomb of that city, so great, so populous, and so puissant, but I as often admire and reverence the same. The care and remembrance of evils is recommended unto us. Now have I from my infancy been bred and brought up with these; I have had knowledge of the affairs of Rome, long time before I had notice of those of my house. I knew the Capitol and its platform before I knew Louvre, the palace of our kings in Paris, and the river Tiber before Seine."

At Rome Montaigne found his Essays under castigation. Their fame had spread quickly through France. They passed through four editions before Montaigne himself, in 1588, prepared a fifth in Paris. The Dominican, Sisto Fabri, the Pope's castigator of books, not reading French himself, had adopted the objections suggested to him: that Montaigne spoke several times of Fortune; that he quoted heathen poets; that he excused Julian the Apostate, he believed that one in earnest prayer was not wicked while praying; he considered all capital punishment that added pains to death to be cruelty, and so forth. Montaigne was admonished to see to these things. When he left Rome, however, Brother Fabri excused himself for proposing expurgation in the book of a good son of the Church, but, he said, even bishops had their books examined. Montaigne was not to consider the corrections meant as censure. It was left to him to make such revision as was fit. Montaigne

did not trouble himself. But he may have had these counsels in his mind when he wrote, in the ninth Essay of his Third Book,¹ "He that shall know how little laborious I am and how framed after mine own fashion, will easily believe I would rather indite anew as many other Essays than subject myself to trace these over again for this childish correction."

Montaigne tells with great satisfaction² how much pleasure it gave him to be admitted as a Roman citizen in March 1581. In the journal of his travel we learn how much trouble he took to extract it from the Roman Senate. He owed it to the particular friendship of Philip Masotti, the Pope's majordomo, who stirred the Pope, Gregory XIII., to press the Senate. Having secured the citizenship, Montaigne did not stay much longer in Rome, but, having paid his homage to the shrine at Loretto, travelled on to the baths of Lucca. While travelling in Italy he spoke and wrote Italian, and returned to French as soon as he was once more among Frenchmen. He was visiting Rome a second time when he received a letter from the Town Council of Bordeaux informing him that he had been elected Mayor of the town, and inviting his speedy return.

"The town council of Bordeaux," he says in the Third Book of his Essays,³ "chose me mayor of their city, being far from France, but farther from any such thought. I excused myself and would have avoided it, but they told me I was to blame, the more because the king's commandment was already employed therein." Montaigne left Rome on October 15, and reached his château on November 30, 1581, after seventeen months and eight days of travel. The king's order to him to accept the mayoralty, expressed in friendly terms, was dated November 25. When the king next saw Montaigne, and told him that he liked his Essays, "Then, sir," he said, "you will like me; I am my Essays." The office of Mayor of Bordeaux now accepted by Montaigne was, he says, "a charge that should seem so much the more goodly because it hath neither fee nor reward other than the honour in the execution. It lasteth two years, but may continue longer by a second election, which seldom happeneth. To me it was, and never had been but twice before; some years past to the Lord of Lansac, and lately to the Lord of Biron, Marshal of France, in whose place I succeeded, and left mine to the Lord of Matignon, likewise Marshal of France." Montaigne's re-election in August 1583 was due to the success of a journey of his to Court to maintain the interests of the citizens. The state of faction during the second mayoralty of Montaigne at Bordeaux inclined Henry III. towards the King of Navarre, while he was yielding to the Catholics, and as Montaigne was a good Catholic with much good-will to the King of Navarre, this suited him. Montaigne received the King of Navarre as guest in his château on December 19, 1584. The governor of Guyenne, Marshal de Matignon, was also friendly to King Henry of Navarre. The Governor of Guyenne and Mayor of Bordeaux being thus in accord were able to neutralize the intolerant zeal of the Parliament of Bordeaux and maintain peace. In the last month of his mayoralty the plague was in Bordeaux and the surrounding country; Montaigne withdrew from the town, and when he was invited to return for the purpose of presiding over the election of his successor, he replied that he was ready to give his life for their real service, but would not risk dying of plague for a service such as that. He was ready, however, to meet the town council at the nearest healthy village. He was quite right. His Essays give a vivid picture of what he had seen when the plague of 1585 was about him.⁴ "Behold these, because they die in one same month, children, young, old, they are no more astonished, they are no longer wept for. I saw some that feared to stay behind, as if they had been in some horrible solitude. And commonly I knew no other care amongst them but for graves. It much

¹ P. 493.² Pp. 512, 513.³ P. 515.⁴ P. 527.

grieved them to see the dead carcasses scattered over the fields, at the mercy of wild beasts which presently began to flock thither. Oh, how human fantasies differ and are easily disjoined! . . . Some in good health digged already their graves, othersome, yet living, did go into them; and a day-labourer of mine, as he was dying, with his own hands and feet pulled earth upon him and so covered himself."

Quiet again for some time in his study, but still seeking to heal the wounds of France, Montaigne once more, on October 24, 1587, received the King of Navarre in his house. Ready to do good service, if it might be, as a messenger of peace, he was in Paris in 1588 to bring out the fifth edition of his *Essays*, when the Duke of Guise had entered Paris and defied the king. The king's troops had been overpowered in the street fight of the barricades, and King Henry III. had fled from Paris. Guise was master, and obtained from the king on July 19 the Edict of the Union, which named the Duke of Guise Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, exacted a test of Catholicism from all holders of public offices, pledged the king to the suppression of heresy, and convoked the States General at Blois. In the tumults at Paris Montaigne was arrested as a royalist and sent to the Bastille, but released on the same day (July 10) by order of the Duke of Guise. Montaigne went to Blois during the sitting of the States General, though he had no official duty there. Doubtless he still sought opportunities of using the good influence that his moderation had secured for him in preserving friendly access to the chiefs of hostile factions.

It was in this year, 1588, when Montaigne was publishing the fifth edition of his *Essays*, the last published in his lifetime, enlarged by a Third Book and six hundred additions to the two first, that Marie de Jars de Gournay, then about twenty-four years old, having read the *Essays*, and being full of young enthusiasm for the spirit of their writer, travelled from Gournay in Picardy to Paris for the sole purpose of seeing the man who was the book. She was the daughter of Guillaume de Jars of Neufoi and Gournay, a gentleman who was mending his fortune at Court, and had become Treasurer of the King's Household when he died, and his widow retired, with a large family, to Gournay. There her daughter Marie devoted herself to books with a zeal not to be controlled. Without help of master or formal books of instruction, she taught herself Latin by comparing Latin texts with their translation. She made some little advance into Greek in the same way, studied history, geometry, physics, alchemy. She was eighteen when she read Montaigne's *Essays*. She was twenty-four when, in Paris, she wrote to Montaigne, who was then fifty-five years old, a letter that brought him to visit her on the following day. The man was the book. He received Mlle. de Gournay as his daughter by adoption, and after some months of friendship in Paris Montaigne visited the mother and daughter at Gournay. In the tribute to her which he has added to his *Essay*¹ he speaks of her dread of his approaching end, "by reason of the fifty-five years wherein her hap hath been to know me," meaning that he was fifty-five when she first knew him, in 1588, and with his life endangered by disease. The end was really near. He went back to Montaigne on August 2, 1589; Henry III. was assassinated by the young Dominican Jacques Clement, and Henry of Navarre became king.

The king of Navarre, become Henry IV. of France, desired much to bring Montaigne to his Court, and wrote several letters, to the last of which, offering to defray his expenses, Montaigne wrote a gentle and manly reply in the true spirit of the *Essays*. As the end approached he lost for three days the use of speech, and expressed his wishes by the pen. At last he asked his wife to call in neighbours of whom he wished to take leave, then took the Sacrament, and at the lifting of the host feebly rose in his bed with his hands joined in prayer. In that act his spirit passed away, on the 13th of September, 1592.

Mlle. de Gournay, who had lost her mother in the preceding year, was summoned by Montaigne's widow to her side. She remained with the widow and daughter fifteen months, during which she busied herself in preparing a new edition of Montaigne's Essays. She was his first and his best editor, the first defender of his memory against the hasty judgments of the world.

"I write my book," said Montaigne,¹ "to few men and to few years," little trusting in men's interest in man. But in the next century Huet recorded that there was no gentleman in France who had a few books and had not a Montaigne for one of them. The interest in Montaigne cannot decline; it must needs grow with the advance of civilization. The times are hardly yet ripe for the general and full appreciation of a man who took the balance for his emblem.² Few men have yet learnt that they must be content to remain ignorant of the unknowable, and upon many things must be content to wait for light before they can be sure they see. Montaigne lived a natural life, and wrote and acted naturally. He is in no sympathy with the conventional lives of those pompous men who are "emprélaté to their entrails," and in whom "we cannot distinguish the skin from the shirt."³ "I am," he says, "but in myself."⁴ "Our follies," he says,⁵ "make me not laugh, but our wisdoms do." In his public life he was a negotiator, true to his own saying, "I would rather fail in my business than in myself."⁶ "All lawful intentions," he says, "are of themselves temperate. . . . I will follow the best side to the fire, but not into it, if I can choose. If need require let Montaigne, my manor house, be swallowed up in public ruin; but if there be no such necessity, I will acknowledge myself beholden unto Fortune if she please to save it, and for its safety employ as much scope as my endeavours can afford me."⁷ Here is one of the references to Fortune that troubled the Pope's expurgator, who was troubled also at Montaigne's saying that "tortures are not essays of truth."⁸ Montaigne had observed that statesmen and other men are thwarted often when they have framed the wisest schemes; or, as Burns put it, that

The best laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft agley;

and that the most foolish counsels may lead to a prosperous issue, wherein men have ascribed to their own wisdom the effects of fortune.⁹ But he allows of no blind fortune in affairs of men. Whatever happens, he says with our John Gower, *nos sumus in causa*, and recognizes the "divinity that shapes our ends." For him God is a Spirit. "We say that God feareth, that God will be angry, and that God loveth. They be all agitations and motions which, according to our form, can have no place in God, nor can we imagine them according to His. . . . It is more by the means of our ignorance than of our skill that we are wise in heavenly knowledge. It is no marvel if our natural and terrestrial means cannot conceive the supernatural or apprehend the celestial knowledge. Let us add nothing of our own unto it but obedience and subjection, for (as it is written) 'I will confound the wisdom of the wise and destroy the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world. Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For seeing the world by wisdom knew not God, in the wisdom of God it hath pleased Him, by the vanity of preaching, to save them that believe.'"¹⁰ Catholics and Calvinists alike professed minutely to define the indefinable.

Montaigne knew where faith is above knowledge, but, taking the world as it was, sought peace in obedience to authority. "My reason," he said, "is not framed to bend or stoop, but my knees are."¹¹ He saw through the false

¹ P. 502. ² P. 268. ³ P. 318. ⁴ P. 321. ⁵ P. 418. ⁶ P. 403. ⁷ P. 403.

⁸ P. 182. See his illustrations of the cruelty of executions pp. 216, 217.

⁹ Pp. 214, 470.

¹⁰ P. 253.

¹¹ P. 477.

adulation of kings, and said there are "none of us but would be worse than kings if subject to the same rascally flattery." It is their misfortune that they miss true praise.¹ "Their plausible facility to bring all under, and subject men's minds, is an enemy to all manner of pleasure. It is a kind of sliding, and not a going; it is to sleep, and not to live."² "Princes," he said,³ "do me much good if they do me no hurt." "We owe a like obedience and subjection to all kings, for it respects their office; but estimation and affection, we owe it only to their virtue. If they be unworthy, we are to endure them patiently, to conceal their vices, and to aid their indifferent actions with our commendations as long as their authority hath need of our assistance; and that ought to be ascribed unto public order. But our commerce with them being ended, there is no reason we should refuse the unfolding of our felt wrongs unto justice and our liberty."⁴ "The souls of emperors and cobblers are all cast in the same mould. . . . The same reason that makes us chide and brawl and fall out with any of our neighbours, causeth a war to follow between princes; the same reason that makes us whip or beat a lackey, maketh a prince (if he apprehend it) to spoil or waste a whole province."⁵ "Only humility and submission is able to make a perfect honest man."⁶ A good king might do much by goodness and justice. "The first that shall be advised by these means to thrust himself into favour and credit, I am much deceived if, in part payment, he get not the start of his fellows. Force and violence can do very much, but never all. We see merchants, country justices and artificers to march cheek by jowl with our nobility in valour and military discipline. They perform honourable combats both public and private. They batter and defend towns and cities in our present wars. A prince smothereth his commendation in this throng. Let him shine over others with humanity, with truth, loyalty, temperance, above all with justice, marks nowadays rare, unknown and exiled. It is only the people's will wherewith he may effect what he pleaseth; and no qualities can allure their will so much as they, as being the profitablest for them: *Nihil est tam popolare quam bonitas*; Nothing is so popular as goodness is."⁷

Again and again Montaigne touches on the cruelties, the discords, the widespread corruption of his times, in which every man "was hourly on the point of overthrow."⁸ Civilization had fallen so low by the habit of rapine that attended a civil war in which marauding bands put peasants to cruel torture to extract ransom from them,⁹ that common theft was habitual among gentlemen's sons,¹⁰ with a licentiousness unmannerly and cruel.¹¹ But amidst the loosening of all ties of social order and of true religion, Montaigne saw safety only in obedience to law and authority. In that respect his bias was strongly conservative.¹² Men never agree, and always hold the last opinion to be infallible.¹³ We shape God to our own imagination, when "to honour him whom we have made is far from honouring Him who hath made us."¹⁴ Even if here we could see all, we should see only a part of the whole work of God. "Most of the occasions of this world's troubles are grammatical."¹⁵ In actual religion we are inferior to Turks and Pagans.¹⁶ Let us, to avoid division, accept the commands of constituted authority, go the appointed way,¹⁷ secure at least against "the dreadful error and horrible darkness of irreligion."¹⁸ Montaigne objected to Marot's versification of the Psalms as desecrating mysteries.¹⁹ He said playfully that it took him some time to get over Pope Gregory's alteration of the Calendar.²⁰ His was a philosophical mind with a distinctly conservative bias. In the midst of civil wars

¹ P. 469.² P. 553.³ P. 494.⁴ P. 5.⁵ P. 239.⁶ P. 246.⁷ P. 332.⁸ P. 536.⁹ P. 368.¹⁰ P. 193.¹¹ P. 439.¹² P. 287.¹³ Pp. 288, 294-5.¹⁴ P. 269.¹⁵ P. 159.¹⁶ P. 221.¹⁷ Pp. 285, 291, 488, 490, 509.¹⁸ P. 224.¹⁹ P. 159.²⁰ P. 224.

in the name of religion he distrusted "Reformation by the utmost deformation."¹ "God," he said, "is not satisfied by religious belief without morals."² "Every man runneth out and un'o what is to come, because no man is yet come into himself."³ The elevation of man is by God only.⁴ For himself, he said, he was easily led, would like to follow some one who was sure of his opinions; "my own are slippery, but I do not change, for so are their opposites."⁵ The laws have chosen us a side to follow, and appointed us a master to obey.⁶

Law is not justice: whosoever goeth to law doth in the end lose by it.⁷ Montaigne tells how a servant of his found a man dangerously wounded in a neighbouring wood and left him to die, dread of the law staying an act of Christian mercy.⁸ There are too many laws, there is too much defining. Whatever is cut into powder is confused. Multiplying definitions has caused more instead of less need of advocates and judges.⁹ There is more ado to interpret interpretations than to interpret things.¹⁰ In his own life he never went to law.¹¹ Statecraft is not obedient to conscience.¹² "Our manners are exceedingly corrupted, and with a marvellous inclination bend towards worse and worse. Of our laws and customs many are barbarous, and divers monstrous; notwithstanding, by reason of the difficulty to reduce us to better estate, and of the danger of this subversion, if I could fix a peg into our wheel and stay it where it now is, I would willingly do it."¹³

Montaigne was in stature under the mean, which he gives as one reason for riding. "Going afoot I shall dirty myself up to the waist; and little men going along our streets are subject (for want of martial appearance) to be jostled or elbowed."¹⁴ His face was not fat but full,¹⁵ with very thick moustaches.¹⁶ His sight was quick, but easily wearied,¹⁷ and so impatient of the sunlight, firelight, or any glare, that in reading he would place a plate of green glass over his book.¹⁸ His hands were so stiff that he could hardly write for himself; he could not mend a pen, could not well close a letter, and was never a good carver at table.¹⁹ He was lively and quick of speech, but unapt, for want of memory, to follow a long charge.²⁰ Of his personal life many minute details will be found in chapter xiii. of his Third Book.²¹ He dressed like his father,²² went on with his father's building at Montaigne²³ and had his boys lived he would have trained them in his father's way. He sought to possess his soul in peace and perfect freedom,—his childhood had been free from subjection,—with a calm life, that he calls lazy,²⁴ and a straight course.²⁵

His love of liberty was strong and fearless; it gave simplicity and sincerity of speech even before princes. "I am so besotted," he says, "unto liberty, that should any man forbid me the access to any one corner of the Indies, I should in some sort live much discontented. And so long as I shall find land or open air elsewhere, I shall never lurk in any place where I must hide myself."²⁶ "I can do nothing which may enthrall me to others. If I did serve, I would speak plain truth."²⁷ Of his plain speaking in negotiation he says, "this hath been hitherto with so good hap (for surely fortune is in these matters a principal actor) that few have dealt between party and party with less suspicion and more inward favour. I have in all my proceedings an open fashion, easy to insinuate and give itself credit at first acquaintance."²⁸ On one occasion he protected his home by the frankness with which he took enemies at their word. A troop of men came singly

¹ P. 334-5.² P. 343.³ P. 404.⁴ P. 310.⁵ P. 336.⁶ P. 404.⁷ P. 549.⁸ P. 549.⁹ P. 547.¹⁰ P. 548.¹¹ Pp. 329, 349.¹² P. 508.¹³ P. 336.¹⁴ P. 563-4.¹⁵ P. 329.¹⁶ P. 337.¹⁷ P. 334.¹⁸ P. 569.¹⁹ P. 329.²⁰ Pp. 492, 333.²¹ Especially on pages 563-569.²² P. 104.²³ P. 485.²⁴ Pp. 319, 517, 520.²⁵ P. 493.²⁶ Pp. 320, 330, 331, 484, 485, 487, 502, 502.²⁷ P. 559.²⁸ P. 551.

running into his courtyard, as if for refuge from pursuit, but with the design of seizing his manor-house. When the men were all drawn up, instead of giving the word for attack, their leader, ashamed, as he afterwards said, to return kindness with outrage, trotted them away. On another occasion he was seized by a band of marauders in a dangerous part of the country, stripped of all he had, made prisoner, and likely to be shot. His philosophical good humour under such circumstances won not only his release, but the careful collection and restoration to him of his goods.¹ Montaigne's house remained safe while other manors were laid waste, and was used as a place of shelter for the goods of others.² In another way Michel Montaigne showed his fortitude, by keeping ten hours in the saddle in defiance of violent pain from the passage of a stone;³ and when nearly killed by a horse accident he made a philosophical analysis of his condition.⁴ "It is fear," he said,⁵ "I stand most in fear of." And "who feareth to suffer, suffereth already because he feareth."⁶

On horseback Montaigne's mind was active, and while riding he shaped many of his Essays.⁷

For the language in which he sought to utter his mind, he said,⁸ "It is a natural, simple and unaffected speech that I love, so written as it is spoken, and such upon the paper as it is in the mouth, a pithy, sinewy, full, strong, compendious, and material speech, not so delicate and affected as vehement and piercing. Rather difficult than tedious, void of affectation, free, loose, and bold, that every member of it seem to make a body; not pedantical, nor friar-like, nor lawyer-like, but rather downright, soldier-like." "I must walk with my pen as I go with my feet."⁹ He would let his mind move with its own natural step, not the steps of the dancing school, or as those who "leap on horseback because they are not strong enough in their legs to march on foot."¹⁰ When he began he wrote short chapters, but afterwards condemned the frequent interruption of thought and made the chapters longer. "The titles of my chapters embrace not always the matter, they often but glance at it by some mark."¹¹ He liked free movement, and looked to be read through.

There is a grace in Montaigne's simplicity, a mixture of the Latin training with the homely vigour of his country speech, that no translation fairly reproduces. But John Florio's Elizabethan vigour, in an English almost contemporary with Montaigne's French, gives us the nearest attainable equivalent. Florio nods sometimes; and even mistranslates; and now and then entangles his translation into knots not easy to unravel; but he can be homely, pithy, idiomatic, and in some of Montaigne's finest passages has nobly caught the spirit of his author. He is given here without omissions of any kind. Montaigne, in philosophical disclosure of himself, enters now and then upon what is now forbidden ground. But since the chief worth of the book lies in the complete sincerity with which it sets forth the whole inner life of a true, thoughtful man, I have not changed or dropped a word of it. But, again, let it be said that, however full of delight for desultory reading, the full enjoyment of Montaigne is reserved for those who read his Essays through attentively. One may live long in the world and never come to know even a near friend as completely as one may know Montaigne by an attentive reading of his Essays.

Giovanni, or John; Florio was an Italian born in London at the end of the reign of King Edward VI. His parents had lived in the upper valley of

¹ Pp. 544, 545.

² P. 25.

³ P. 306.

⁴ P.

⁵ P. 563.

⁶ P. 306.

⁷ P. 562.

⁸ P. 446.

⁹ P. 530.

¹⁰ P. 186.

¹¹ P. 77.

the Adda, in the province of Valtellina. There they had joined the Reformers, and had been driven from their home by persecution. They found shelter in England when the Reformers, through the young King Edward, maintained, as they said, "the Gospel and the Word of God, not the decrees and constitutions of the Bishop of Rome." But about a year after Giovanni's birth King Edward died, and with Queen Mary a reaction came. The Florios then quitted England and remained in France till the accession of Elizabeth. Born in London of Italian parents, bred in France until six years old, and then restored to England, Florio thenceforth looked upon England as his home. He worked hard and thrived, found friends among the wits, and married the sister of one of the chief poets of the day, Samuel Daniel, a poet whose work abounds in evidences of familiarity with the Italian literature then influencing English taste. In a Rose Daniel who became Rose Florio some writers suppose themselves to have discovered the Rosalinde of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*. "Rose and Edmund," said the Rev. N. J. Halpin, "were thrown together under circumstances every way favourable to the development of love in a breast so susceptible as that of the 'passionate shepherd.'" Since there are no "circumstances" other than imagined, it is a poor imagination that cannot see them to be in every way favourable to any given theory. John Florio was of about Spenser's age. He studied at Oxford; so did Samuel Daniel, and Daniel became a good Italian scholar. "What more natural," says Mr. Halpin, "than that Rose should have shared her brother's pleasant study and, in company with him and Spenser, accepted the tuition of John Florio?" But Rosalinde left Colin Clout for Menalcas. So Rose Daniel left Spenser for Florio; and Rosalinde of the *Shepherd's Calendar* reappears as Mirabella in the *Faerie Queene*. But Mirabella was married to a fool; therefore Florio is a fool. And Florio, in a dedication to the second edition of his Dictionary in 1598, attacks the shortcomings of the stage and one dramatist by whom he had been ridiculed upon the stage. Must not that dramatist have been Shakespeare? and had not Florio, therefore, been ridiculed, some six years before, as the Holofernes of *Love's Labour's Lost*, and also as Don Adriano de Armado? These are the critic's pleasures of imagination.

Mr. Halpin goes on: "Should further proof be needed that Florio, Holofernes, and Armado form a dramatic trinity in unity, we can find it in the personal appearance of the Italian. There was something amiss with the face of the Resolute, which could not escape the observation of his friends, and less his enemies. A friend and former pupil of his own—Sir William Cornwallis—speaking in high praise of Florio's translation of Montaigne, observes: "It is done by a fellow less beholden to Nature for his fortune than to wit; yet lesser for his face than his fortune. The truth is, he looks more like a good fellow than a wise man; and yet he is wise beyond either his fortune or education." Now, there is in *Love's Labour's Lost* some jesting at the face of Holofernes.

Florio, like most men about the Court of Elizabeth, abounded in the conceits of Euphuism. They were not characteristic of the man, but of the time. He played on his name of Florio, took a flower for his emblem, and wrote under his portrait:

Floret adhuc, et adhuc florebit: floreat ultra
Florius hac specie floridus,—optat amans.

He played on his name in the titles of his books: *First Fruits, Second Fruits, Garden of Recreation*. Now, Spenser writes of Rosalinde's love for Menalcas: "Go tell the lass her Flower is wox a weed."

To this, and more than this, Mr. Grosart replies, in his recent edition of Spenser, that there was no Rose Daniel. Florio was twice married, and his first wife may have been Daniel's sister; but his second wife was the wife Rose,

and she was a Rose Spicer, to whom Florio was married on September 9, 1617, eighteen years after Spenser's death. This was the "beloved wife Rose" of Florio's will. One of Mr. Halpin's arguments was that Menalcas means "Resolute." But the *Shepherd's Calendar* was published in 1579, and Florio did not sign himself the Resolute before the year 1598, nineteen years afterwards.

John Florio, as a young man, lived and studied at Oxford. About the time when Spenser was leaving Cambridge, Florio became tutor to a young Mr. Barnes, son of the Bishop of Durham. Two years afterwards, in 1578, at the age of about twenty-six, he produced his first book, called "Florio his First Fruites; which yeelde familiar Speech, merie Prouerbes, wittie Sentences, and golden Sayings. Also, a perfect Introduction to the Italian and English Tongues." He was then establishing himself as a teacher of Italian, and won favour by showing his skill in the fashionable kind of wit. Lyly's *Euphues* appeared in the next year, 1579; and the first edition of Montaigne's Essays was published at Bordeaux in 1580. When John Florio published his *First Fruits*, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, Shakespeare was at Stratford, a boy of fourteen. Three years later, in 1581, Florio, aged about twenty-nine, was admitted a member of Magdalen College, and recognized as teacher of French and Italian in the University of Oxford. Ten years later appeared "Florio's Second Frutes. To which is annexed his Garden of Recreation, yeelding six thousand Italian Prouerbs." (4to, 1591.) Shakespeare had then been learning his art in the playhouse for about five years, and was beginning, or about to begin, writing plays of his own. Then came Florio's Italian and English Dictionary, called *A World of Words*, of which there was an edition, with his portrait, published in 1611 as "Queen Anna's new World of Words, or Dictionary of the Italian and English Tongues, collected and now newly much augmented." At the end of Elizabeth's reign, in 1603, appeared the first edition of Florio's chief work, his translation of Montaigne. Under James I., Florio was attached to the Court as French and Italian tutor to Prince Henry; he taught languages also to the Queen, whom he served as Clerk of the Closet, while serving the King also as a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. He lived throughout the reign of James, and died of the plague in the autumn of 1625. Throughout life he was zealous for religion, and most loyal to the land of his adoption. And England has adopted him. This book, that was enjoyed by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, will always bring us nearer to Montaigne than the best possible translation by a later hand.

II. M.

October, 1885.

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THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

READER, loe here a well-meaning Booke. It doth at the first entrance forewarne thee, that in contriving the same I have proposed unto my selfe no other than a familiar and private end: I have no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such desseigne. I have vowed the same to the particular commodity of my kinsfolks and friends: to the end, that losing me (which they are likely to doe ere long), they may therein find some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes reserve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention beene to fore-tal and purchase the world's opinion and favour, I would surely haue adorned my selfe more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire therein to be delineated in mine owne genuine, simple and ordinarie fashion, without contention, art or study; for it is my selfe I pourtray. My imperfections shall therein be read to the life, and my naturall forme discerned, so farre-forth as publike reverence hath permitted me. For if my fortune had beene to have lived among those nations which yet are said to live under the sweet liberty of Nature's first and uncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have pourtrayed my selfe fully and naked. Thus, gentle Reader, my selfe am the groundworke of my booke: it is then no reason thou shouldest employ thy time about so frivolous and vaine a subject.

Therefore farewell.

From MONTAIGNE,

The First of March, 1580.

The Essayes

of

Michael Lord of Montaigne.

The First Booke.

CHAPTER I.

—, divers meanes men come unto a like end.

THE most usuall way to appease those minds we have offended (when revenge lies in their hands, and that we stand at their mercy) is, by submission to move them to commiseration and pitty: Neverthesse, courage, constancie, and resolution (meanes altogether opposite) have sometimes wrought the same effect. Edward the black Prince of Wales (who so long governed our Country of Guienne, a man whose conditions and fortune were accompanied with many notable parts of worth and magnanimitie) having bene grievously offended by the Limosins, though he by maine force tooke and entered their Citie, could by no meanes be appeased, nor by the wailfull out-cries of all sorts of people (as of men, women, and children) be moved to any pitty, they prostrating themselves to the common slaughter, crying for mercy, and humbly submitting themselves at his feet, untill such time as in triumphant manner passing thorow their Citie, he perceived three French Gentlemen, who alone, with an incredible and undaunted boldnesse, gainstood the enraged violence, and made head against the furie of his victorious armie. The consideration and respect of so

notable a vertue, did first abate the dint of his wrath, and from those three began to relent, and shew mercy to all the other inhabitants of the said towne. Scanderbeg, Prince of Epirus, following one of his souldiers, with purpose to kill him, who by all means of humilitie, and submisse entreatie, had first offered to pacifie him, in such an unavoidable extremitie, resolved at last, resolutely to encounter him with his sword in his hand. This resolution did immediately stay his Captains fury, who seeing him undertake so honourable an attempt, not only forgave, but received him into grace and favour. This example may haply, of such as have not knowne the prodigious force and matchless valour of the said Prince, admit another interpretation. The Emperor Conradus, third of that name, having besieged Guelphe, Duke of Bavaria, what vile or base satisfaction soever was offered him, would yeeld to no other milder conditions, but only to suffer such Gentlewomen as were with the Duke in the Citie (their honours safe) to issue out of the Towne afoot, with such things as they could carry about them. They with an unrelenting courage advised and resolved themselves (neglecting all other riches or jewels) to carry their husbands, their children, and the Duke himselfe, on their backs: The Emperour perceiving the quaint-

nesse of their device, tooke so great pleasure at it, that hee wept for joy, and forthwith converted that former inexorable rage, and mortall hatred he bare the Duke, into so milde a relenting and gentle kindnesse, that thence forward he entreated both him and his with all favour and courtesie. Either of these wayes might easily perswade mee: for I am much inclined to mercie, and affected to mildnesse. So it is, that in mine opinion, I should more naturally stoope unto compassion, than bend to estimation. Yet is pittie held a vicious passion among the Stoicks. They would have us aid the afflicted, but not to faint, and co-suffer with them. These examples seeme fittest for mee, forsomuch as these minds are seene to be assaulted and envired by these two meanes, in undauntedly suffering the one, and stooping under the other. It may peradventure be said, that to yeeld ones heart unto commiseration, is an effect of facility, tendernes, and meeknesse: whence it proceedeth, that the weakest natures, as of women, children, and the vulgar sort are more subject unto it. But (having concerned teares and wailings) to yeeld unto the onely reverence of the sacred Image of vertue, is the effect of a couragious and implayable minde, holding a masculine and constant vigour, in honour and affection. Notwithstanding, amazement and admiration may in lesse generous minds worke the like effect. Witnessse the Thebanes, who having accused and indited their Capitaines, as of a capitall crime, forsomuch as they had continued their charge beyond the time prescribed them, absolved and quit Pelopidas of all punishment, because he submissively yeelded under the burden of such objections, and to save himselfe, employed no other meanes, but suing-requests, and demisse intreaties; where on the contrary, Epaminondas boldly relating the exploits atchieved by him, and with a fierce and arrogant manner upbraiding the people with them, had not the heart so much as to take their lots into his hands, but went his way, and was freely absolved; the assembly much commending the stoutnesse of his courage. Dionysius the elder, after long-lingering and extreme difficulties, having taken the Citie of Reggio, and in it the Capitaine Phytton (a worthy honest man), who had so obstinately defended the same, would needs shew a tragickall example of revenge. First, he told him, how the day before, he had caused his sonne and all his kinsfolke to be drowned. To whom Phytton, stoutly out-staring him, answered nothing, but that they were more happy than himselfe by the space of one day. Afterward

he caused him to be stripped, and by his executioners to be taken and dragged thorow the Citie most ignominiously, and cruelly whipping him, charging him besides with outrageous and contumelious speeches. All which notwithstanding, as one no whit dismayed, he ever shewed a constant and resolute heart; and with a cheerefull and bold countenance went on still, loudly recounting the honourable and glorious cause of his death, which was, that he would never consent to yeeld his Country into the hands of a cruell tyrant, menacing him with an imminent punishment of the Gods. Dionysius plainly reading in his Souldiers lookes, that in lieu of animating them with braving his conquered enemy, they in contempt of him, and scorn of his triumph, seemed by the astonishment of so rare a vertue, to be moved with compassion, and inclined to mutinie, yea, and to free Phytton from out the hands of his Sergeants or Guard, caused his torture to cease, and secretly sent him to be drowned in the sea. Surely, man is a wonderfull, vaine, divers, and wavering subject: it is very hard to ground any directly-constant and uniforme judgement upon him. Behold Pompey, who freely pardoned all the Citie of the Mamertines (against which he was grievously enraged) for the love of the magnanimitie, and consideration of the exceeding vertue of Zeno, one of their fellow-citizens, who tooke the publike fault wholly upon himselfe, and desired no other favour, but alone to beare the punishment thereof; whereas Syllaes host having used the like vertue in the Citie of Perugia, obtained nothing, neither for himself, nor for others. And directly against my first example, the hardest amongst men, and so gracious to the vanquished, Alexander the great, after many strange difficulties, forcing the Citie of Gaza, encountered by chance with Betis, that commanded therein, of whose valour (during the siege) he had felt wonderfull and strange exploits, being then alone, forsaken of all his followers, his armes all-broken, all-besmeared with blood and wounds, fighting amongst a number of Macedonians, who pell-mell laid still upon him; provoked by so deare a victorie (for among other mishaps he had newly received two hurts in his body) said thus unto him; "Betis, thou shalt not die as thou wouldest: for make account thou must indure all the torments may possibly be devised or inflicted upon a catife wretch, as thou art." But he, for all his enemies threats, without speaking one word, returned only an assured, sterne, and disdainfull countenance upon him; which silent obstinacie

Alexander noting, said thus unto himselfe : "What? would hee not bend his knee? could he not utter one suppliant voyce? I will assuredly vanquish his silence, and if I cannot wrest a word from him, I will at least make him to sob or groane." And converting his anger into rage, commanded his heeles to bee through-pierced, and so all alive with a cord through them, to be torne, mangled, and dismembered at a carts-taile. May it be, the force of his courage, was so naturall and peculiar unto him, that because he would no-whit admire him, he respected him the lesse? or deemed he it so proper unto himselfe, that in his height, he could not without the spight of envious passion, endure to see it in an other? or was the naturall violence of his rage incapable of any opposition? surely, had it received any restraint, it may be supposed, that in the ransacking and desolation of the Citie of Thebes, it should have felt the same; in seeing so many Worthies lost, and valiant men put to the sword, as having no meanes of publike defence; for above six thousand were slaine and massacred, of which not one was seene, either to run away, or beg for grace. But on the contrary, some here and there seeking to affront, and endeavouring to check their victorious enemies, urging and provoking them to force them die an honourable death. Not one was seene to yeeld, and that to his last gaspe did not attempt to revenge himselfe, and with all weapons of dispaire, with the death of some enemie, comfort and sweeten his owne miserie. Yet could not the affliction of their vertue find any ruth or pitie, nor might one day suffice to glut or assuage his revengfull wrath. This butcherous slaughter continued unto the last drop of any remaining blood; where none were spared but the unarmed and naked, the aged and unpotent, the women and children; that so from amongst them, they might get thirtie thousand slaves.

CHAPTER II.

Of Sadnesse or Sorrowe.

NO man is more free from this passion than I, for I neither love nor regard it: albeit the world hath undertaken, as it were upon covenant, to grace it with a particular favour. There-with they adorne age, vertue, and conscience. Oh foolish and base ornament! The Italians have more properly with it's

name entitled malignitie: for, it is a qualitie ever hurtfull, ever sottish; and as ever base and coward, the Stoikes inhibit their Elders and Sages to be therewith tainted, or have any feeling of it. But the Storie saith: that Psamneticus king of Egypt, having been defeated and taken by Cambises king of Persia, seeing his owne daughter passe before him in base and vile aray, being sent to draw water from a well, his friends weeping and wailing about him (he with his eyes fixed on the ground, could not be moved to utter one word), and shortly after beholding his sonne led to execution, held still the same undaunted countenance: but perceiving a familiar friend of his haled amongst the captives, he began to beat his head, and burst forth into extreame sorrow. This might well be compared to that which one of our Princes was lately seene to doe, who being at Trent, and receiving newes of his elder brothers death; but such a brother as on him lay all the burthen and honour of his house; and shortly after tidings of his younger brothers decease, who was his second hope; and having with an unmatched countenance and exemplar constancie endured these two affronts; it fortun'd not long after, that one of his servants dying, he by this latter accident suffered himselfe to be so far transported, that quitting and forgetting his former resolution, he so abandoned himselfe to all manner of sorrow and grieve, that some argued, only this last mischance had toucht him to the quicke: but verily the reason was, that being otherwise full, and over-plunged in sorrow, the least surcharge brake the bounds and barres of patience. The like might (I say) be judg'd of our storie, were it not it followeth, that Cambises inquiring of Psamneticus, why he was nothing distempered at the misfortune of his sonne and daughter, he did so impatiently beare the disaster of his friend: "It is," answered he, "because this last displeasure may be manifested by weeping, whereas the two former exceed by much, all meanes and compasse to bee expressed by teares." The invention of that ancient Painter might happily fit this purpose, who in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, being to represent the grieve of the by-standers, according to the qualitie and interest each one bare for the death of so faire, so young and innocent a Lady, having ransacked the utmost skill and effects of his art, when he came to the Virgins father, as if no countenance were able to represent that degree of sorrow, he drew him with a vaille over his face. And that is the reason why our Poets faine miserable Niobe, who first having lost seven sonnes, and immediately as many daughters,

as one over-burthened with their losses, to have been transformed into a stone;

*Dirigunt mælis:*¹

And grew as hard as stone,
But miserie and moane.

Thereby to expresse this mournfull silent stupiditie, which so doth pierce us, when accidents surpassing our strength orewhelme us. Verily the violence of a griefe, being extreme, must needs astonie the mind, and hinder the liberty of her actions. As it hapneth at the sudden alarm of some bad tidings, when we shall feele our selves surprised, benumbed, and as it were deprived of all motion, so that the soule bursting afterward forth into teares and complaints, seemeth at more ease and libertie, to loose, to cleare and dilate it selfe.

*Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est:*²

And scarce at last for speech,
By griefe was made a breach.

In the warres which king Ferdinando made against the widow of John king of Hungaria, about Buda; a man at armes was particularly noted of all men, forso-much as in a certaine skirmish he had shewed exceeding prowess of his body, and though unknowne, being slaine, was highly commended and much bemoaned of all; but yet of none so greatly as of a Germane Lord, called Raisciac, as he that was amazed at so rare vertue: his body being recovered and had off, this Lord, led by a common curiositie, drew neere unto it, to see who it might be, and having caused him to be disarmed, perceived him to be his own sonne; which knowne, did greatly augment the compassion of all the camp: he only without framing word, or closing his eyes, but earnestly viewing the dead body of his sonne, stood still upright, till the vehemencie of his sad sorrow, having suppressed and choaked his vitall spirits, fell'd him starke dead to the ground.

*Chi può dir com' egli arde, e in picciol fuoco:*³

He that can say how he doth drie,
In pettie-gentle flames doth lie,

say those Lovers that would lively represent
an intolerable passion.

misero quod omnes

Eripit sensus mihi: Nam simul te
Leobia aspexit, nihil est super mei

Quod loquar amens.

Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus

Flamma dimanat, sonitu suapte

Thiunt aures, gemina teguntur

*Lumina nocte.*⁴

miserably from me
This bersaves all sense: for I can no sooner
Eie thee my sweet heart, but I wot not one word
to speak amazed,
Tongue-tide as in trance, while a sprightly thin
flame

Floues in all my joynts, with a selfe-resounding
Both my eares tingle, with a night redoubled
Both mine eyes are veild.

Nor is it in the liveliest, and most ardent
heat of the fit, that wee are able to display
our plaints and perswasions, the soule being
then aggravated with heaue thoughts, and
the body suppressed and languishing for
love. And thence is sometimes engendered
that casuall faintnes, which so unseasonably
surpriseth passionate Lovers, and that chil-
nesse, which by the

*Cura leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*¹

Light cares can freely speake,
Great cares heart rather breake.

The surprize of an unexpected pleasure
astonieth us alike.

Vt me conspexit venientem, et Troja circum
Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstris,
Dirigit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,
*Labitur, et longo vix tandem tempore fatur.*²

When she beheld me come, and round about
Senselesse saw Trojan armes, she stood afraid
Stone-still at so strange sights: life heat flew out.
She faints: at last, with long pause thus she said.

Besides the Romane Ladie, that died for
joy to see her sonne returne alive from the
battell of Cannæ, Sophocles and Dionysius
the Tyrant, who deceased through over-
gladnes: and Talva, who died in Corsica,
reading the newes of the honours the
Roman Senate had conferred upon him:
It is reported that in our age, Pope Leo the
tenth having received advertisement of the
taking of the Citty of Millane, which he had
so exceedingly desired, entred into such
excesse of joy, that he fell into an ague,
whereof he shortly died. And for a more
authentical testimonie of humane imbecil-
lity, it is noted by our Ancients, that
Diodorus the Logician, being surprized
with an extreme passion or apprehension of
shame, fell down starke dead, because
neither in his Schoole, nor in publique, he
had beene able to resolve an argument pro-
pounded unto him. I am little subject to
these violent passions. I have naturally a
hard apprehension, which by discourse I
daily harden more and more.

¹ Sen. *Hip. Act. ii. Scena 2.*

² Virg. *Æneid. l. iii. 365.*

³ Ovid. *Met. l. vi. 303.*

⁴ Virg. *Æn. l. xi. 151.*

⁵ Petr. p. t. Son. 240. ⁶ Catul. *Epig. xlviii. 5.*

CHAPTER III.

*Our affections are transported beyond
our selves.*

THOSE which still accuse men for ever gaping after future things, and go about to teach us, to take hold of present fortunes, and settle our selves upon them, as having no hold of that which is to come; yea much lesse than we have of that which is already past, touch and are ever harping upon the commonest humane error, if they dare call that an error, to which Nature her selfe, for the service of the continuation of her worke, doth address us, imprinting (as it doth many others) this false imagination in us, as more jealous of our actions, than of our knowledge. We are never in our selves, but beyond. Feare, desire, and hope, draw us ever towards that which is to come, and remove our sense and consideration from that which is, to amuse us on that which shall be, yea when we shall be no more. *Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius.*¹ "A minde in suspense what is to come, is in a pittifull case."

This notable precept is often alleaged in Plato, "Follow thy businesse and know thy selfe;" Each of these two members, doth generally imply all our duty; and likewise enfolds his companion. He that should doe his businesse, might perceive that his first lesson is, to know what he is, and what is convenient for him. And he that knoweth himselfe, takes no more anothers matters for his owne, but above all other things, loveth and correcteth himselfe, rejecteth superfluous occupations, idle imaginations, and unprofitable propositions. As if you grant follie what it desireth, it will no-whit be satisfied; so is wisdom content with that which is present, and never displeased with it selfe. Epicurus doth dispense with his age touching the foresight and care of what shall issue. Amongst the lawes that regard the deceased, that which ties the actions of Princes to be examined when they are dead, seemes to me verie solid. They are companions, if not masters of the lawes: That which justice could not worke on their heads, it is reason it effect upon their reputation, and goods of their successors: things wee many times preferre before our lives. It is a custome brings many singular commodities unto nations that observe it, and to be desired of all good Princes: who have cause to complaine that

the memorie of the wicked is used as theirs. Wee owe a like obedience and subjection to all Kings; for it respects their office: but estimation and affection, we owe it only to their vertue. If they be unworthy, wee are to endure them patiently, to conceale their vices, and to aid their indifferent actions with our commendations, as long as their authoritie hath need of our assistance, and that ought to be ascribed unto politike order. But our commerce with them being ended, there is no reason we should refuse the unfolding of our felt wrongs unto justice and our libertie. And specially to refuse good subjects, the glory to have reverently and faithfully served a master, whose imperfections were so well knowne unto them: exempting posteritie from so profitable an example. And such as for the respect of some private benefit or interest, doe wickedly embrace the memorie of an unworthy Prince, doe particular justice at the charge of publike justice. Titus Livius speaketh truly, where he saith, that the speech of men brought up under a royaltie is ever full of vaine ostentations, and false witnesses; every man indifferently extolling the King, to the furthest straine of valour and soveraigne greatness. The magnanimitie of those two Souldiers may be reproved, one of which being demanded of Nero, why he hated him, answered him to his teeth; I loved thee whilst thou wast worthy of love, but since thou becamest a parricide, a fire-brand, a Juglar, a Player, and a Coach-man, I hate thee, as thou deservest. The other being asked, wherefore he sought to kill him, answered, Because I finde no other course to hinder thy uncessant outrages and impious deeds. But can any man, that hath his senses about him, justly reprove the publike and generall testimonies that since his death have begne given, and so shall be for ever, both against him and all such like reprobates, of his tyrannicall and wicked demeanours? I am sorrie that in so sacred a policie as the Lacedemonian was, so fained and fond a ceremonie at the death of their Kings was ever devised and brought in use. All their confederates and neighbours, all the slave-Helotes, men and women pell-mell, for a testimonie of their grief and sorrow, did mangle and gash their foreheads, and in their out-cries and lamentations exclaimed, that their deceased King, howsoever he had lived, was and had bene the best Prince that ever they had, ascribing in order the commendations due unto desert, and to the last and latter ranke, what belongs unto the first merit. Aristotle that hath an oare in every water, and medleth with all things,

¹ SEN. *Epi.* c8.

makes a question about Solons speech, who saith, that no man can truly be counted happy before his death. Whether he that lived and died according to his wish, may be named happy, whether his renowne be good or ill, and whether his posteritie be miserable or no. Whilst wee stirre and remove, wee transport our selves by pre-occupation wheresoever we list: but no sooner are wee out of being, but wee have no communication at all with that which is. And it were better to tell Solon, that never man is happy then, since he never is so, but when he is no more.

—*Quisquam*

*Vix radicitus à vita se tollit, et efficit:
Sed facit esse sui quiddam super incensum ipse,
Nec remouet satis à projecto corpore sese, et
Vindicat.¹*

Scarce any rids himselfe of life so cleere,
But leaves unwitting some part of him heere:
Nor frees or quits himselfe sufficiently
From that his body which forlorne doth lie.

Bertrand of Glesquin died at the siege of the castle of Rancon, neere unto Puy in Avergne: the besieged yeelding afterwards, were forced to carry the keies of the Castle, upon the deceased of the Captaine. Bartholomew of Alviano, Generall of the Venetian forces dying in their service and wars about Brescia, and his bodie being to be transported to Venice, through the territory of Verona, which then was enemie unto them, the greatest part of the army thought it expedient to demand a safe conduct for their passage of those of Verona, to which Theodoro Trivulcio stoutly opposed himselfe, and chose rather to passe it by maine force, and to hazard the day, saying it was not convenient, that he who in his life time had never apprehended feare of his enemies should now being dead, seeme to feare them. Verily in like matters, by the lawes of Greece, hee that required a dead body of his enemies, with intent to bury the same, renounced the victory, and might no more erect any trophy of it: and he who was so required, purchased the title of honour and gaine. So did Nicias lose the advantage hee had clearly gained of the Corinthians; and contrariwise, Agesilaus assured that, hee doubtfully had gotten of the Boeotians. These actions might bee deemed strange, if in all ages it were not a common-received opinion, not only to extend the care of our selves, beyond this life, but also to beleeve, that heavenly favours doe often accompany us unto our grave, and continue in our posterity. Whereof there are so many examples

(leaving our moderne a part) that I need not wade farre into it.

Edward the first King of England, in the long warre he had with Robert King of Scotland, having by triall found how greatly his presence advantaged the successe of his affaires, and how he was ever victorious in any enterprise he undertooke in his owne person; when hee died, bound his sonne by solemne oath, that being dead he should cause his body to be boyled, untill the flesh fell from the bones, which he should cause to be interred, and carefully keeping the bones, ever carry them about him, whensoever hee should happen to have wars with the Scots: As if destiny had fatally annexed the victory unto his limmes. John Zisca, who for the defence of Wickliff's opinions so much troubled the state of Bohemia, commanded that after his death his body should be flead, and a drum made of his skin, to be carried and sounded in all the wars against his enemies: deeming the sound of it would be a meanes to continue the advantages, which in his former warres hee had obtained of them. Certaine Indians did likewise carry the bones of one of their Captaines in the skirmishes they had with the Spaniards, in regard of the good successe hee had, whilst hee lived, against them: And other nations of that new-found world, doe likewise carry the bodies of such worthy and fortunate men with them, as have died in their battels, to serve them in stead of good fortune and encouragement. The first examples reserve nothing else in their tombes, but the reputation acquired by their former atchievements: but these will also adjoyne unto it the power of working. The act of Captaine Bayard is of better composition, who perceiving himselfe deadly wounded by a shot received in his body, being by his men perswaded to come off and retire himselfe from out the throng, answered, he would not now so neere his end, begin to turne his face from his enemie: and having stoutly foughten so long as he could stand, feeling himselfe to faint and stagger from his horse, commanded his steward to lay him against a tree, but in such sort, that he might die with his face toward the enemie; as indeed hee did. I may not omit this other example, as remarkable for this consideration, as any of the precedent. The Emperour Maximilian, great grand-father to Philip now King of Spaine, was a Prince highly endowed with many noble qualities, and amongst others with a well-nigh matchlesse beauty and comeliness of body; but with other customes of his, hee had this one

¹ LUCRET. *Rer. nat.* l. iii. 924.

much contrarie to other Princes, who to dispatch their weightiest affaires make often their close-stoole their regall Throne or Council-Chamber, which was, that hee would not permit any grooms of his chamber (were hee never so neere about him) to see him in his inner chamber, who if he had occasion but to make water, would as nicely and as religiously with-draw himselfe as any maiden, and never suffer so much as a Physitian, much lesse any other whatsoever, to see those privie parts that all in modestie seeke to keepe secret and unseene. My selfe, that am so broad-mouthed and lavish in speeches, am notwithstanding naturally touched with that bashfulness. And unlesse it bee by the motion of necessity or of voluptuousnesse, I never willingly imparted those actions and parts (which custome willett to bee concealed) to the view of any creature. I endure more compulsion, than I deeme befitting a man, especially of my profession. But hee grew to such superstition, that by expresse words in his last will and Testament, hee commanded, that being dead, hee should have linnen-flops put about them. Hee should by codicille have annexed unto it, that hee who should put them on, might have his eyes hood-winckt. The instruction which Cyrus giveth his children, that neither they nor any other should either see or touch his body, after the breath were once out of it; I ascribe it unto some motive of devotion in him. For both his historian and himselfe, amongst many other notable qualities they are endued with, have throughout all the course of their life seemed to have a singular respect and awfull reverence unto religion. That story displeased me very much, which a noble-man told me of a kinsman of mine (a man very famous and well known both in peace and warre), which is, that dying very aged in his court, being much tormented with extreme pangs of the stone, hee with an earnest and unwearied care, employed all his last houres, to dispose the honour and ceremony of his funerals, and summoned all the nobilitie that came to visit him, to give him assured promise to be as assistants, and to convey him to his last resting place. To the very same Prince, who was with him at his last gasp, he made very earnest suit, he would command all his houshold to wait upon him at his interment, inforcing many reasons, and alleaging divers examples, to prove that it was a thing very convenient, and fitting a man of his qualitie: which assured promise when he had obtained, and had at his pleasure marshalled the order how they should march, he seemed quietly

and contentedly to yeeld up the ghost. I have seldome seen a vanitie continue so long. This other curiositie meere opposite unto it (which to prove I need not labour for home-examples) seemeth in my opinion cosen-german to this, that is, when one is ever ready to breathe his last, carefully and passionately to endeavour how to reduce the convoy of his obsequies unto some particular and unwonted parcimonie, to one servant and to one lanterne. I heare the humour and appointment of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus commended, who expressly forbade his heires to use those ceremonies about his interment, which in such cases were formerly accustomed. Is it temperance and frugallitie, to avoid charge and voluptuousnesse, the use and knowledge of which is imperceptible unto us? Loe here an easie reformation, and of small cost. Were it requisite to appoint any, I would be of opinion, that as well in that, as in all other actions of man's life, every man should referre the rule of it to the qualitie of his fortune. And the Philosopher Lycon did wisely appoint his friends to place his body where they should thinke it fittest and for the best: and for his obsequies, they should neither be superfluous, and over-costly, nor base and sparing. For my part, I would wholly relie on custome, which should dispose this ceremonie, and would yeeld my selfe to the discretion of the first or next into whose hands I might chance to fall. *Totus hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non negligendus in nostris.*¹ "All this matter should be despised of us, but not neglected of ours." And religiously said a holy man; *Curatio funeris, conditio sepulture, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum.*² "The procuration of funerals, the manner of buriall, the pomp of obsequies, are rather comforts to the living, than helps to the dead." Therefore Socrates answered Criton, who at the houre of his death asked him how he would be buried: Even as you please, said he. Were I to meddle further with this subject, I would deeme it more gallant to imitate those who yet living and breathing, undertake to enjoy the order and honour of their sepulchres, and that please themselves to behold their dead countenance in marble. Happy they that can rejoyce and gratifie their senses with insensibilitie, and live by their death! A little thing would make me conceive an inexpiable hatred against all popular domination; although it seeme most

¹ CICERO, *Tusc. Quest.* i. 45.

² AUG. *Civ. Dei*, l. i. c. 19, verb. apost. ser. 39.

naturall and just unto me ; when I call to minde that inhumane injustice of the Athenians, who without further triall or remission, yea without suffering them so much as to reply or answer for themselves, condemned those noble and worthy Capitaines, that returned victoriously from the sea-battell, which they (neere the Iles Arginusæ) had gained of the Lacedæmonians ; the most contested, bloodie and greatest fight the Grecians ever obtained by sea with their owne forces : forsomuch as after the victory, they had rather followed those occasions, which the law of warre presented unto them, for their availle, than to their prejudice staid to gather and bury their dead men. And the successe of Diomedon makes their ruthlesse execution more hatefull, who being a man of notable and exemplar vertue, both military and politike, and of them so cruelly condemned ; after he had heard the bloody sentence, advancing himselfe forward to speake, having fit opportunitie and plausible audience ; he, I say, in stead of excusing himselfe, or endeavouring to justify his cause, or to exasperate the evident iniquity of so cruell a doome, expressed but a care of the Judges preservation, earnestly beseeching the Gods to turne that judgement to their good, praying that for want of not satisfying the vowes which hee and his companions had vowed in acknowledgement and thanksgiving for so famous a victory, and honourable fortune, they might not draw the wrath and revenge of the Gods upon them, declaring what their vowes were. And without more words, or urging further reasons, courageously addressed himselfe to his execution. But fortune some yeares after punished him alike, and made him taste of the verie same sauce. For Chabrias, Capitaine Generall of their sea-fleet, having afterward obtained a famous victory of Pollis, Admirall of Sparta, in the Ile of Naxos, lost absolutely the benefit of it, and onely contented with the day (a matter of great consequence for their affaires) fearing to incur the mischief of this example, and to save a few dead carcasses of his friends, that floated up and downe the sea, gave leasure to an infinite number of his living enemies, whom he might easily have surprized to sail away in safety, who afterward made them to purchase their importunate superstition, at a deere-deere rate.

*Quæris, quæ factas, post obitum, loco ?
Quo non nata jacent.*¹

¹ SEN. TRAC. chor. il. 30.

Where shall you lie when you are dead ?
Where they lye that were never bred.

This other restores the sense of rest unto a body without a soule,

Neque sepulchrum, quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis.

*Vbi remissa humana vita, corpus requiescat à malis.*¹

To turne in as a hav'n, have he no grave,
Where life left, from all griefe he rest may have.

Even as Nature makes us to see, that many dead things have yet certaine secret relations unto life. Wine doth alter and change in sellers, according to the changes and alterations of the seasons of its vineyard. And the flesh of wilde beasts and venison doth change qualitie and taste in the powdering-tubs, according to the nature of living flesh, as some say that have observed it.

CHAPTER IV.

How the soule dischargeth her passions upon false objects, when the true faile it.

A GENTLEMAN of ours exceedingly subject to the gowt, being instantly solicited by his Physitions, to leave all manner of salt-meats, was wont to answer pleasantly, that when the fits or pangs of the disease tooke him, hee would have some body to quarrell with ; and that crying and cursing, now against Bolonie-sausage, and sometimes by railing against salt neats-tongues, and gammons of bakon, he found some ease. But in good earnest even as the arme being lifted up to strike, if the stroke hit not, but fall void, wee feele some paine in it, and many times strike it out of joynt ; and that to yeeld our sight pleasant, it must not be lost and dispierced in the vast ayre, but ought rather to have a limited bound to sustaine it by a reasonable distance.

*Ventus ut amittit vires, nisi robore dense
Occurrant silvæ, spatio diffusus inani.*²

As windes in emptie ayre diffus'd, strength lose,
Unless thick-old-growne woods their strength oppose.

So seemes it that the soule moved and tossed, if she have not some hold to take, loseth it selfe in it selfe, and must ever be stored with some object, on which it may light and worke. Plutarch saith fitly of those who affectionate themselves to Monies and little Dogges, that the loving part which is in us, for want of a lawfull hold,

² CIC. TRAC. QU. L. I. ENCI. ³ LUCAN. l. iii. 362.

rather than it will be idle, doth forge a false and frivolous hold unto itselfe. And wee see that the soule in her passions doth rather deceive itselfe, by framing a false and fantastical subject unto itselfe, yea against her owne conceit, than not to worke upon something. So doth their owne rage transport beasts, to set upon the stone or weapon that hath hurt them; yea and sometimes with irefull teeth to revenge themselves against themselves, for the hurt or smart they feelee.

*Pannonis haud aliter post utrum saevior ursae
Cui jaculum parva Lybis amentavit habena.
Se rotat in vulnus, telumque irata receptum
Impetit, et secum fugientem circuit hastam.*¹

Even so the wound-enraged Austrian beare,
On whom a Moore hath thir'd his slinged
speare,
Wheeles on her wound, and raging bites the
dart,
Circling that flies with her, and cannot part.

What causes doe wee not invent, for the crosses that happen unto us? be it right, or wrong: what take we not hold of, to have something to strive withall? It is not the golden locks thou tearest, nor the whitenesse of the breast, which thou through vexation so cruelly dost smite, that have by means of an unluckie bullet, lost thy deere-beloved brother: on something else shouldest thou wreake thyselfe. Livius speaking of the Romane army in Spaine, after the losse of two great Captaines that were brethren. *Flere omnes repente, et offensare capita:*² "They all wept and often beat their heades." It is an ordinarie custome: And the philosopher Byon was very pleasant with the king, that for griefe tore his haire, when he said, "Doth this man thinke, that baldnesse will assuage his griefe? who hath not seene some to chew and swallow cardes, and wel-nigh choake themselves with bales of dice, only to be revenged for the losse of some money?" Xerxes whipped the Sea, and writ a cartell of defiance to the hill Athos: And Cyrus for many daies together amused his whole armie to be revenged of the river Gyndus, for the feare he tooke passing over the same: And Caligula caused a verie faire house to be defaced, for the pleasure his mother had received in the same. When I was young, my countremen were wont to say, That one of our neighbour-Kings, having received a blow at Gods hand, sware to be revenged on him, and ordained, that for ten yeares space no man should pray unto him, nor speak of him, nor (so long as he were in authority), beleeve in him. By which report, they doe

not so much publish the sottishnesse, as the ambitious glorie, peculiar unto that nation of whom it was spoken. They are vices that ever goe together: But in truth such actions encline rather unto selfe-conceit, than to fondnes. Augustus Caesar having beene beaten by a tempest on the sea, defied the God Neptune, and in the celebration of the Circensian games, that so he might be avenged on him, he caused his image to be removed from out the place, where it stood amongst the other Gods; wherein he is also lesse excusable, than the former, and lesse than hee was afterward, when having lost a battell, under Quintilius Varus in Germanie, all in a rage and desperate, he went up and downe beating his head against the walls, mainly crying out: "Oh! Varus, restore me my Souldiers againe:" For, those exceed, all follie (forsomuch as impietie is joyned unto it) that will wreake themselves against God, or fortune, as if she had eares subject to our batterie: In imitation of the Thracians, who when it lightens or thunders, begin with a Titanian revenge to shoot against heaven, thinking by shooting of arrowes to draw God to some reason. Now, as saith that ancient Poet in Plutarch,

*Poet ne se fait courroucer aux affaires,
Il ne leur chant de toutes nos coleres.*¹

We ought not angry be at what God dooth,
For he cares not who beares an angry tooth.

But we shall never raile enough against the disorder and unrulinesse of our minde.

CHAPTER V.

*Whether the Captaine of a place besieged
ought to sallie forth to parlie.*

LUCIUS MARCIUS Legate of the Romans, in the warre against Perseus King of Macedon, desirous to get so much time, as he wanted to prepare his army, gave out some motives of accord, wherewith the king inveigled, yielded unto a truce for certaine daies: by which meanes he furnished his enemy with opportunitie and leasure to arme himselfe: whereof proceeded the Kings last ruine and overthrow. Yet is it, that the elders of the Senate, mindfull of their fore-fathers customes, condemned this practice as an enemy to their ancient proceedings, which was,

¹ PLUTAR. *Of Contentment*, ch. iv. in Amyot's transl.

² LUCAN, lib. vi. 220. ³ LIV. Dec. iii. lib. 5.

said they, to fight with vertue, and not with craft, nor by surprises, or stratagems by night, nor by set-flights, and unlookt-for approaches, never undertaking a warre, but after it was proclaimed, yea many times after the appointed houre and place of the battell. With this conscience did they send backe to Pirrhus his traitorous Physitian, and to the Phalisci theif disloyall schoole-master. These were true Romane proceedings, and not Grecian policies, nor Punike wiles, with whom to vanquish by force is lesse glorious than to conquer by treacherie. To deceive may serve for the instant, but hee only is judged to be overcome, that knowes he was not vanquished by craft or deceit, nor by fortune or chance, but by meere valour, betweene troupe and troupe, in an overt and just warre. It appeareth manifestly by the speech of these good men, they had not yet received this sentence.

——*Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?*¹

Deceit, or vertue, either, in foes, it skills not whether.

The Achajans, saith Polibius, detested all manner of deceit in their warres, deeming that no victorie, where their enemies courages were not quelled. *Eam vir sanctus, et sapiens sciat esse victoriam veram, quæ salva fide, et integra dignitate parabitur.* "A wise and religious man will know that is victorie indeed, which shall be attained with credit unimpeached, and dignitie untainted," saith another.

*Vos ne velit, an me regnare hera, quid-ve ferit fors, Virtute experiamur.*²

If fortune will have you to raigne, or me, And what chance brings, let vertue's triall be,

In the Kingdome of Ternates, among those nations, which wee so full-mouthed, call Barbarous, the custome beareth, that they never undertake a warre, before the same be denounced; thereunto adding an ample declaration of the meanes they have to employ therein, what manner, and how many men, what munition, and what Armes either offensive or defensive: which done, they also establish as a law, that without reproach or imputation, it shall be lawfull for any man, in their warres, to use what advantage soever, may in any sort further or help them to vanquish. The

ancient Florentines were so far from desiring any advantage of their enemies by sudden surprises, that a moneth before they could bring their Armie into the field, they would give them warning, by the continuall sound of their common bell, which they called Martinella. As for us, who are lesse superstitious, and deeme him to have the honour of the warre, that hath the profit of it, and according to Lisander, say, that "Where the Lions-skinne will not suffice, wee must adde a scantling of the Foxes;" the most ordinarie occasions of surprises are drawne from this practice, and as wee say, there is no time, wherein a Capitaine ought to be more warie and circumspect to looke about him, than that of parlies, and treaties of accord: And therefore is it a common rule in the mouth of all our modern men of warre, that the Governour or Commaunder of a besieged place, ought never to sallie forth himselfe to parlie. In the time of our forefathers, the same was cast in the teeth (as a reproach) unto the Lord of Montmord and Assigni, who defended Mouson, against the Earle of Nanseaw. Yet in this case it were excusable in him, that should so sallie out, that the assurance and advantage, might still be on his side. As did the Earls Guido Rangoni in the Citie of Reggio (if credit may be given to Bellay: for Guicciardin affirmeth, that it was himselfe) when as the Lord of Escute, comming to parlie made his approaches unto it; for he did so little forsake his fort, that whilst they were in parlie, a commotion being raised, the Lord of Escute and the troupes which came with him, in that tumult found himselfe to be the weakest, so that Alexander Trivulzio was there slaine, and hee deeming it the safest way, was forced to follow the Earle, and on his word to yeeld himselfe to the mercie and shelter of blowes, into the Citie. Eumenes in the Citie of Nera, being urged by Antigonus, that besieged him, to sallie forth to parlie, alleging that there was reason he should come to him, sith he was the better man, and the stronger: after he had made this noble answer, "I will never thinke any man better than myselfe, so long as I can hold or rule my sword;" nor did he ever yeeld untill Antigonus had delivered him Ptolomey, his owne nephew for a pledge, whom he required. Yet shall wee see some to have prospered well in sallying foorth of their holdes to parlie, upon the word and honor of the assaiant; witnes Henrie of Vaulx, a knight of Champaigne, who being beleagred by the English-men in the Castle of Commerce, and Bartholmew of Bones, who at that siege commaunded as Chiefe having caused the greatest part of the Castle

¹ Vir. Ill. l. ii. 390.

² Cic. Offic. l. i. ex Enn. de Pyrrh.

to be undermined, so that there wanted nothing but the giving of fire, utterly to subvert the same, under the ruines of it, summoned the said Henrie to issue out, and for his owne good to parlie with him, which he did, accompanied but with three more, who manifestly seeing the evident ruine, wherein he was undoubtedly like to fall, acknowledged himselfe infinitely beholding to his enemy, unto whose discretion, after he had yeelded together with his troupe, and that fire was given to the Mine, the maine props of the Castle failing, it was utterly overthrowne and carried away. I am easily perswaded to yeeld to other mens words and faith, but hardly would I doe it, when I should give other men cause to imagine, that I had rather done it through despaire and want of courage, than of a free and voluntary choise, and confidence in his honestie and well-meaning.

CHAPTER VI.

That the houre of parties is dangerous.

NOTWITHSTANDING I saw lately, that those of Musidan, a place not farre from mee, who with others of their partie, were by our forces compelled to dislodge thence, exclaimed, they were betrayed, because during the speech of accord, and the treatie yet continuing, they had bene surprized and defeated; which thing might haply in other ages have had some apparence of truth; but, as I say, our manner of proceeding in such cases, is altogether differing from these rules, and no man ought to expect performance of promise from an enemy, except the last seale of bond be fully annexed thereunto, wherein notwithstanding is then much care and vigilance required, and much adoe shall be found. And it was ever a dangerous counsell to trust the performance of word or oath given unto a Citie, that yeelds unto gentle and favourable composition, and in that furie to give the needie, bloudthirstie, and prey-greedy Souldier free entrance into it, unto the free choise and licence of a victorious armie. Lucius Æmilius Regillus a Romane Prætor, having lost his time in attempting by force to take the Citie of the Phocens by reason of the singular prowess, which the inhabitants shewed, in stoutly defending themselves, covenanted to receive them as friends unto the people of Rome, and to enter their Citie as a place confeder-

ate, removing all feare of hostile-action from them. But to the end hee might appeare more glorious and dreadfull, having caused his armie to enter with him, doe what he might, he could not bridle the rage of his Souldiers; and with his owne eyes saw most part of the Citie ransacked and spoiled: the rights of covetousnesse and revenge supplanting those of his authoritie and militarie discipline. Cleomenes was wont to say, that "What hurt soever a man might doe his enemies in time of warre, was beyond justice, and not subject unto it, as well towards the Gods as towards men;" who for seven dayes having made truce with those of Argos, the third night, whilst they were all asleepe mistrusting no harme, hee charged and overthrow them, alleaging for his excuse, that in the truce no mention had bene made of nights. But the Gods left not his perfidious policie unrevenge: For during their enter-parlie and businesse about taking hostages, the Citie of Casilinum was by surprise taken from him: which happened in the times of the justest Captaines, and of the most perfect Romane discipline: For it is not said, that time and place serving, wee must not make use and take advantage of our enemies foolish oversight, as we doe of their cowardice. And verily warre hath naturally many reasonable privileges to the prejudice of reason. And here failes the rule; *Neminem id agere, ut ex alterius prædetur inscitia*:¹ "That no man should endeavour to prey upon another mans ignorance." But I wonder of the scope that Xenophon allows them, both by his discourse, and by divers exploits of his perfect Emperour: an Author of wonderfull consequence in such things, as a great Captaine and a Philosopher, and one of Socrates chiefeest Disciples, nor doe I altogether yeeld unto the measure of his dispensation. The Lord of Aubigny besieging Capua, after he had given it a furious batterie, the Lord Fabritius Colonna, Captaine of the towne, having from under a bastion or skonce begunne to parlie, and his men growing negligent and carelesse in their offices and guard, our men did suddenly take the advantage offered them, entered the towne, over-ranne it, and put all to the sword. But to come to later examples, yea in our memorie, the Lord Iulio Romero at Vvoy, having committed this oversight to issue out of his holde, to parlie with the Constable of France, at his returne found the Towne taken, and himselfe jack-out-of-doors. But that wee may not passe unrevenge, the Marques of Pescara

¹ Cic. Offic. l. iii.

beleaguering Genova, where Duke Octavian Fregoso commanded under our protection, and an accord between them having so long been treated, and earnestly solicited, that it was held as ratified, and upon the point of conclusion, the Spaniards being entred the Towne, and seeing themselves the stronger, tooke their opportunitie, and used it as a full and compleate victorie: and since at Lygny in Barroe, where the Earle of Brienne commanded, the Emperour having besieged him in person, and Bartholemie Lieutenant to the saide Earle, being come forth of his hold to parlie, was no sooner out, whilst they were disputing, but the Towne was surprised, and he excluded, They say,

*Fu il vincere sempre mai laudabil cosa,
Vincasi ò per fortuna ò per ingegno.¹*

To be victorious, evermore was glorious,
Be we by fortune or by wit victorious.

But the Philosopher Chrysippus would not have beene of that opinion; nor I neither, for he was wont to say, "That those who run for the masterie may well employ all their strength to make speed, but it is not lawfull for them to lay hands on their adversaries, to stay him, or to crosse legges, to make him trip or fall." And more generously answered Alexander the Great, at what time Polypercon perswaded him to use the benefit of the advantage which the darknesse of the night afforded him, to charge Darius. "No, no," said hee, "it fits not mee to hunt after night-stolne victories; *malò me fortune peniteat, quam victoriæ pudeat.*² I had rather repent me of my fortune, than be ashamed of my victorie.

*Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus
Orolem*

*Sternere, nec jacta cæcum dare cuspidè vulnus:
Obvius adversoque occurrit, sequè viro vir
Contulit, haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis.³*

He deign'd not to strike downe Orodes flying,
Or with his throwne-launce blindly wound him running:

But man to man afront himselfe applying,
Met him, as more esteem'd for strength than cunning.

CHAPTER VII.

That our intention judgeth our actions.

THE common saying is, that "Death acquits us of all our bonds." I know some that have taken it in another sense. Henry the seventh, King of Eng-

land, made a composition with Philip, son to Maximilian the Emperour or (to give him a more honorable title) father to the Emperour Charles the fifth, that the said Philip should deliver into his hands the Duke of Suffolke, his mortall enemy, who was fled out of England, and saved himselfe in the Low countries, alwayes provided the King should attempt nothing against the Dukes life; which promise notwithstanding, being neere his end, he expressly by will and testament commanded his succeeding-sonne, that immediately after his decease, he should cause him to be put to death. In the late tragedie, which the Duke of Alva presented us withall at Brussels, on the Earles of Horne and Egmond, were many remarkable things, and worthy to be noted: and amongst others, that the said Count Egmond upon whose faithfull word and assurance, the Earle of Horne was come in and yielded himselfe to the Duke of Alva, required very instantly to be first put to death, to the end his death might acquit and free him of the word and bond, which he ought and was engaged for, to the said Earle of Horne. It seemeth that death hath no whit discharged the former of his word given, and that the second, without dying was quit of it. We cannot be tied beyond our strength and meanes. The reason is, because the effects and executions are not any way in our power, and except our will, nothing is truly in our power: on it only are all the rules of man's dutie grounded and established by necessitie. And therefore Count Egmond, deeming his minde and will indebted to his promise, howbeit the power to effect it, lay not in his hands, was no doubt cleerely absolved of his debt and dutie, although he had survived the Count Horne. But the King of England failing of his word by his intention, cannot be excused, though hee delaye the execution of his disloyaltie untill after his death. No more than Herodotus his Mason who during his naturall life, having faithfully kept the secret of his Master the King of Egypts treasure, when he died discovered the same unto his children. I have in my dayes seene many convicted by their owne conscience, for detaining other men's goods, yet by their last will and testament to dispose themselves, after their decease to make satisfaction. This is nothing to the purpose. Neither to take time for a matter so urgent, nor with so small interest or shew of feeling, to goe about to establish an injurie. They are indebted somewhat more. And by how much more they pay incommodiously and chargeably, so much the more just and

¹ ARIST. cant. xv. stan. 1. ² CURT. l. iv.

³ LING. &c. l. x. 732.

meritorious is their satisfaction. Penitence ought to charge, yet doe they worse, who reserve the revealing of some heinous conceit or affection towards their neighbour, to their last will and affection, having whilst they lived ever kept it secret. And seeme to have little regard of their owne honour, by provoking the partie offended against their owne memory, and lesse of their conscience, since they could never for the respect of death cancell their ill-grudging affection, and in extending life beyond theirs. Oh wicked and ungodly judges, which referre the judgement of a cause to such time as they have no more knowledge of causes! I will as neere as I can prevent, that my death reveale or utter any thing, my life hath not first publikey spoken.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of Idleness.

AS we see some idle-fallow grounds, if they be fat and fertile, to bring fourth store and sundry roots of wilde and unprofitable weeds, and that to keep them in ure we must subject and imploy them with certain seeds for our use and service; and as wee see some women, though single and alone, often to bring fourth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and naturall generation, they must be manured with another kinde of seed; so is it of mindes, which except they be busied about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them under, they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vast field of imaginations.

*Sicut aqua tremulum labris ubi lumen alienis
Sole repercussum, aut radiantis imagine Lunæ,
Omnia pervolitat latè loca, jamque sub auris
Erigitur, summiq; ferit laquearia tecti.*¹

As trembling light reflected from the Sunne,
Or radiant Moone on water-fild brasse lavers,
Flies over all, in aire unpraised soone,
Strikes house-top beames, betwixt both strangely
wavers.

And there is no folly, or extravagant
raving, they produce not in that agitation.

*velut agri somnia, vana
Finguntur species.*²

Like sicke mens dreames, that feigne
Imaginations vaine.

The minde that hath no fixed bound, will

easily loose itselfe: For, as we say, "To be everiewhere, is to be nowhere."

*Quisquis ubique habitat, Maxime, nusquam
habitat.*¹

Good sir, he that dwels everywhere,
No where can say, that he dwels there.

It is not long since I retired myselfe unto mine owne house, with full purpose, as much as lay in me, not to trouble myselfe with any businesse, but solitarily and quietly to weare out the remainder of my well-nigh-spent life; where me thought I could doe my spirit no greater favour, that to give him the full scope of idlenesse, and entertaine him as he best pleased, and withall, to settle himselfe as he best liked: which I hoped he might now, being by time become more settled and ripe, accomplish very easily: but I finde,

*Variam semper dant otia mentem.*²

Evermore idlenesse,
Doth wavering mindes addresse.

That contrariwise playing the skittish and loose-broken jade, he takes a hundred times more cariere and libertie unto himselfe, than hee did for others, and begets in me so many extravagant Chimeraes, and fantasticall monsters, so orderlesse, and without any reason, one huddling upon another, that at leisure to view the foolishnesse and monstrous strangenesse of them, I have begun to keepe a register of them, hoping, if I live, one day to make him ashamed, and blush at himselfe.

CHAPTER IX.

Of Lyers.

THERE is no man living, whom it may lesse beseme to speake of memorie, than myselfe, for to say truth, I have none at all: and am fully perswaded that no mans can be so weake and forgetfull as mine. All other parts are in me common and vile, but touching memorie, I thinke to carrie the prise from all other, that have it weakest, nay and to gaine the reputation of it, besides the naturall want I endure (for truly considering the necessitie of it, Plato hath reason to name it a great and mighty goddess). In my countrie, if a man will imply that one hath no sense, he will say, such a one hath no memorie: and when I complaine of mine, they reprove me, and

¹ MART. l. vii. Epig. 72, 6.

² LUCAN. l. iv. 704.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. viii. 28. ² HOR. *Art. Poet.* vii.

will not beleeve me, as if I accused mysele to be mad and senselesse. They make no difference betweene memorie and wit: which is an empairing of my market: But they doe me wrong, for contrariwise it is commonly seene by experience, that excellent memories do rather accompany weake judgements. Moreover they wrong me in this (who can do nothing so well as to be a perfect friend) that the same words which accuse my infirmitie, represent ingratitude. From my affection they take hold of my memorie, and of a naturall defect, they infera want of judgement or conscience. Some will say, he hath forgotten this entreaty or request, or that promise, he is not mindfull of his old friends, he never remembered to say, or doe, or conceale this or that, for my sake. Verily I may easily forget, but to neglect the charge my friend hath committed to my trust, I never do it. Let them beare with my infirmitie, and not conclude it to be a kind of malice; which is so contrarie an enemy to my humor. Yet am I somewhat comforted, First, because it is an evil, from which I have chieflie drawne the reason to correct a worse mischiefe, that would easily have growne upon me, that is to say, ambition; which defect is intolerable in them that meddle with worldly negotiations. For as divers like examples of natures progresse, say, she hath happily strengthened other faculties in me, according as it hath growne weaker and weaker in me, and I should easily lay downe and wire-draw my miude and judgement, upon other mens traces, without exercising their proper forces, if by the benefit of memorie, forren inventions and strange opinions were present with me. That my speech is thereby shorter: for the Magazin of Memorie is peradventure more stored with matter, than is the store-house of Invention. Had it held out with me, I had ere this wearied all my friends with prattling: the subjects rousing the meane facultie I have to manage and employ them, strengthening and wresting my discourses. It is pitie; I have assayed by the trial of some of my private friends: according as their memory hath ministered them a whole and perfect matter, who recoil their narration so farre-backe, and stuff it with so many vaine circumstances, that if the story bee good, they smother the goodness of it: if bad, you must needs either curse the good fortune of their memorie, or blame the misfortune of their judgement. And it is no easie matter, being in the midst of the carriere of a discourse, to stop cunningly, to make a sudden period, and to cut it off. And there is nothing whereby the cleane strength of a horse is more knowne, than to

make a readie and cleane stop. Among the skilfull I see some that strive, but cannot stay their race. Whilist they labour to finde the point to stop their course, they stagger and falter, as men that faint through weaknesse. Above all, old men are dangerous, who have onely the memorie of things past left them, and have lost the remembrance of their repetitions. I have heard some very pleasant reports become most irkesome and tedious in the mouth of a certaine Lord, forsomuch as all the bystanders had many times bene cloyed with them. Secondly (as said an ancient Writer) that I doe not so much remember injuries received. I had need have a prompter as Darius had, who not to forget the wrong he had received of the Athenians, whensoever he sate downe at his table, caused a page to sing unto him, "Sir, remember the Athenians," and that the places or bookes which I read over, do ever smile upon me with some new noveltie. It is not without reason, men say, that he who hath not a good and readie memorie should never meddle with telling of lies, and feare to become a liar. I am not ignorant how the Gram-marians make a difference betweene speaking untrue and lying; and say that to speake untruly is to speake that which is false, but was reputed true; and that the definition of the Latin word, *mentiri*, whence the French word, *mentir*, is derived, which in English is to lie, implieth and meaneth to goe against ones conscience: and by consequence it concerneth onely those, who speake contrary to that which they know, of whom I speake. Now, these, either invent, seale, stampe and all, or else they disguise and change a true ground. When they disguise or change, if they be often put to the repetition of one thing, it is hard for them to keepe still in one path, and very strange if they lose not themselves: because the thing, as it is, having first taken up her stand in the memory, and there by the way of knowledge and witting, imprinted itselfe, it were hard it should not represent itselfe to the imagination, displacing and supplanting falshood, which therein can have no such footing, or settled fastnesse; and that the circumstances of the first learning, still diving into the minde, should not cause it to disperse the remembrance of all false or bastardizing parts gotten together. Where they altogether invent, forsomuch as there is no certaine impression, to front their falshood, they seeme to have so much the lesser feare to mistake or forget themselves, which also notwithstanding being a aire bodie, and without hold-fast, may easily escape the memorie, except it be well assured,

whereof I have often (to my no small pleasure) seene the experience, at the cost of those, who professe never to frame their speech, but as best shall fit the affaires they negotiate, and as best shall please the great men they speak unto. For the circumstances to which they will subject their credit and conscience, being subject to many changes, their speech must likewise diversifie and change with them, whence it followeth that of one selfesame subject they speak diversly, as now yellow, now gray, to one man thus, and thus to another. And if peradventure these kind of men board-up their so contrarie instructions, what becomes of this goodly art? Who besides, often most foolishly forget themselves, and run at random: For what memorie shall suffice them, to remember so many different formes they have framed to one same subject? I have in my dayes seene divers that have envied the reputation of this worthy kind of wisdom, who perceive not, that if there be a reputation, there can be no effect. Verily, lying is an ill and detestable vice. Nothing makes us men, and no other meanes keeps us bound one to another, but our word; knew we but the horror and waight of it, we would with fire and sword pursue and hate the same, and more justly than any other crime. I see all men generally busied (and that verie improperly) to punish certaine innocent errors in children, which have neither impression nor consequence, and chastice and vex them for rash and fond actions. Onely lying, and stubbornnesse somewhat more, are the faults whose birth and progresse I would have severely punished and cut off; for they grow and increase with them: and if the tongue have once gotten this ill-habit, good Lord how hard, nay how impossible it is to make her leave it? whereby it ensueth, that we see many very honest men in other matters, to bee subject and enthralled to that fault. I have a good lad to my taylor, whom I never heard speak a truth, no not when it might stand him instead of profit. If a lie had no more faces but one, as truth hath, we should be in farre better termes than we are: For whatsoever a liar should say, we would take it in a contrarie sense. But the opposite of truth hath many many shapes, and an undefinite field. The Pythagoreans make good to be certaine and finite and evile to be infinite and uncertain. A thousand by-ways misse the marke, one onely hits the same. Surely I can never assure myselfe to come to a good end, to warrant an extreme and evident danger, by a shamelesse and solemne lie.

An ancient Father saith, "We are better in the companie of a knowne dogge, than

in a mans societie, whose speech is unknowne to us. *Ut externus alieno non sit hominis vice.*" "A stranger to a stranger is not like a man." And how much is a false speech lesse sociable than silence? King Francis the first, vaunted himselfe to have by this meanes brought Francis Taverna, ambassador to Francis Sforza, Duke of Millane, to a non-plus; a man very famous for his rare eloquence, and facilitie in speech, who had bene dispatched to excuse his master, toward his Majestie, of a matter of great importance, which was this. The King to keepe ever some intelligence in Italy, whence he had lately bene expelled, but especially in the Dukedome of Millane, thought it expedient to entertaine a Gentleman of his about the Duke, in effect as his Ambassador, but in apparence as a private man; who should make shew to reside there about his particular affaires, forsomuch as the Duke, who depended much more of the Emperour (chiefly then that he was treating a marriage with his niece, daughter of the King of Denmarke, who is at this day Dowager of Loraine) could not without great prejudice unto himselfe discover to have any correspondence and conference with us. For which commission and purpose a Gentleman of Millane, named Merveille, then serving the King in place of one of the Quiers of his Querie, was deemed fit. This man being dispatched with secret letters of credence, and instructions of an Ambassador, together with other letters of commendation to the Duke in favour of his particular affaires, as a maske and pretence of his proceedings, continued so long about the Duke, that the Emperour began to have some suspicion of him; which as we suppose was cause of what ensued, which was, that under colour of a murder committed, the Duke one night caused the said Merveille to be beheaded, having ended his processe in two dayes. Master Francis being come to the Court, fraught with a long counterfet deduction of this storie (for the King had addressed himselfe to all the Princes of Christendome, yea and to the Duke himselfe for justice, for such an outrage committed upon his servant) had one morning audience in the Kings councill-chamber: who for the foundation of his cause having established and to that end projected many goodly and colourable apperances of the fact: namely, that the Duke his Master had never taken Merveille for other than a private gentleman, and his owne subject, and who was come thither about his private busines, where he had never lived under other name,

protesting he had never knowne him to be one of the King's household, nor never heard of him, much lesse taken him for his Majesties Agent. But the King urging him with divers objections and demands, and charging him on every side, prest him so farre with the execution done by night, and as it were by stealth, that the seely man, being much entangled and suddenly surprised, as if he would set an innocent face on the matter, answered, that for the love and respect of his Majestie, the Duke his Master would have beene very loth that such an execution should have beene done by day. Heere every man may guesse whether he were taken short or no, having tripped before so goodly a nose, as was that of our King Francis the first. Pope Iulius the second, having sent an Ambassador to the King of England to animate him against our foresaid King: the Ambassador having had audience touching his charge, and the King in his answer urging and insisting upon the difficultie he found and foresaw in levying such convenient forces, as should be required to withstand so mightie, and set upon so puissant a King, and alleaging certaine pertinent reasons: The Ambassador fondly and unfitly replied, that himselfe had long before maturely considered them, and had told the Pope of them. By which answer so farre from his proposition (which was with all speed, and without more circumstances to undertake and undergoe a dangerous warre) the King of England tooke hold of the first argument which in effect he afterward found true, which was, that the said Ambassador, in his owne particular intent, was more affected to the French side, whereof advertising his Master, his goods were all confiscate, himselfe disgraced, and he very hardly escaped with life.

CHAPTER X.

Of readie or slow Speech.

On ne furent à tous toutes graces donnees.

All God's good graces are not gone
To all, or of all any one.

SO doe we see that in the gift of eloquence, some have such a facility and promptitude, and that which we call utterance, so easie and at command, that at all assaies, and upon everie occasion, they are ready and provided; and others more slow, never speake anything except much laboured and premeditated, as Ladies and daintie Dames are taught rules to take recreations

and bodily exercises, according to the advantage of what they have fairest about them. If I were to give the like counsel, in those two different advantages of eloquence whereof Preachers and pleading-lawyers of our age seeme to make profession; the slow speaker in mine opinion should be the better preacher, and the other the better lawier. Forsomuch as charge of the first allowes him as much leisure as he pleaseth to prepare himselfe; moreover his carriere continueth still in one kinde without interruption: whereas the Lawyers occasions urging him still upon any accident to be ready to enter the lists: and the unexpected replies and answers of his adverse partie, do often divert him from his purpose, wher he is enforced to take a new course. Yet is it, that at the last interview which was at Marseilles betwene Pope Clement the seventh, and Francis the first, our King, it hapned cleane contrarie, where Monsieur Poyet, a man of chiefe reputation, and all dayes of his life brought up to plead at the bar, whose charge being to make an Oration before the Pope, and having long time before premeditated and con'd the same by roat, yea, and as some report, brought it with him ready penned from Paris; the very same day it should have beene pronounced; the Pope suspecting he might haply speak something, might offend the other Princes Ambassadors, that were about him, sent the argument, which he at that time and place thought fittest to be treated of, to the King, but by fortune cleane contrarie to that which Poyet, had so much studied for: So that his Oration was altogether frustrate, and he must presently frame another. But he perceiving himselfe unable for it, the Cardinall Bellay was faine to supply his place and take that charge upon him. The Lawyers charge is much harder than the Preachers: yet in mine opinion shall we find more passable Lawyers than commendable Preachers, at least in France. It seemeth to be more proper to the mind to have her operation ready and sudden, and more incident to the judgement, to have it slow and considerate. But who remaineth mute, if he have no leisure to prepare himselfe, and he likewise to whom leisure giveth no advantage to say better, are both in one selfe degree of strangenesse. It is reported that Severus Cassius spake better extempore, and without premeditation. That he was more beholding to fortune, than to his diligence; that to be interrupted in his speech redounded to his profit: and that his adversaries feared to urge him, lest his sudden anger should redouble his eloquence. I know this con-

dition of nature by experience, which cannot abide a vehement and laborious premeditation: except it hold a free, a voluntarie, and self pleasing course, it can never come to a good end. We commonly say of some compositions, that they smell of the oile, and of the lampe, by reason of a certaine harshnesse, and rudenesse, which long plodding labour imprints in them that be much elaborated. But besides the care of well-doing, and the contention of the minde, overstretched to her enterprise, doth breake and impeach the same; even as it hapneth unto water, which being closely pent in, through its owne violence and abundance, cannot finde issue at an open gullet. In this condition of nature, whereof I now speake, this also is joyned unto it, that it desireth not to be pricked forward by these strong passions, as the anger of Cassius (for that motion would be overrude) it ought not to be violently shaken, but yeeldingly solicited: it desireth to be rouzed and prickt forward by strange occasions, both present and casuall. If it goe all alone, it doth but languish and loyter behinde: agitation is her life and grace. I cannot well containe my selfe in mine owne possession and disposition, chance hath more interest in it than my selfe; occasion, company, yea the change of my voice, drawes more from my minde than I can finde therein, when by my selfe I second and endeavor to employ the same. My words likewise are better than my writings, if choice may be had in so worthlesse things. This also hapneth unto me, that where I seeke my selfe, I finde not my selfe: and I finde my selfe more by chance, than by the search of mine owne judgement. I shall perhaps have cast forth some suttletie in writing, haply dull and harsh for another, but smooth and curious for my selfe. Let us leave all these complements and quaintnesse. That is spoken by everie man, according to his owne strength. I have so lost it, that I wot not what I would have said, and strangers have sometimes found it before me. Had I alwayes a razor about me, where that hapneth, I should cleane raze my selfe out. Fortune may at some other time make the light thereof appeare brighter unto me than that of mid-day, and will make mee wonder at mine owne faltring or sticking in the myre.

CHAPTER XI.

Of Prognostications.

As touching Oracles it is very certaine, that long before the comming of our Saviour Iesus Christ, they had begun to lose their credit: for we see that Cicero laboureth to finde the cause of their declination: and these be his words: *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra aetate, sed jamdiu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius?*¹ "Why in like sort are not Oracles now uttered, not onely in our times, but a good while since, so as now nothing can be more contemptible?" But as for other Prognostikes, that were drawne from the anatomic of beasts in sacrifice, to which Plato doth in some sort ascribe the naturall constitution of the inter-nall members of them, of the scraping of chickens, of the flight of birds, *Aves quasdam rerum augurandarum causa natis esse putamus*.² "We are of opinion, certain birds were even bred to prognosticate some things; of thunders, of turnings and backe-recourse of rivers." *Multa cernunt aruspices; multa augures provident; multa oraculis declarantur; multa vaticinationibus; multa somniis; multa portentis*.³ "Soothsayers see much: bird-prophets foresee as much: much is foretold by Oracles; much by prophecies; much by portentuous signes," and others, upon which antiquitie grounded most of their enterprises, as well publike as private: our religion hath abolished them. And albeit there remaine yet amongst us some meanes of divination in the starres, in spirits, in shapes of the body, in dreames, and elsewhere a notable example of the mad and fond curiositie of our nature, amusing it selfe to preoccupate future things, as if it had not enough to doe to digest the present.

—*cur hanc tibi, rector Olympi Sollicitis visum mortalibus addere curam, Noscant venturas ut dira per omnia clades?*⁴ *Sit subito quodcumque paras, sit caeca futuris Alens hominum fati, liceat sperare timentis?*⁵ Why pleas'd it thee, thou ruler of the spheres, To adde this care to mortals care-clog'd minde, That they their miserie know, ere it appeares? Let thy drifts sudden come; let men be blinde T'wards future fate: oh let him hope that feares.

Ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit: Miserum est enim, nihil proficentem angere.⁶ "It is not so much as profitable for us to know what is to come, for it is a miserable

¹ Cic. *Divin.* l. ii. ² *Id. Nat. Deor.*³ *Id. ib.* l. ii.⁴ *Id.* l. 14.⁵ *Id.* l. ii. 4.⁶ Cic. *Nat. Deor.* l. iii.

thing, a man should fret and be vexed, and do no good." Yet is it of much lesse authoritie, loe here, wherefore the example of Francis Marquis of Saluzzo hath seemed remarkable unto me : who being Lieutenant General unto Francis our King, and over all his forces, which he then had beyond the Mountaines in Italie, a man highly favoured in al our court, and otherwise infinitely beholding to the King for that very Marquisate, which his brother had forfeited: and having no occasion to doe it, yea and his minde and affections contradicting the same, suffered himselfe to be frightened and deluded (as it hath since been manifestly proved) by the foud prognostications which then throughout all Europe were given out to the advantage of the Emperor Charles the fift, and to our prejudice and disadvantage (but specially in Italy, where these foolish prædictions had so much possessed the Italians, that in Rome were laid great wagers, and much money given out upon the exchange, that we should utterly be overthrowne) that after he had much condoled, yea and complained with his secret friends, the unavoidable miseries which he foresaw prepared by the fates against the Crowne of France, and the many friends he had there, he unkindly revolted, and became a turne-cote on the Emperors side, to his intolerable losse and destruction, notwithstanding all the constellations then reigning. But he was drawne unto it as a man encompassed and beset by divers passions ; for having both strong castles, and all manner of munition and strength in his owne hands, the enemies armie under Antonio Leva about three paces from him, and we nothing mistrusting him, it was in his power to do worse than he did. For notwithstanding his treason, we lost neither man nor towne, except Fossan, which long after was by us stoutly contested and defended.

*Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus,
Ridèque, si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat.*¹

Our wise God hides in pitch-darke night
Of future time th' event decreed,
And laughs at man, if man (affrighted)
Feare more than he to feare hath need.

*Ille potens sui
Latiusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse, vixi, cras vel atra
Nube polum pater occupato,
Vel sole puro.*²

He of himselfe lives merrily,
Who each day, I have liv'd, can say,
To morow let God charge the skie
With darke clouds, or faire sun-shine-ray.

*Latius in præsens animus, quod ultra est,
Oderit curare.*¹

For present time a mery mind
Hates to respect what is behind.

And those which take this word in a contrary sense are in the wrong. *Ista sic reciprocantur ut et si divinatio sit dii sint, et si dii sint sit divinatio :*² "This consequence is so reciprocal, as if there be any divination, there are Gods : and if there be Gods, there is divination." Much more wisely Pacuvius.

*Nam istis qui linguam avium intelligunt,
Plusque ex alieno jecore sapiunt, quàm ex suo,
Magis audiendum, quàm auscultandum censeo.*³
Who understand what language birds expresse,
By their owne than beasts-livers knowing lesse,
They may be heard, not hearkned to, I guesse.

This so famous art of divination of the Tuskanes grew thus. A husband-man digging very deepe into the ground, with his plough-share, saw Tages, a demy-God appeare out of it, with an infantine face, yet fraught with an aged-like wisdom. All men ran to see him, and both his words and knowledge were for many ages after remembred, and collected, containing the principles and meanes of this art. An offspring suitable to her progresse. I would rather direct affaires by the chance of dice, than by such frivolous dreames. And truly in all common-wealths, men have ever ascribed much authoritie unto lot. Plato in the policie which he imagineth by discretion, ascribed the deciding of many important effects unto it, and amongst other things would have marriages betweene the good to bee contrived by lot. And giveth so large privileges unto this casuall election, that he appoints the children proceeding from them to bee brought up in the countrie ; and those borne of the bad to be banished and sent abroad. Notwithstanding if any of those so exiled shall by fortune happen, whilst he is growing, to shew some good, hope of himselfe, that he may be revoked and sent-for backe, and such amongst the first as shall in their youth give small hope of future good to be banished. I see some that studie, plod, and glosse their Almanackes, and in all accidents alleage their authoritie. A man were as good to say, they must needs speake truth and lies. *Quis est enim qui totum diem jaculans, non aliquando conlineet ?*⁴ "For who is he that, shooting all day, sometimes hits not the white ?" I thinke not the better of them, though what they say

¹ Hor. l. iii. *Od.* xxix. 29.

² *Ib.* 41.

¹ Hor. l. ii. *Od.* xvi. 25.

² *Ib.* f. Pac.

³ Cic. *Div.* l. i. p.

⁴ Cic. *Div.* l. ii.

proove sometimes true. It were more certaine, if there were either a rule or a truth to lie ever. Seeing no man recordeth their fables, because they are ordinarie and infinit; and their predictions are made to be of credit, because they are rare, incredible and prodigious; so answered Diagoras surnamed the Atheist (being in Samothrace) to him, who in shewing him divers vowes and offriings hanging in the Temple, brought thither by such as had escaped shipwracke, said thus unto him: "You that thinke the Gods to have no care of humane things, what say you by so many men saved by their grace and helpe?" "Thus is it done," answered he: "Those which were drowned farre exceeding their number, are not here set-forth." Cicero saith, "That amongst all other Philosophers that have avowed and acknowledged the Gods, onely Xenophanes the Colophonian hath gone about to root out all maner of divination. It is so much the lesse to be wondred at, if at any time we have seene some of our Princes mindes, to their great damage, relie upon such like vanities. I would to God, I had with mine owne eyes seene those two wonders, mentioned in the booke of Iochin the Abbat of Calabria, who foretold all the Popes that should ensue, together with their names and shapes: And that of Leo the Emperor, who fore-spake all the Emperors and Patriarkes of Greece. This have I seene with mine owne eyes, that in publike confusions, men amazed at their owne fortune, give themselves head-long, as it were to all maner of superstition, to search in heaven the causes and ancient threats of their ill-lucke; and in my time are so strangely successfull therein, as they have perswaded me, that it is an amusing of sharpe and idle wits; that such as are inured to this subtletie, by folding and unfolding them, may in all other writings be capable to finde out what they seeke-after. But above all, their dark, ambiguous, fantastick, and prophetically, gibbish, mends the matter much, to which their authors never give a plaine sense, that posterity may apply what meaning and construction it shall please unto it. The Dæmon of Socrates was peradventure a certaine impulsions or will, which without the advice of his discourse presented it selfe unto him. In a minde so well purified, and by continuall exercise of wisdom and vertue so well prepared, as his was, it is likely, his inclinations (though rash and inconsiderate) were ever of great moment, and worthe to be followed. Every man feeleth in himselfe some inage of such agitations, of a prompt, vehement and casual opinion. It is in me to give them some authoritie, that afford so

little to our wisdom. And I have had some, equally weake in reason, and violent in perswasion and dissuasion (which was more ordinarie to Socrates) by which I have so happily and so profitably suffred my selfe to be transported, as they might perhaps be thought to containe some matter of divine inspiration.

CHAPTER XII.

Of Constancie.

THE law of resolution and constancie implieth not, we should not, as much as lieth in our power shelter our selves from the mischiefs and inconveniences that threaten us, nor by consequence feare, they should surprise us. Contrariwise, all honest meanes for a man to warrant himselfe from evils are not onely tolerable, but commendable. And the part of constancie is chiefly acted, in firmly bearing the inconveniences, against which no remedie is to be found. So that there is no nimbleness of bodie, nor wealding of hand-weapons, that we will reject, if it may in any sort defend us from the blow, meant at us. Many most warlike nations in their conflicts and fights, used retreating and flight as a principall advantage, and shewed their backs to their enimie much more dangerously than their faces. The Turkes at this day retainne something of that humour. And Socrates in Plato doth mocke at Laches, because he had defined fortitude, to keepe herselfe steadie in her rancke against her enemies; "What," saith hee, "were it then cowardise to beat them in giving them place?" And alleageth Homer against him, who commendeth in Æneas his skill in flying and giving ground. And because Laches being better advised, avoweth that custome to be amongst the Scythians, and generally amongst all horsemen, he alleageth further unto him the example of the Lacedemonian footmen (a nation above all other used to fight on foot) who in the battell of Plateæ, unable to open and to put to rowt the Persian Phalanx, advised themselves to scatter and put themselves backe, that so by the opinion of their flight, they might if they should pursue them, rush in upon them, and put that so combined-masse to rout. By which meanes they gained the victorie. Touching the Scythians, it is reported, that when Darius went to subdue them, he sent their King many reproachfull speeches, for so much as hee ever saw him retire and give ground before him, and to avoid the maine battell. To

whom Indathirsez (for so was his name) answered, that "They did it not for feare of him, nor any other man living, but that it was the fashion of his nation to march thus: as having neither cities, nor houses, nor manured land to defend, or to feare their enemies should reape any commoditie by them." But if hee had so great a desire to feed on them, he might draw neerer to view the place of their ancient Sepulchers, and there hee should meet with whom to speake his belly-full. Notwithstanding when a man is once within reach of cannon-shot, and as it were point-blanche before them, as the fortune of warre doth diverse times bring men unto, it ill becometh a resolute minde to start-aside, or be daunted at the threat of a shot, because by the violence and suddenesse thereof wee deeme it inevitable: and there are some, who by lifting up of a hand, or stooping their head, have sometimes given their fellowes cause of laughter: yet have we seene, that in the voyage, the Emperour Charles the fifth made against us in Provence, the Marquis of Guasto, being gone out to survey the citie of Arles, and shewne himselfe out of a winde-mill, under colour of which he was come somewhat neere the Towne, he was discovered by the Lord of Bonevall, and the Seneshall of Agnois, who were walking upon the Theatre Aux arenes (so called in French because it is full of sand) who shewing him to the Lord of Villiers, Commissarie of the Artillerie, hee mounted a culverin so level, that had not the Marquis perceived the fire, and so started aside, it was constantly affirmed, hee had bene shot through the body. Likewise not many yeeres before, Florence of Medici, Duke of Vrbin, and father to the Queene-mother of France, besieging Mondolphe, a place in Italie, in the province name Vicariate, seeing fire given to a piece that stood upright upon him, stooped his head, and well befell him that he plaide the ducke, for otherwise the bullet, which went right over, and within a little of his head, had doubtlesse shot him through the paunch. But to say truth, I will never thinke these motions were made with discourse, for what judgement can you give of an aime, either high or low, in a matter so sudden? It may rather be thought that fortune favoured their feare: and which an other time might as well bee a meane to make them fall into the cannons-mouth, as to avoid the same. I cannot cluse, if the cracke of a musket doe suddenly streeke mine eares, in a place where I least looke for it, but I must needs start at it: which I have seene happen to men of better sort than my selfe. Nor doe the Stoickes meane, that the Soule of their

wisest man in any sort resist the first visions and sudden fantasies, that surprise the same: but rather consent that, as it were unto a naturall subjection, he yeelds and shrinks unto the loud clattering and roare of heaven, or of some violent downefall; for example-sake, unto palenesse, and contraction. So likewise in other passions, alwayes provided, his opinion remains safe and whole, and the situation of his reason, admit no tainting or alteration whatsoever: and hee no whit consent to his fright and sufferance. Touching the first part; the same hapneth to him, that is not wise, but farre otherwise concerning the second. For the impression of passions doth not remaine superficial in him: but rather penetrates even into the secret of reason, infecting and corrupting the same. He judgeth according to them, and conformeth himselfe to them. Consider precisely the state of the wise Stoicke:

*Mens immota manet, lachrymæ voluntur inanes.*¹

His minde doth firme remaine,
Teares are distill'd in vaine.

The wise Peripatetike doth not exempt himselfe from perturbations of the mind, but doth moderate them.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Ceremonies in the interview of Kings.

THERE is no subject so vaine, that deserveth not a place in this rapsodie.

It were a notable discourtesie unto our common rules, both towards an equall, but more toward a great person, not to meete with you in your house, if he have once warned you that he will come: And Margaret Queene of Navarre, was wont to say to this purpose, "That it was a kinde of incivillitie in a gentleman, to depart from his house, as the fashion is, to meet with him that is comming to him, how worthy soever he be: and that it more agreeth with civillitie and respect, to stay for him at home, and there to entertaine him: except it were for feare the stranger should misse his way: and that it sufficeth to companie and wait upon him, when he is going away again." As for me, I oftentimes forget both these vaine offices; as one that endeavoureth to abolish all maner of ceremonies in my house.

Some will bee offended at it, what can I doe withall? I had rather offend a stranger once, then my selfe euerie day; for it were a continuall subjection. To what end doe men avoid the servitude of Courts, and entertaine the same in their owne houses? Moreover it is a common rule in all assemblies, that hee who is the meaner man, commeth first to the place appointed, forsomuch as it belongs to the better man to be staid-for and waited upon by the other. Nevertheless we saw that at the interview, prepared at Merceilles betweene Pope Clement the seventh, and Francis the first, King of France, the King having appointed all necessarie preparations, went him-selfe out of the Towne, and gave the Pope two or three dayes leasure, to make his entrie into it, and to refresh himselfe, before he would come to meet him there. Likewise at the meeting of the said Pope with the Emperour at Bologna, the Emperour gave the Pope advantage and leasure to be first there, and afterward came himselfe. It is (say they) an ordinarie ceremonie at enterparlies betweene such Princes, that the better man should ever come first to the place appointed; yea before him in whose countrey the assembly is: and they take it in this sence, that it is, because this complement should testifie, he is the better man, whom the meaner goeth to seeke, and that hee sueth unto him. Not onely each countrey, but every Citie, yea, and every vocation hath his owne particular decorum. I have very carefully bene brought up in mine infancie, and have lived in vrie good company, because I would not bee ignorant of the good maners of our countrey of France, and I am perswaded I might keepe a schoole of them. I love to follow them, but not so cowardly, as my life remaine thereby in subjection. They have some painfull formes in them, which if a man forget by discretion, and not by error, hee shall no whit bee disgraced. I have often scene men prove unmanerly by too much maners, and importunate by over-much curtesie. The knowledge of entertainment is otherwise a profitable knowledge. It is, as grace and beautie are, the reconciler of the first accostings of society and familiarity: and by consequence, it openeth the entrance to instruct us by the example of others, and to exploit and produce our example, if it have any instructing or communicable thing in it.

CHAPTER XIV.

Men are punished by too-much opiniating themselves in a place without reason.

VALOUR hath his limits, as other vertues have: which if a man out-go, hee shall find himselfe in the traine of vice: in such sort, that unlesse a man know their right bounds, which in truth are not on a sudden easily hit upon, he may fall into rashnesse, obstinacie, and folly. For this consideration grew the custome wee hold in warres, to punish, and that with death, those who wilfully opiniate themselves to defend a place, which by the rules of warre, cannot be kept. Otherwise upon hope of impunitie, there should bee no cottage, that might not entertaine an Armie. The Lord Constable Momorancie at the siege of Pavia, having bene appointed to passe over the river Tesine, and to quarter himselfe in the suburbs of Saint Antonie, being impeached by a tower that stood at the end of the bridge, and which obstinately would needs hold out, yea and to be battered, caused all those that were with-in it, to be hanged. The same man afterward, accompanying my Lord the Dolphin of France in his journey beyond the Alpes, having by force taken the Castle of Villane, and all those that were within the same, having by the furie of the Souldiers bin put to the sword, except the Captaine, and his Ancient, for the same reason, caused them both to be hanged and strangled: As did also, Captaine Martin du Bellay, the Governour of Turin, in the same countrey, the Captaine of Saint Bony: all the rest of his men having bene massacred at the taking of the place. But forsomuch as the judgement of the strength or weakness of the place, is taken by the estimate and counterpoise of the forces that assaile it (for som man might justly opiniate himselfe against two culverins, that wold play the mad-man to expect thirtie cannons) where also the greatness of the Prince conquering must be considered, his reputation, and the respect that is due unto him: there is danger a man should somewhat bend the balance on that side. By which termes it hapneth, that some have so great an opinion of themselves, and their meanes, and deeming it unreasonable, anything should be worthe to make head against them, that so long as their fortune continueth, they overpasse what hill or difficultie soever they finde to withstand or resist them: As is scene by the formes of sommonings and challenges, that the Princes of the East, and their successors yet remaining,

have in use, so fierce, so haughtie, and so full of a barbarous kinde of commandement. And in those places where the Portugales abated the pride of the Indians, they found some states observing this universall and inviolable law, that what enimie soever he be, that is overcome by the King in person, or by his Lieutenant, is exempted from all composition of ransom or mercie. So above all, a man who is able should take heed, lest he fall into the hands of an enimie-judge, that is victorious and armed.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the punishment of Cowardise.

I HAVE heretofore heard a Prince, who was a very great Captaine, hold opinion, that a souldier might not for cowardise of heart be condemned to death: who, sitting at his table heard report of the Lord of Vervins' sentence, who for yeelding up of Hollein, was doomed to lose his head. Verily there is reason a man should make a difference between faults proceeding from our weaknesse, and those that grow from our malice. For in the latter we are directly banded against the rules of reason, which nature hath imprinted in us; and in the former, it seemeth, we may call the same nature, as a warrant, because it hath left us in such imperfection and defect. So as divers nations have judged, that no man should blame us for anything we doe against our conscience. And the opinion of those which condemne heretikes and miscreants unto capitall punishments, is partly grounded upon this rule: and the same which establisheth, that a Judge or an Advocate may not bee called to account for any matter committed in their charge through oversight or ignorance. But touching cowardise, it is certain the common fashion is, to punish the same with ignominie and shame. And some hold that this rule was first put in practice by the Law-giver Charondas, and that before him the lawes of Greece were wont to punish those with death, who for feare did run away from a Battell: where hee onely ordained, that for three dayes together, clad in womens attire, they should be made to sit in the marketplace: hoping yet to have some service at their hands, and by meanes of this reproch, they might recover their courage againe.

Suffundere malis hominis sanguinem quam

effundere: "Rather move a man's blood to blush in his face, than remove it by bleeding from his body."

It appeareth also that the Roman lawes did in former times punish such as had run away, by death. For Ammianus Marcellinus reporteth, that Iulian the Emperor condemned ten of his Souldiers, who in a charge against the Parthians, had but turned their backs from it; first to be degraded, then to suffer death, as he saith, according to the ancient lawes, who nevertheless, condemneth others for a like fault, under the ensigne of bag and baggage, to be kept amongst the common prisoners. The sharp punishment of the Romans against those Souldiers that escaped from Cannæ: and in the same warre against those that accompanied Cn. Fulvius in his defeat, reached not unto death, yet may a man feare, such open shame may make them despaire, and not only prove faint and cold friends, but cruell and sharpe enemies. In the time of our forefathers, the Lord of Franget, whilom Lieutenant of the Marshall of Chastillions company, having by the Marshall of Chabanes beene placed Governor of Fontarabie, in stead of the Earle of Lude, and having yeilded the same unto the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded of all Nobilitie, and not onely himselfe, but all his succeeding posteritie declared villains and clownes, taxable and incapable to beare armes; which severe sentence was put in execution at Lyons. The like punishment did afterward all the Gentlemen suffer, that were within Guise, when the Earle of Nansaw entred the towne: and others since. Neverthelesse if there were so grosse an ignorance, and so apparant cowardise, as that it should exceed all ordinary, it were reason it should be taken for a sufficient proove of inexcusable treacherie, and knaverie, and for such to be punished.

CHAPTER XVI.

A tricke of certaine Ambassadors.

I N all my travels I did ever observe this custome, that is, alwaies to learne something by the communication of others (which is one of the best schooles that may be) to reduce those I confer withall to speake of that wherein they are most conversant and skilfull.

*Basti al nocchiero ragionar de' venti,
Al bifolco de' tori, e le sue piaghe
Conti 'l guerrier, conti 'l pastor gli armenti.¹*

Sailers of windes plow-men of beasts take keepe,
Let Souldiers count their woundes, shepherds
their sheepe.

For commonly we see the contrary, that many chuse rather to discourse of any other trade than their owne; supposing it to be so much new reputation gotten: witness the quip Archidamus gave Periander, saying that he forsooke the credit of a good Physician, to become a paltry Poet. Note but how Cæsar displaie his invention at large, when he would have us conceive his inventions how to build bridges, and devices, how to frame other war-like engins; and in respect of that how close and succinct he writes, when he speaketh of the offices belonging to his profession, of his valour, and of the conduct of his war-fare. His exploits prove him a most excellent Captaine, but he would be known for a skilfull Ingenier, a quality somewhat strange in him. Dionysius the elder was a very great chieftaine and Leader in warre, as a thing best fitting his fortune; but he greatly laboured by means of Poetry, to assume high commendation unto himselfe, howbeit he had but little skill in it. A certaine Lawier was not long since brought to see a study, stored with all manner of bookes, both of his owne, and of all other faculties, wherein he found no occasion to entertaine himselfe withal, but like a fond cunning clarke earnestly busied himselfe to glosse and censure a fence or barricado, placed over the screw of the study, which a hundred Captaines and Souldiers see everie day, without observing or taking offence at them.

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.²

The Oxe would trappings weare,
The Horse, ploughs-yoke would beare.

By this course you never come to perfection, or bring any thing to good passe. Thus must a man endeavour to induce the Architect, the Painter, the Shoemaker, to speake of their owne trade, and so of the rest, every man in his vocation. And to this purpose am I wont, in reading of histories (which is the subject of most men) to consider who are the writers: If they be such as professe nothing but bare learning, the chiefe thing I learne in them, is their stile and language: if Physicians, I beleeve them in whatsoever they shall report concerning the temperatenesse of the aire, the health and

complexion of Princes, or of hurts and infirmities: If Lawiers, we should observe the controversies of rights, titles, and pretences of lawes and customes, the establishments of policies, and such like things: If Divines, we may note the affaires of the Church, the Ecclesiasticall censures, dispensations, cases of conscience, and marriages: If Courtiers, manners, complements, ceremonies, and entertainments: If Warriors, what belongs unto their charge, but chiefly the managing and conduct of the achievements or exploits wherein they have been themselves in person: If Ambassadors, the negotiations, intelligences, practices, policies, and manner how to direct, complot, and conduct them. And therefore what in another Writer I should peradventure have cursorie passed over, I have with some advisednesse considered and marked the same in the historie of the Lord of Langey, a man most expert and intelligent in such matters: which is, that after he had exactly set downe and declared those glorious, and farre-fetched remonstrances of the Emperor Charles the fifth made in the consistorie of Rome, in the presence of the Bishop of Mascon, and the Lord of Velly, our Ambassadors; wherein he entermixed many bitter and outrageous words against us; and amongst others, that if his Captaines and Souldiers were not of much more faithfulness and sufficiency in the art of warre than our Kings, he would forthwith tie a rope about his necke, and goe aske him mercy: whereof he seemed to beleeve something: for afterward whilest he lived, he chanced twice or thrice to utter the verie same words. Moreover, that he had challenged the King to fight with him, man to man in his shirt, with Rapier and Dagger in a boat. The said Lord of Langey, following his storie, addeth that the said Ambassadors making a dispatch of what had passed unto the King, dissembled the chieftest part unto him, yea and concealed the two precedent articles from him. Now me thought it very strange, that it should lie in the power of an Ambassador to dispence with any point, concerning the advertizements he should give unto his Master, namely of such consequence, coming from such a person, and spoken in so great an assembly, whereas me seemed it should have bene the office of a trustie servant, truly and exactly to set downe things as they were, and in what manner they had succeeded: to the end the libertie of disposing, judging and chusing, might wholly lie in the master. For to alter and conceale the truth from him, for feare he should conster and take it otherwise than he ought, and lest that might provoke him to some bad reso-

¹ Initiated from PROPERT. I. ii. *EL.* l. 43. 44.

² HOR. I. i. *Epist.* xiv. 43.

lution; and in the meanwhile to suffer him to be ignorant of his owne affaires, mee thought should rather have appertained to him that giveth the law, than to him that receiveth the same; to the Master or overseer of the schoole, and not to him who should thinke himselfe inferior, as well in authority as in wisdom and good counsell. Howsoever it were, I would he loth be so used in mine owne small and particular businesse, we doe so winningly upon every slight occasion and pretence neglect and forgoe commandement, and are so farre from obeying, that we rather usurp a kinde of masterie, and free power: every man doth so naturally aspire unto liberty and authoritie, that no profit ought to be so deare unto a superiour, proceeding from those that serve him as their simple and naturall obedience. Whosoever obeyeth by discretion, and not by subjection, corrupteth and abuseth the office of commanding. And P. Crassus, he whom the Romans deemed five times happy, when he was Consull in Asia, having sent a Græcian Iuginer, to bring the greatest of two ship-masts before him, which he had seene in Athens, therewith to frame an engine of batterie: This man under colour of his skill, presumed to doe otherwise than he was bidden, and brought the lesser of the two masts which according to his arts reason hee deemed the fittest. Crassus having patiently heard his reasons and allegations, caused him to be well whipped; preferring the interest of true discipline before that of the worke. On the other side a man might also consider, that this so strict obedience belongs but to precise and prefixed commandements. Ambassadors have a more scopefull and free charge, which in many points dependeth chiefly of their disposition. They doe not merely execute, but frame and direct by their owne advice and counsell, the will of their Master. I have in my dayes seene some persons of commandement, checked and found fault withall, because they had rather obeyed the literall sense, and bare words of the Kings letters, than the occasions of the affaires they had in hand. Men of understanding and experience doe yet at this day condemne the custome of the Kings of Persia, which was to mince the instructions given to their Agents, and Lieutenants so small, that in the least accident they might have recourse to their directions and ordinances: This delay, in so farre reaching a scope of domination, having often brought great prejudice, and notable damage unto their affaires. And Crassus writing unto a man of that profession and advertizing him of the use whereto he

purposed the foresaid mast; seemeth he not to enter into conference with him concerning his determination, and wish him to interpose his censure or advice of it.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of Feare.

*Obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit.*¹

I stood agast, my haire on end,
My jaw-tide tongue no speech would lend.

I AM no good Naturalist (as they say) and I know not well by what springs feare doth worke in us: but well I wot it is a strange passion: and as Physitians say, there is none doth sooner transport our judgement out of his due seat. Verily I have seene divers become mad and senselesse for feare: yea and in him, who is most settled and best resolved, it is certaine that whilest his fit continueth, it begetteth many strange dazlings, and terrible amazements in him. I omit to speake of the vulgar sort, to whom it sometimes representeth strange apparitions, as their fathers and grandfathers ghosts, risen out of their graves, and in their winding sheets: and to others it sometimes sheweth Larves, Hobgoblins, Robbin-good-fellowes, and such other Bug-beares and Chimeræes. But even amongst Souldiers, with whom it ought to have no credit at all, how often hath she changed a flooke of sheep into a troupe of armed men? Bushes and shrubs into men-at-arms and Lanciers? our friends into our enemies? and a red crosse into a white? At what time the Duke of Bourbon tooke Rome, an Ancient that kept sentinell, in the borough Saint Peter, was at the first alarm surprised with such terror, that with his colours in his hand, he suddenly threw himselfe thorow the hole of a breach out of the Citie, and just in the midst of his enemies, supposing the way to goe straight in the heart of the Citie: but in the end he no sooner perceived the Duke of Bourbons troupes advancing to withstand him, imagining it to be some sallie the Citizens made that way, hee better be-thinking himselfe, turned head, and the very same way he came out, he went into the towne againe, which was more than three hundred paces distance towards the fields. The like happened, but not so successfully, unto Capitaine Iulle his ensigne-bearer at what time Saint Paul was taken from us by

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. ii. 774.

the Earle of Bures, and the Lord of Reu, who was so frighted with feare, that going about to cast himselfe over the towne wals, with his Ancient in his hand, or to creepe thorow a spike-hole, he was cut in peeces by the assailants. At which steege likewise, that horror and feare is very memorable, which so did choake, seize upon, and freeze the heart of a gentleman, that having received no hurt at all, he fell downe starke dead upon the ground before the breach. The like passion rage doth sometimes possesse a whole multitude. In one of the encounters that Germanicus had with the Germanes, two mightie troupes were at one instant so frighted with feare, that both betooke themselves to their heeles, and ran away two contrary wayes, the one right to that place whence the other fled. It sometimes addeth wings unto our heeles, as unto the first named, and other times it takes the use of feet from us: as we may reade of Theophilus the Emperor, who in a battell hee lost against the Agarens, was so amazed and astonied, that he could not resolve to scape away by flight: *adeo pavor etiam auxilia formidat.*¹ "Feare is so afraid even of that should help;" Untill such time as Manuel, one of the chiefe leaders in his armie, having rouzed and shaken him, as it were out of a dead sleepe, said unto him, "Sir, if you will not presently follow me, I will surely kill you, for better were it you should lose your life, than being taken prisoner, lose your Empire and all." Then doth she shew the utmost of her power, when for her owne service, she calls us off unto valour, which it hath exacted from our duty and honor. In the first set battell, the Romans lost against Hanibal, under the Consul Sempronius, a troupe of wel-nigh ten thousand footmen was so surprised with feare, that seeing no other way to take, nor by what other course to give their bases free passage, they headlong bent their flight toward the thickest and strongest squadron of their enemies, which with such furie it rowted and brake through, as it disranked, and slew a great number of the Carthaginians: purchasing a reproachfull and disgracefull flight, at the same rate it might have gained a most glorious victorie. It is feare I stand most in feare of. For, in sharpnesse it surmounteth all other accidents. What affection can be more violent and just than that of Pompeyes friends, who in his owne ship were spectators of that horrible massacre? yet is it, that the feare of the Egyptian sailes, which began to approach them, did in such sort daunt and skare

them, that some have noted, they only busied themselves to hasten the marriners to make what speed they could, and by maine strength of oares to save themselves, untill such time, as being arrived at Tyre, and that they were free from feare, they had leasure to bethinke themselves of their late losse, and give their plaints and teares free passage, which this other stronger passion had suspended and hindred.

*Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mihi ex animo expectorat.*¹

Feare then unbrests all wit,
That in my minde did sit.

Those who in any skirmish or sudden bickering of warre have been thoroughly skared, fore-hurt, wounded, and gored as they be, are many times the next day after brought to charge againe. But such as have conceived a true feare of their enemies, it is hard for you to make them looke them in the face againe. Such as are in continuall feare to lose their goods, to be banished, or to be subdued, live in uncessant agonie and languor; and thereby often lose both their drinking, their eating, and their rest. Whereas the poore, the banished, and seely servants, live often as carelessly and as pleasantly as the other. And so many men, who by the impatience and urging of feare, have hanged, drowned, and headlong tumbled downe from some rocke, have plainly taught us, that feare is more importunate and intolerable than death. The Grecians acknowledge another kinde of it, which is beyond the error of our discourse: proceeding, as they say, without any apparent cause, and from an heavenly impulsion. Whole Nations and Armies are often seene surprised with it. Such was that which brought so wonderfull a desolation to Carthage, where nothing was heard but lamentable out-cries and frightfull exclamations: the inhabitants were seene desperately to runne out of their houses, as to a sudden alarm, and furiously to charge, hurt, and enter-kill one another, as if they had bene enemies come to usurpe and possesse their Citie. All things were there in a disordered confusion, and in a confused furie, until such time as by praiers and sacrifices they had appeased the wrath of their Gods. They call it to this day, the Panike terror.²

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* l. iv. ex Enn.; *De Orat.* l. iii.

² ERAS. *Chil.* ii. cent. x. ad. 19; *Chil.* iii. cent. vii. ad. 3. Dion Sic. l. xv. c. 7.

CHAPTER XVIII.

*That we should not judge of our Happinesse
untill after our Death.*

*scilicet ultinia semper
Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremæque funera debet.¹*

We must expect of man the latest day,
Nor ere he die, he's happy, can we say.

THE very children are acquainted with the storie of Cræsus to this purpose: who being taken by Cyrus, and by him condemned to die, upon the point of his execution, cried out aloud: "Oh Solon, Solon!" which words of his, being reported to Cyrus, who inquiring what he meant by them, told him, hee now at his owne cost verified the advertisement Solon had before times given him; which was, that no man, what cheerefull and blandishing countenance soever fortune shewed them, may rightly deeme himselfe happie, till such time as he have passed the last day of his life, by reason of the uncertaintie and vicissitude of humane things, which by a very light motive, and slight occasion, are often changed from one to another cleane contrary state and degree. And therefore Agesilaus answered one that counted the King of Persia happy, because being very young, he had gotten the garland of so nightie and great a dominion: "yea but said he, Priam at the same age was not unhappy." Of the Kings of Macedon that succeeded Alexander the Great, some were afterward seene to become Joyners and Scriveners at Rome: and of Tyrants of Sicilie, Schoolemasters at Corinth. One that had conquered halfe the world, and been Emperour over so many Armies, became an humble and miserable suter to the raskally officers of a king of Ægypte: At so high a rate did that great Pompey purchase the irksome prolonging of his life but for five or six moneths. And in our fathers daies, Lodowicke Sforze, tenth Duke of Millane, under whom the State of Italie had so long bene turmoiled and shaken, was seene to die a wretched prisoner at Loches in France, but not till he had lived and lingered ten yeares in thralldom, which was the worst of his bargain. The fairest Queene, wife to the greatest King of Christendome, was she not lately seene to die by the hands of an executioner? Oh unworthie and barbarous crueltie! And a thousand such examples. For, it seemeth that as the

sea-billowes and surging waves, rage and storme against the surly pride and stubborn height of our buildings, so are there above, certaine spirits that envie the rising prosperities and greatnesse heere below.

*Vsque adæ res humanas viâ abdita quædam
Obterit, et pulchros fasces sævæque securæ
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.¹*

A hidden power so mens states hath out-worne
Faïre swords, fierce scepters, signes of honours
borne,

It seemes to trample and deride in scorne.

And it seemeth Fortuæ doth sometimes narrowly watch the last day of our life, thereby to shew her power, and in one moment to overthrow what for many yeares together she had been erecting, and makes us cry after Laberius, *Nimirum hac die unâ plus vixi, mihi quam vivendum fuit.*² Thus it is, "I have lived longer by this one day than I should." So may that good advice of Solon be taken with reason. But forsomuch as he is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by him; and puissances and greatneses, and accidents of qualitie, are well-nigh indifferent: I deeme it very likely he had a further reach, and meant that the same good fortune of our life, which dependeth of the tranquillitie and contentment of a welborne minde, and of the resolution and assurance of a well ordered soule, should never be ascribed unto man, untill he have bene seene play the last act of his comedie, and without doubt the hardest. In all the rest there may be some maske: either these sophisticall discourses of Philosophie are not in us but by countenance, or accidents that never touch us to the quick give us alwaies leasure to keep our countenance settled. But when that last part of death, and of our selves comes to be acted, then no dissembling will availe, then is it high time to speake plaine English, and put off all vizards: then whatsoever the pot containeth must be shewne, be it good or bad, foule or cleane, wine or water.

*Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, et eripitur persona, manet res.³*

For then are sent true speeches from the heart,
We are ourselves, we leave to play a part.

Loe heere, why at this last cast, all our lives other actions must be tride and touched. It is the master-day, the day that judgeth all others: it is the day, saith an auncient Writer, that must judge of all my forepassed yeares. To death doe I referre the essay

¹ OVID. *Met.* l. iii. 135.

¹ LUCRET. l. v. 1243.

² MACROB. l. ii. c. 7.

³ LUCRET. l. iii. 57.

of my studies fruit. There shall wee see whether my discourse proceed from my heart, or from my mouth. I have seene divers, by their death, either in good or evill, give reputation to all their forepassed life. Scipio, father-in-law to Pompey, in well dying, repaired the ill opinion which untill that houre men had ever held of him. Epaminondas being demanded which of the three he esteemed most, either Chabrias, or Iphicrates, or himselfe : "It is necessary," said he, "that we be seene to die, before your question may well be resolved." Verily, we should steale much from him, if he should be weighed without the honour and greatness of his end. God hath willed it, as he pleased : but in my time three of the most execrable persons that ever I knew in all abomination of life, and the most infamous, have beene seen to die very orderly and quietly, and in every circumstance composed even unto perfection. There are some brave and fortunate deaths. I have seene her cut the twine of some man's life, with a progresse of wonderful advancement, and with so worthie an end, even in the flowre of his growth and spring of his youth, that in mine opinion, his ambitious and haughtie courageous designs, thought nothing so high as might interrupt them : who without going to the place where he pretended, arrived there more gloriously and worthily than either his desire or hope aimed at, and by his fall fore-went the power and name, whither by his course he aspired. When I judge of other men's lives, I ever respect how they have behaved themselves in their end ; and my chieftest study is, I may well demeane my selfe at my last gaspe, that is to say, quietly and constantly.

CHAPTER XIX.

That to Philosophise is to learne how to Die.

CICERO saith, that to philosophise is no other thing than for a man to prepare himselfe to death : which is the reason that studie and contemplation doth in some sort withdraw our soule from us, and severally employ it from the body, which is a kind of apprenticeship and resemblance of death ; or else it is, that all the wisdom and discourse of the world, doth in the end resolve upon this point, to teach us not to feare to die. Truly either reason mockes us, or it only aimeth at our contentment, and in fine, bends all her travell to make us live well, and as the holy Scripture saith, "at our

ease." All the opinions of the world conclude, that pleasure is our end, howbeit they take divers meanes unto and for it, else would men reject them at their first coming. For, who would give eare unto him, that for it's end would establish our paine and disturbance? The dissensions of philosophical sects in this case are verbal : *Transcurramus solertissimas nugas* : "Let us run over such over-fine fooleries and subtilt trifies." There is more wilfulness and wrangling among them, than pertains to a sacred profession. But what person a man undertakes to act, he doth ever therewithall personate his owne. Allthough they say, that in vertue it selfe, the last scope of our aime is voluptuousnes. It pleaseth me to importune their eares still with this word, which so much offends their hearing. And if it imply any chief pleasure or exceeding contentments, it is rather due to the assistance of vertue, than to any other supply, voluptuousnes being more strong, sinnow, sturdie, and manly, is but more seriously voluptuous. And we should give it the name of pleasure, more favorable, sweeter, and more naturall ; and not terme it vigor, from which it hath his denomination. Should this baser sensuality deserve this faire name, it should be by competencie, and not by privilege. I finde it lesse void of incommodities and crosses than vertue. And besides that, her taste is more fleeting, momentarie, and fading, she hath her fasts, her eves, and her travels, and both sweat and bloud. Furthermore she hath particularly so many wounding passions, and of so severall sorts, and so filthie and loathsome a societie waiting upon her, that shee is equivalent to penitencie. Wee are in the wrong, to thinke her incommodities serve her as a provocation and seasoning to her sweetnes, as in nature one contrarie is vivified by another contrarie : and to say, when we come to vertue, that like successes and difficulties overwhelm it, and yeeld it austere and inaccessible. Whereas much more properly then unto voluptuousnes, they ennobled sharpen, animate, and raise that divine and perfect pleasure, which it meditates and procureth us. Truly he is verie unworthie her acquaintance, that counter-balanceh her cost to his fruit, and knowes neither the graces nor use of it. Those who go about to instruct us, how her pursuit is very hard and laborious, and her joyvance well-pleasing and delightfull : what else tell they us, but that shee is ever unpleasant and irksome? For, what humane meane did ever attaine unto an absolute enjoying of it? The perfectest have bene

content but to aspire and approach her, without ever possessing her. But they are deceived; seeing that of all the pleasures we know, the pursuit of them is pleasant. The enterprise is perceived by the quality of the thing, which it hath regard unto; for it is a good portion of the effect, and consubstantial. That happiness and felicitie, which shineth in vertue, replenisheth her approaches and appurtenances, even unto the first entrance and utmost barre. Now of all the benefits of vertue, the contempt of death is the chiefest, a meane that furnisheth our life with an ease-full tranquillitie, and gives us a pure and amiable taste of it: without which every other voluptuousnes is extinguished. Loe, here the reasons why all rules encounter and agree with this article. And albeit they all leade us with a common accord to despise griefe, povertie, and other accidentall crosses, to which man's life is subject, it is not with an equall care: as well because accidents are not of such a necessitie, for most men passe their whole life without feeling any want or povertie, and otherwise without feeling any griefe or sicknes, as Xenophilus the Musitian, who lived an hundred and six yeares in perfect and continuall health: as also if the worst happen, death may at all times, and whensoever it shall please us, cut off all other inconveniences and crosses. But as for death, it is inevitable.

*Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
Versatur urna, serinus, oculus
Sors exitura, et nos in aeternum
Exilium impositura cymbie.¹*

All to one place are driv'n, of all
Shak't is the lot pot, where-hence shall
Sooner or later drawne lots fall,
And to deaths boat for aye enthrall.

And by consequence, if she makes us affeard, it is a continual subject of torment, and which can no way be eased. There is no starting-hole will hide us from her, she will finde us wheresoever we are, we may as in a suspected cuntry start and turne here and there: *quæ quasi suxum Tantalo semper impendit.*² Which evermore hangs like the stone over the head of Tantalus: Our lawes doe often condemne and send malefactors to be executed in the same place where the crime was committed: to which whilst they are going, leade them along the fairest houses, or entertaine them with the best cheere you can,

*non Sicula dapas
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem:*

*Non avium, citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent.³*

Not all King Denys daintie fare,
Can pleasing taste for them prepare:
No song of birds, no musikes sound
Can lullable to sleepe profound.

Doe you thinke they can take any pleasure in it? or be any thing delighted? and that the small intent of their voiage being still before their eies, hath not altered and altogether distracted their taste from all these commodities and allurements?

*Audit iter, numeratque dies, spatiosque
vitarum*

Melitur vitam, torquetur peste futura.³

He heares his journey, counts his daies, so
measures he

His life by his waies length, vext with the ill
shall be.

The end of our carriere is death, it is the necessary object of our aime: if it affright us, how is it possible we should step one foot further without an ague? The remedie of the vulgar sort is, not to think on it. But from what brutall stupiditie may so grosse a blindness come upon him? he must be made to bridle his Asse by the taile,

Qui capite ipse suo instituit vestigia retro.³

Who doth a course contrarie runne
With his head to his course begunne.

It is no marvell if he be so often taken tripping; some doe no sooner heare the name of death spoken of, but they are affraid, yea the most part will crosse themselves, as if they heard the Devill named. And because mention is made of it in mens wils and testaments, I warrant you there is none will set his hand to them, til the physitian hath given his last doome, and utterly forsaken him. And God knowes, being then betwene such paine and feare, with what sound judgment they endure him. For so much as this syllable sounded so unpleasantly in their eares, and this voice seemed so ill-boding and unluckie, the Romans had learned to allay and dilate the same by a Periphrasis. In lieu of saying, he is dead, or he hath ended his daies, they would say, he hath lived. So it be life, be it past or no, they are comforted: from whom we have borrowed our phrases *quondam, alias*, or later such a one. It may haply be, as the common saying is, the time we live is worth the mony we pay for it. I was borne betwene eleven of the clocke and noone, the last of Februarie 1533, according to our computation, the year beginning the first of Januarie. It is but a fortnight since I was 39 yeares old. I want at least as

¹ HOR. l. iii. Od. iii. 25.

² CIC. De Fin. l. i.

³ HOR. l. iii. Od. l. 10.

³ CLAUD. in Ruff. l. ii. i. 137.

³ LICRET. l. iv. 474.

much more. If in the meane time I should trouble my thoughts with a matter so farre from me, it were but folly. But what? we see both young and old to leave their life after one selfe-same condition. No man departs otherwise from it, than if he but now came to it, seeing there is no man so crazed, bedrell, or decrepit, so long as he remembers Methusalem, but thinke he may yet live twentie yeares. Moreover, seely creature as thou art, who hath limited the end of thy daies? Happily thou presumest upon physitis reports. Rather consider the effect and experience. By the common course of things long since thou livest by extraordinarie favour. Thou hast alreadie over-past the ordinarie tearmes of common life: And to prove it, remember but thy acquaintances, and tell me how many more of them have died before they came to thy age, than have either attained or outgone the same: yea, and of those that through renoune have ennobled their life, if thou but register them, I will lay a wager, I will finde more that have died before they came to five and thirty yeares, than after. It is consonant with reason and pietie, to take example by the humanity of Iesus Christ, who ended his humane life at three and thirtie yeares. The greatest man that ever was being no more than a man, I meane Alexander the Great, ended his dayes, and died also of that age. How many severall meanes and waies hath death to surpris us!

*Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas.*¹

A man can never take good heed,
Howrely what he may shun and speed.

I omit to speak of agues and pleurisies; who would ever have imagined that a Duke of Brittainie should have beene stifled to death in a throng of people, as whilome was a neighbour of mine at Lyons, when Pope Clement made his entrance there? Hast thou not seene one of our late Kings slaine in the midst of his sports? and one of his ancestors die miserably by the chocke of an hog? Eschilus fore-threatned by the fall of an house, when he stood most upon his guard, stricken dead by the fall of a tortoise shell, which fell out of the tallants of an eagle flying in the air? and another choaked with the kernell of a grape? And an Emperour die by the scratch of a combe, whilst he was combing his head? And Æmylius Lepidus with hitting his foot against a doore-seele? And Aufidius with stumbling against the Consull-chamber doore as he was going in thereat? And

Cornelius Gallus, the Prætor, Tigillinus, Captaine of the Romane watch, Lodowike, sonne of Guido Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, end their daies betweene womens thighs? And of a farre worse example Speusippus, the Platonian philosopher, and one of our Popes? Poore Bebius a Judge, whilst he demurreth the sute of a plaintife but for eight daies, behold his last expired: And Caius Iulius a Physitian, whilst he was annointing the eies of one of his patients, to have his owne sight closed for ever by death. And if amongst these examples, I may adde one of a brother of mine, called Captain Saint Martin, a man of three and twentie yeares of age, who had alreadie given good testimonie of his worth and forward valour, playing at tennis, received a blow with a ball, that hit him a little above the right eare, without apparance of any contusion, bruse, or hurt, and never sitting or resting upon it, died within six houres after of an apoplexie, which the blow of the ball caused in him. These so frequent and ordinary examples, hapning, and being still before our eies, how is it possible for man to forgo or forget the remembrance of death? and why should it not continually seeme unto us, that shee is still ready at hand to take us by the throat? What matter is it, will you say unto me, how and in what manner it is, so long as a man doe not trouble and vex himselfe therewith? I am of this opinion, that howsoever a man may shrowd or hide himselfe from her dart, yea, were it under an oxe-hide, I am not the man would shrinke backe: it sufficeth me to live at my ease; and the best recreation I can have, that doe I ever take; in other matters, as little vain glorious, and ex-emplare as you list.

*prætulerim delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique sal-
lant,
Quam sapere et ringi.*²

A dotard I had rather seeme, and dull,
Sooner my faults may please make me a gull,
Than to be wise, and beat my vexed scull.

But it is folly to thinke that way to come unto it. They come, they goe, they trot, they daunce: but no speech of death. All that is good sport. But if she be once come, and on a sudden and openly surprise, either them, their wives, their children, or their friends, what torments, what out-cries, what rage, and what despair doth then overwhelm them? saw you ever anything so drooping, so changed, and so distracted?

¹ HOR. l. ii. *Od.* xiii. 13.

² HOR. l. ii. *Epist.* ii. 126.

A man must looke to it, and in better times fore-see it. And might that brutish carelessness lodge in the minde of a man of understanding (which I find altogether impossible) she sels us her ware at an over-deere rate: were she an enemy by mans wit to be avoided, I would advise men to borrow the weapons of cowardlinesse: but since it may not be, and that be you either a coward or a runaway, an honest or valiant man, she overtakes you,

*Nempe et fugacem persequitur virum,
Nec parit imbellis juvenem
Poplitibus, timidoque tergo.¹*

Shee persecutes the man that flies,
Shee spares not weake youth to surprise,
But on their hammes and backe turn'd plics.

And that no temper of cuirace may shield or defend you, 12, 198

*Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et ære,
Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput.²*

Though he with yron and brasse his head empale,
Yet death his head enclosed thence will hale.

Let us learne to stand, and combat her with a resolute minde. And being to take the greatest advantage she liath upon us from her, let us take a cleane contrary way from the common, let us remove her strangenesse from her, let us converse, frequent, and acquaint our selves with her, let us have nothing so much in minde as death, let us at all times and seasons, and in the ugliest manner that may be, yea with all faces shapen and represent the same unto our imagination. At the stumbling of a horse, at the fall of a stone, at the least prick with a pinne, let us presently ruminate and say with our selves, what if it were death it selfe? and thereupon let us take heart of grace, and call our wits together to confront her. Amidst our banquetts, feasts, and pleasures, let us ever have this restraint or object before us, that is, the remembrance of our condition, and let not pleasure so much mislead or transport us, that we altogether neglect or forget, how many waies, our joyes, or our feasting, be subject unto death, and by how many hold-fasts shee threatens us and them. So did the Egyptians, who in the midst of their banquetings, and in the full of their greatest cheere, caused the anatomie of a dead man to be brought before them, as a memorandum and warning to their guests.

*Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum,
Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora.³*

¹ HOR. l. iii. *Od.* ii. 14.

² PROPERT. l. iii. et xvii. 25.

³ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* iv. 13.

Thinke every day shines on thee as thy last,
Welcome it will come, whereof hope was past.

It is uncertaine where death looks for us; let us expect her everie where: the premeditation of death, is a fore-thinking of libertie. He who hath learned to die, hath unlearned to serve. There is no evil in life, for him that hath well conceived, how the privation of life is no evil. To know how to die, doth free us from all subjection and constraint. Paulus Æmilius answered one, whom that miserable king of Macedon his prisoner sent to entreat him he would not lead him in triumph, "Let him make that request unto himselfe." Verily, if Nature afford not some helpe in all things, it is very hard that art and industrie should goe farre before. Of my selfe, I am not much given to melancholy, but rather to dreaming and sluggishness. There is nothing wherewith I have ever more entertained my selfe, than with the imaginations of death, yea in the most licentious times of my age.

Incundum, cum ætas florida ver æget.¹

When my age flourishing
Did spend its pleasant spring.

Being amongst faire Ladies, and in earnest play, some have thought me busied, or musing with my selfe, how to digest some jealousy, or meditating on the uncertaintie of some conceived hope, when God he knows, I was entertaining my selfe with the remembrance of some one or other, that but few daies before was taken with a burning fever, and of his sodaine end, coming from such a feast or meeting where I was my selfe, and with his head full of idle conceits, of love, and merry glee; supposing the same, either sickness or end, to be as neere me as him.

*Iam fuerit, nec post, unquam revocare
licebit.²*

Now time would be, no more
You can this time restore.

I did no more trouble my selfe or frowne at such conceit, than at any other. It is impossible we should not apprehend or feele some motions or startings at such imaginations at the first, and comming sodainely upon us: but doubtlesse, he that shall manage and meditate upon them with an impartiall eye, they will assuredly, in tract of time, become familiar to him: Otherwise, for my part, I should be in continuall feare and agonie; for no man did ever more distrust his life, nor make lesse account of his continuance: Neither can

¹ CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 16.

² LUCR. l. iii. 947.

health, which hitherto I have so long enjoyed, and which so seldome hath bene crazed, lengthen my hopes, nor any sickness shorten them of it. At every minute me thinks I make an escape. And I incessantly record unto my selfe, that whatsoever may be done another day, may be effected this day. Truly hazards and dangers doe little or nothing approach us at our end: And if we consider, how many more there remaine, besides this accident, which in number more than millions seeme to threaten us, and hang over us; we shall find, that be we sound or sicke, lustie or weake, at sea or at land, abroad or at home, fighting or at rest, in the midst of a battell or in our beds, she is ever alike neere unto us. *Nemo altero fragilior est, nemo in crastinum sulcior.*: "No man is weaker then other; none surer of himselfe (to live) till to morrow." Whatsoever I have to doe before death, all leasure to end the same seemeth short unto me, yea were it but of one houre. Some body, not long since turning over my writing tables, found by chance a memoriall of something I would have done after my death: I told him (as indeed it was true), that being but a mile from my house, and in perfect health and lustie, I had made haste to write it, because I could not assure my self I should ever come home in safety: As one that am ever hatching of mine owne thoughts, and place them in my selfe: I am ever prepared about that which I may be: nor can death (come when she please) put me in mind of any new thing. A man should ever, as much as in him lieth, be ready booted to take his journey, and above all things, looke he have then nothing to doe but with himselfe.

*Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo
Multa!*¹

To aine why are we ever bold,
At many things in so short hold?

For then we shall have worke sufficient, without any more accresse. Some man complaineth more that death doth hinder him from the assured course of an hoped for victorie, than of death it selfe; another cries out, he should give place to her, before he have married his daughter, or directed the course of his childrens bringing up; another bewalleth he must forgoe his wives company; another moaneth the losse of his children, the chiefest commodities of his being. I am now by meanes of the mercy of God in such a taking, that without regret or grieving at any worldly matter, I am

prepared to dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me: I am every where free: my farewell is soone taken of all my friends, except of my selfe. No man did ever prepare himselfe to quit the world more simply and fully, or more generally spake of all thoughts of it, than I am fully assured I shall doe. The deadead deaths are the best.

— *Miser, & miser (aiunt) omnia ademil.
Una dies infesta mihi tot præmia vite:*¹

O wretch, O wretch (friends cry), one day,
All joyes of life hath tane away:

And the builder,

— *manent (saith he) opera interrupta,
minuque
Muronum ingentes.*²

The workes unfinished lie,
And walls that threatned hie.

A man should designe nothing so long afore hand, or at least with such an intent, as to passionate himselfe to see the end of it; we are all borne to be doing.

*Cum morior, medium solvar et inter opus.*³

When dying I my selfe shall spend,
Ere halfe my businesse come to end.

I would have a man to be doing, and to prolong his lives offices as much as lieth in him, and let death seize upon me whilst I am setting my cabiges, carelesse of her dart, but more of my imperfect garden. I saw one die, who being at his last gaspe, incessantly complained against his destinie, and that death should so unkindly cut him off in the midst of an historie which he had in hand, and was now come to the fifteenth or sixteenth of our Kings.

*Illud in his rebus non addunt, nec tibi earum,
Iam desiderium rerum super insidet una.*⁴

Friends adde not that in this case, now no more
Shalt thou desire, or want things wisht before.

A man should rid himselfe of these vulgar and hurtful humours. Even as Churchyards were first placed adjoining unto churches, and in the most frequented places of the City, to enure (as I. ycurgus said) the common people, women and children, not to be skared at the sight of a dead man, and to the end that continuall spectacle of bones, sculls, tombes, graves and burials, should forewarne us of our condition, and fatall end.

*Quin etiam exhilarare viris convivia corde
Mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira
Certantum ferro, saepe et super ipsi cadentum
Pocula, respersis non parvo sanguine mensis.*⁵

¹ I. IUCR. l. iii. 942.

² VIRG. ÆN. l. iv. 88.

³ OVID. Am. l. ii. El. x. 36.

⁴ IUCR. l. iii. 944.

⁵ SYL. Ital. l. xi. 51.

¹ HOR. l. ii. Od. xiv.

Nay more, the manner was to welcome guests,
And with dire shewes of slaughter to mix feasts.
Of them that fought at sharpe, and with bords
tainted
Of them with much blond, who o'er full cups
fainted.

And even as the Egyptians after their feasting and carousings caused a great image of death to be brought in and shewed to the guests and by-standers, by one that cried aloud, "Drinke and be merry, for such shalt thou be when thou art dead:" So have I learned this custome or lesson, to have alwaies death, not only in my imagination, but continually in my mouth. And there is nothing I desire more to be informed of than of the death of men; that is to say, what words, what countenance, and what face they shew at their death; and in reading of histories, which I so attentively observe. It appeareth by the shuffling and huddling up of my examples, I affect no subject so particularly as this. Were I a composer of books, I would keepe a register, commented of the divers deaths, which in teaching men to die, should after teach them to live. Dicearcus made one of that title, but of another and lesse profitable end. Some man will say to mee, the effect exceeds the thought so farre, that there is no fence so sure, or cunning so certaine, but a man shall either lose or forget if he come once to that point; let them say what they list: to premeditate on it, giveth no doubt a great advantage: and it is nothing, at the least, to goe so farre without dismay or alteration, or without an ague? There belongs more to it: Nature her selfe lends her hand, and gives us courage. If it be a short and violent death, wee have no leisure to feare it; if otherwise, I perceive that according as I engage my selfe in sicknesse, I doe naturally fall into some disdain and contempt of life. I finde that I have more adoe to digest this resolution, that I shall die when I am in health, than I have when I am troubled with a fever: forsomuch as I have no more such fast hold on the commodities of life, whereof I begin to lose the use and pleasure, and view death in the face with a lesse undanted looke, which makes me hope, that the further I goe from that, and the nearer I approach to this, so much more easily doe I enter in composition for their exchange. Even as I have tried in many other occurrences, which Cæsar affirmed, that often some things seeme greater, being farre from us, than if they bee neere at hand: I have found that being in perfect health, I have much more bene frighted with sicknesse, than when I have felt it. The jollitie wherein I live, the

pleasure and the strength make the other seeme so disproportionable from that, that by imagination I amplify these commodities by one moitie, and apprehended them much more heave and burthensome, than I feele them when I have them upon my shoulders. The same I hope will happen to me of death. Consider we by the ordinary mutations, and daily declinations which we suffer, how Nature deprives us of the sight of our losse and empairing: what hath an aged man left him of his youths vigor, and of his forepast life?

*Hæu senibus vitæ portio quanta r. anct!*¹

Alas to men in yeares how small
A part of life is left in all?

Cæsar to a tired and crazed Souldier of his guard, who in the open street came to him, to beg leave he might cause himselfe to be put to death; viewing his decrepit behaviour, answered pleasantly: "Doeest thou thinke to be alive then?" Were man all at once to fall into it, I doe not thinke we should be able to beare such a change, but being faire and gently led on oy her hand, in a slow, and as it were unperceived descent, by little and little, and step by step, she roules us into that miserable state, and day by day seekes to acquaint us with it. So that when youth failes in us, we feele, nay we perceive no shaking or transchange at all in our selves: which in essence and veritie is a harder death, than that of a languishing and irkesome life, or that of age. Forsomuch as the leape from an ill being unto a not being, is not so dangerous or steepie; as it is from a delightfull and flourishing being unto a painfull and sorrowfull condition. A weake bending, and faint stopping bodie hath lesse strength to beare and under goe a heavey burden: So hath our soule. She must bee rouzed and raised against the violence and force of this adversarie. For as it is impossible she should take any rest whilst she feareth: whereof if she be assured (which is a thing exceeding humane condition) she may boast that it is impossible unquietnesse, torment, and feare, much lesse the least displeasure should lodge in her.

*Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster,
Dux iniqui turbidus Adria,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.*²

No urging tyrants threatening face,
Where minde is found can it displace,
No troublous wind the rough seas Master,
Nor Joves great hand the thunder-caster,

¹ Cor. Gal. l. i. 16.

² Hor. l. iii. Od. iii.

She is made Mistris of her passions and concupiscence, Lady of indulgence, of shame of povertrie, and of all fortunes injuries. Let him that can, attaine to this advantage: Herein consists the true and soveraigne liberty, that affords us meanes wherewith to jeast and make a scorne of force and injustice, and to deride imprisonment, gives, or fetters.

— in manicis, et

Compeditibus, servo te sub custode tenebo.
Ipsæ Deus simul atque volam, me solvet: opinor.
Hoc sentit, moriari. Mors ultima linea rerum est.
In gyves and fetters I will hamper thee,
Under a Jayler that shall cruell be:
Yet, when I will, God me deliver shall.
He thinks, I shall die: death is end of all.

Our religion hath had no surer humane foundation than the contempt of life. Discourse of reason doth not only call and summon us unto it. For why should we feare to lose a thing, which being lost, cannot be moaned? but also, since we are threatened by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all, than to endure one: what matter is it when it cometh, since it is unavoidable? Socrates answered one that told him, "The thirty tyrants have condemned thee to death." "And Nature them," said he. What fondnesse is it to carke and care so much, at that instant and passage from all exemption of paine and care? As our birth brought us the birth of all things, so shall our death the end of all things. Therefore is it as great follie to weepe, we shall not live a hundred yeeres hence, as to waile we lived not a hundred yeeres agoe. "Death is the beginning of another life." So wept we, and so much did it cost us to enter into this life; and so did we spoile us of our ancient vaile in entering into it. Nothing can be grievous that is but once. Is it reason so long to feare a thing of so short time? Long life or short life is made all one by death. For long or short is not in things that are no more. Aristotle saith, there are certaine little beasts alongst the river Hispanis, that live but one day; she which dies at 8 o'clocke in the morning, dies in her youth, and she that dies at 5 in the afternoon, dies in her decrepitude, who of us doth not laugh, when we shall see this short moment of continuance to be had in consideration of good or ill fortune? The most and the least is ours, if we compare it with eternitie, or equall it to the lasting of mountains, rivers, stars, and trees, or any other living creature, is not lesse ridiculous. But nature compels us to it. Depart (saith she) out of

this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death to life, returne without passion or amazement, from life to death: your death is but a peece of the worlds order, and but a parcell of the worlds life.

— *inter se mortales mutua vivunt,*
*Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt.*¹

Mortal men live by mutuall entercourse:
And yeeld their life-torch, as men in a course.

Shal I not change this goodly contexture of things for you? It is the condition of your creation: death is a part of yourselves: you flie from yourselves. The being you enjoy is equally shared betwene life and death. The first day of your birth doth as wel addresse you to die, as to live.

*Prima quæ vitam dedit, hora, carpsit.*²

The first houre, that to men
Gave life, strait, cropt it then.

*Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;*³

As we are borne we die: the end
Doth of th' originall depend.

All the time you live, you steale it from death: it is at her charge. The continuall worke of your life, is to contrive death: you are in death, during the time you continue in life: for, you are after death, when you are no longer living. Or if you had rather have it so, you are dead after life: but during life, you are still dying: and death doth more rudely touch the dying than the dead, and more lively and essentially. If you have profited by life, you have also benee fed thereby, depart then satisfied.

*Cur non ut plenus vite conviva recedis?*⁴

Why like a full-fed guest,
Depart you not to rest?

If you have not knowne how to make use of it: if it were unprofitable to you, what need you care to have lost it? to what end would you enjoy it longer?

— *cur amplius addere quæris*

Rursum quod percat male, et ingratum occidat
*omne?*⁵

Why seeke you more to gaine, what must
agaîne

All perish ill, and passe with griefe or paine?

Life in itselfe is neither good nor evill: it is the place of good or evill, according as you prepare it for them. And if you have lived one day, you have seene all: one day is equal to all other daies. There is no other light, there is no other night. This

¹ LUCRET. ii. 74, 77. ² SEN. *Her. Sur.* chor. iii:

³ MANIL. *Asl.* l. iv. ⁴ LUCRET. l. iii. 982:

⁵ LUCRET. l. iii. 989.

Sunne, this Moone, these Starres, and this disposition, is the very same which your forefathers enjoyed, and which shall also entertaine your posteritie.

*Nam alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes
Aspiciunt.*¹

No other saw our Sires of old,
No other shall their sonnnes behold.

And if the worst happen, the distribution and varietie of all the acts of my comedie, is performed in one yeare. If you have observed the course of my foure seasons; they containe the infancie, the youth, the virilitie, and the old age of the world. He hath plaied his part: he knowes no other willesse belonging to it, but to begin againe, it will ever be the same, and no other.

— *Versamur ibidem, atque insumus usque.*²

We still in one place turne about.
Still there we are, now in, now out.

*Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.*³

The yeare into it selfe is cast
By those same steps, that it hath past.

I am not purposed to devise you other new sports.

*Nam tibi præterea quod machiner, inveniam-
que*

*Quod placeant, nihil est; eadem sunt omnia
semper.*⁴

Else nothing, that I can devise or frame,
Can please thee, for all things are still the same.

Make roome for others, as others have done for you. Equalitie is the chiefe ground-wooke of equitie, who can complaine to be comprehended where all are contained? So may you live long enough, you shall never diminish anything from the time you have to die: it is bootlesse; so long shall you continue in that state which you feare, as if you had died being in your swathing-clothes, and when you were sucking.

— *licet, quot vis, vivendo vincere secula,
Mors æterna tamen, nihilominus illa manebit.*⁵

Though yeares you live, as many as you will,
Death is eternall, death remaineth still.

And I will so please you, that you shall have no discontent.

*In vera nescis nullum fore morte alium te,
Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere preceptum,
Stansque jacentem.*⁶

Thou know'st not there shall be not other thou,
When thou art dead indeed, that can tell how
Alive to waile thee dying,
Standing to waile thee lying.

Nor shall you wish for life, which you so much desire.

*Nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitamque
requirit.*¹

*Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit ullum.*²

For then none for himselfe himselfe or life requires:

Nor are we of our selves affected with desires.

Death is lesse to be feared than nothing,
if there were anything lesse than nothing.

— *multo mortem minus ad nos esse pu-
tandum,*

*Si minus esse potest quam quod nihil esse
videmus.*³

Death is much less to us, we ought esteeme,
If lesse may be, than what doth nothing seeme.

Nor alive, nor dead, it doth concern you nothing. Alive because you are: Dead, because you are no more. Moreover, no man dies before his houre. The time you leave behinde was no more yours than that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more.

*Respice enim quam nil ad nos antea
vetustus*

*Temporis æterni fuerit.*⁴

For marke, how all antiquitie foregone
Of all time ere we were, to us was none.

Wheresoever your life ended, there is it all. The profit of life consists not in the space, but rather in the use. Some man hath lived long, that hath a short life. Follow it whilst you have time. It consists not in number of yeeres, but in your will, that you have lived long enough. Did you thinke you should never come to the place, where you were still going? There is no way but hath an end. And if company may solace you, doth not the whole world walke the same path?

— *Omnia te, vita perfuncta, sequuntur.*⁵

Life past, all things at last
Shall follow thee as thou hast past.

Doe not all things move as you doe, or keepe your course? Is there any thing grows not old together with yourselfe? A thousand men, a thousand beasts, and a thousand other creatures die in the very instant that you die.

*Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora
sequuta est,*

*Que non audierit mistus vagitibus ægris
Ploratus, mortis comites et funeris atris.*⁶

No night ensued day light; no morning fol-
lowed night,
Which heard not moaning mixt with sick-mens
groaning,

¹ MANTIL. i. 52^a.

² VIRG. *Georg.* l. ii. 403.

³ *Ib.* 1126.

⁴ LUCRET. l. iii. 123.

⁵ *Ib.* l. ii. 978.

⁶ *Ib.* l. iii. 9.

¹ LUCRET. l. iii. 963.

² *Ib.* 970.

³ *Ib.* 1026.

⁴ *Ib.* 1026.

⁵ *Ib.* 1026.

⁶ *Ib.* l. ii. 587.

With deaths and funerals joynd was that moaning.

To what end recoil you from it, if you cannot goe backe. You have seene many who have found good in death, ending thereby many many miseries. But have you seene any that hath received hurt thereby? Therefore it is meere simplicitie to condemne a thing you never approve, neither by yourselfe nor any other. Why doest thou complaine of me and of destinie? Doe we offer thee any wrong? is it for thee to direct us, or for us to governe thee? Although thy age be not come to her period, thy life is. A little man is a whole man as well as a great man. Neither men nor their lives are measured by the Ell. Chiron refused immortallitie, being informed of the conditions thereof, even by the God of time and of continuance, Saturne his father. Imagine truly how much an ever-during life would be lesse tolerable and more painfull to a man, than is the life which I have given him. Had you not death you would then uncessantly curse, and cry out against me, that I had deprived you of it. I have of purpose and unwittingly blended some bitterness amongst it, that so seeing the commoditie of its use, I might hinder you from over-greedily embracing, or indiscreetly calling for it. To continue in this moderation, that is, neither to fly from life nor to run to death (which I require of you) I have tempered both the one and other betweene sweetnes and sowrenes. I first taught Thales, the chiefe of your Sages and Wisemen, that to live and die were indifferent, which made him answer one very wisely, who asked him wherefore he died not: "Because," said he, "it is indifferent. The water, the earth, the aire, the fire, and other members of this my universe, are no more the instruments of thy life than of thy death. Why fearest thou thy last day? He is no more guiltie, and conferreth no more to thy death, than any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth weariness: it only declares it. All daies march towards death, only the last comes to it." Behold heere the good precepts of our universall mother Nature. I have oftentimes be-thought my self whence it proceedeth, that in times of warre, the visage of death (whether wee see it in us or in others) seemeth without all comparison much lesse dreadful and terrible unto us, than in our houses, or in our beds, otherwise it should be an armie of Physitians and whiners, and she ever being one, there must needs bee much more assurance amongst countrie-people and of base condition, than in others. I verily believe, these fearefull looks, and

astonishing countenances wherewith we encompass it, are those that more amaze and terrifie us than death: a new forme of life; the out cries of mothers; the wailing of women and children; the visitation of dismaid and swooning friends; the assistance of a number of pale-looking, distracted, and whining servants; a darke chamber; tapers burning round about; our couch beset round with Physitians and Preachers; and to conclude, nothing but horror and astonishment on every side of us; are wee not already dead and buried? The very children are afraid of their friends, when they see them masked; and so are we. The maske must as well be taken from things as from men, which being removed, we shall find nothing hid under it, but the very same death, that a seely varlet, or a simple maid-servant, did latterly suffer without amazement or feare. Happie is that death which takes all leasure from the preparations of such an equipage.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the force of Imagination.

FORTIS imaginatio generat casum; "A strong imagination begetteth chance," say learned clearks. I am one of those that feele a very great conflict and power of imagination. All men are shockt therewith, and some overthrowne by it. The impression of it pierceth me, and for want of strength to resist her, my endeavour to avoid it, I could live with the only assistance of holy and merry-hearted men. The sight of others anguishes doth sensibly drive me into anguish; and my sense hath often usurped the sense of a third man. If one cough continually, he provokes my lungs and throat. I am more unwilling to visit the sicke dutie doth engage me unto, than those to whom I am little beholding, and regard least. I apprehend the evill which I studie, and place it in me. I deeme it not strange that she brings both agues and death to such as give her scope to worke her wil, and applaud her. Simon Thomas was a great Physitian in his daies. I remember upon a time coming by chance to visit a rich old man that dwelt in Tholouse, and who was troubled with the cough of the lungs, who discoursing with the said Simon Thomas of the meanes of his recoverie, he told him, that one of the best was, to give me occasion to be delighted in his companie, and that fixing his eyes upon the liveliness and freshness of my face and setting his thoughts upon the jollitie and vigor, wherewith my youthful age did then

flourish, and filling all his senses with my flourishing estate, his habitude might thereby be amended, and his health recovered. But he forgot to say, that mine might also be empaired and infected. Gallus Vibius did so well enure his minde to comprehend the essence and motions of folly, that he so transported his judgement from out his seat, as he could never afterwards bring it to his right place againe; and might rightly boast to have become a foole through wisdom. Some there are, that through feare anticipate the hang-mans hand; as he did, whose friends having obtained his pardon, and putting away the cloth where-with he was hoodwink, that he might heare it read, was found starke dead upon the scaffold, wounded only by the stroke of imagination. Wee sweat, we shake, we grow pale, and we blush at the motions of our imaginations; and wallowing in our beds we feele our bodie agitated and turmoiled at their apprehensions, yea in such manner as sometimes we are ready to yeeld up the spirit. And burning youth (although asleepe) is often therewith so possessed and enfolded, that dreaming it doth satisfy and enjoy her amorous desires.

*Ut quasi transactis saepe omnibus rebus profundum
Fluminis ingentes fluctus, vestemque cruentam.*¹

And if all things were done, they powre forth streames,
And bloodie their night-garment in their dreaumes.

And although it be not strange to see some men have hornes growing upon their head in one night, that had none when they went to bed: notwithstanding the fortune or success of Cyppus King of Italie is memorable, who because the day before he had with earnest affection assisted and beene attentive at a bul-baiting, and having all night long dreamed of hornes in his head, by the very force of imagination brought them forth the next morning in his forehead. An earnest passion gave the son of Croesus his voice, which Nature had denied him. And Antiochus got an ague, by the excellent beautie of Stratonice so deeply imprinted in his minde. Plinie reporteth to have seene Lucius Cossitius upon his marriage day to have beene transformed from a woman to a man. Pontanus and others recount the like metamorphosies to have hapned in Italie these ages past: And through a vehement desire of him and his mother.

*Vota puer solvit, que semina voverat Iphis.*²

Iphis a boy, the voves then paid,
Which he vow'd when he was a maid.

My selfe traveling on a time by Vitry in France, hapned to see a man, whom the Bishop of Soissons had in confirmation, named Germane, and all the inhabitants thereabout have both knowne and seene to be a woman-childe, untill she was two and twentie yeares of age, called by the name of Marie. He was, when I saw him, of good yeares, and had a long beard, and was yet unmarried. He saith, that upon a time, leaping, and straining himselfe to overleape another, he wot not how, but where before he was a woman, he suddenly felt the instrument of a man to come out of him; and to this day the maidens of that towne and countrie have a song in use, by which they warne one another, when they are leaping, not to straine themselves over-much, or open their legs too wide, for feare they should bee turned to boies, as Marie Germane was. It is no great wonder, that such accidents doe often happen, for if imagination have power in such things, it is so continually annexed, and so forcibly fastened to this subject, that lest she should so often fall into the relaps of the same thought, and sharpnesse of desire, it is better one time for all to incorporate this virile part unto wenches. Some will not stickie to ascribe the scarres of King Dagobert, or the cicatrices of Saint Francis unto the power of Imagination. Othersome will say, that by the force of it, bodiees are sometimes removed from their places. And Celsus reports of a Priest, whose soule was ravished into such an extasie, that for a long time the body remained void of all respiration and sense. Saint Augustine speaketh of another, who if hee but heard any lamentable and wailefull cries, would suddenly fall into a swone, and bee so forcibly carried from himselfe, that did any chide and braule never so loud, pinch and thumpe him never so much, he could not be made to stirre, untill hee came to himselfe againe. Then would he say, he had heard sundry strange voyces, coming as it were from a farr, and perceiving his pinches and bruises, wondered at them. And that it was not an obstinate conceit, or wilfull humour in him, or against his feeling sense, it plainly appeared by this, because during his extasie, he seemed to have neither pulse nor breath. It is very likely that the principall credit of visions, of enchantments, and such extraordinary effects, proceedeth from the power of imaginations, working especially in the mindes of the vulgar sort, as the weakest and seeldest, whose conceit and beleefe is so seized upon, that they imagine to see what they see not. I am yet in doubt, these pleasant bonds, wherewith our world

is so fettered, and France so pestered, that nothing else is spoken of, are haply but the impressions of apprehension, and effects of feare. For I know by experience, that some one, for whom I may as well answer as for my selfe, and in whom no manner of suspition either of weaknesse or enchantment might fall, hearing a companion of his make report of an extraordinary faint sowning, wherein he was fallen, at such a time as he least looked for it, and wrought him no small shame, whereupon the horrour of his report did so strongly strike his imagination, as he ranne the same fortune, and fell into a like drooping: And was thence forward subject to fall into like fits: So did the passionate remembrance of his inconvenience possesse and tyrannize him; but his fond doting was in time remedied by another kinde of raving. For himselfe avowing and publishing aforehand the infirmity he was subject unto, the contention of his soule was solaced upon this, that bearing his evil as expected, his dutie thereby diminished, and he grieved lesse thereat. And when at his choice, he hath had law and power (his thought being cleered and unmasked, his body finding it selfe in his right due place) to make the same to be felt, seized upon, and apprehended by others knowledge: he hath fully and perfectly recovered himselfe. If a man have once bene capable, he cannot afterward be incapable, except by a just and absolute weaknesse. Such a mischief is not to be feared, but in the enterprises where our minde is beyond all measure bent with desire and respect; and chiefly where opportunitie comes unexpected, and requires a sudden dispatch. There is no meanes for a man to recover himselfe from his trouble; I know some, who have found to come unto it with their bodies as it were halfe gluttred else-where, thereby to stupifie or allay the heat of that furie, and who through age, finde themselves lesse unable, by how much more they be lesse able: And another, who hath also found good, in that a friend of his assured him to bee provided with a counter-battery of forcible enchantments, to preserve him in any such conflict: It is not amisse I relate how it was. An Earle of very good place, with whom I was familiarly acquainted, being married to a very faire Lady, who had long bene solicited for love by one assisting at the wedding, did greatly trouble his friends; but most of all an old Lady his kins-woman, who was chiefe at the marriage, and in whose house it was solemnized, as she that much feared such sorceries and witchcrafts: which shee gave mee to understand, I comforted her as well

as I could, and desired her to relie upon me: I had by chance a peece of golden plate in my trunk, wherein were engraven certaine celestial figures good against the Sunne-beames, and for the head-ach, being fitly laid upon the suture of the head: and that it might the better be kept there, it was sewed to a ribband, to be fastened under the chin. A fond doting conceit, and cosin-germane to that we now speake of. James Peletier had whilest he lived in my house bestowed that singular gift upon mee; I advised my selfe to put it to some use, and told the Earle, he might haply be in danger, and come to some misfortune as others had done, the rather because some were present, that would not sticke to procure him some ill lucke, and which was worse, some spitefull shame; but nevertheless I willed him boldly to go to bed: For I would shew him the part of a true friend, and in his need, spare not for his good to employ a miracle, which was in my power; alwaies provided, that on his honour he would promise me faithfully to keepe it very secret; which was only, that when about mid-night he should have his candle brought him, if he had had no good successe in his businesse, he should make such and such a signe to me. It fel out, his mind was so quailed, and his eares so dulled, that by reason of the bond wherewith the trouble of his imagination had tied him, hee could not run on poste: and at the houre appointed, made the signe agreed upon betwene us, I came and whispered him in the eare, that under pretence to put us all out of his chamber, he should rise out of his bed, and in jesting manner take my night-gowne which I had on, and put it upon himselfe (which he might well doe, because wee were much of one stature) and keepe it on till he had performed my appointment, which was, that when we should be gone out of the Chamber, he should withdraw himselfe to make water, and using certaine jestures I had shewed him, speake such words thrice over. And every time hee spake them he should girt the ribband, which I put into his hands, and very carefully place the plate thereto fastened, just upon his kidneyes, and the whole figure, in such a posture. All which when he had accordingly done, and the last time so fastened the ribband, that it might neither be untide nor stirred from his place, he should then boldly and confidently returne to his charge, and not forget to spread my night-gowne upon his bed, but so as it might cover them both. These fopperies are the chiefe of the effect. Our thought being unable so to free it selfe, but some strange meanes will proceed from some

abstruse learning : There inanitie gives them weight and credit. To conclude, it is most certaine, my Characters proved more venerian than solare, more in action than in prohibition. It was a ready and curious humour drew me to this effect, farre from my nature. I am an enemie to craftie and fained actions, and hate all subtletie in my hands, not only recreative, but also profitable. If the action be not vicious, the course unto it is faultie. Amasis King of Ægypt, tooke to wife Laodice, a very beauteous young virgin of Greece, and he that before had in every other place found and shewed himselfe a lustie gallant, found himselfe so short, when he came to grapple with her, that he threatned to kill her, supposing it had beene some charme or sorcerie. As in all things that consist in the fantasie, she address him to devotion. And having made his vows and promises to Venus, he found himselfe divinely freed, even from the first night of his oblations and sacrifices. Now they wrong us, to receive and admit us with their wanton, squeamish, quarellous countenances, which setting us asire, extinguish us.

Pythagoras his neece was wont to say, That a woman which lies with a man ought, together with her petie-coate, leave off all bashfulnesse, and with her petie-coate, take the same againe. The minde of the assaillant molested with sundry different alarums, is easily dismayd. And he whom imagination hath once made to suffer this shame (and she hath caused the same to be felt but in the first acquaintances ; because they are then burning and violent, and in the first acquaintance and comming together, or triall a man gives of himselfe, he is much more afraid and quaint to misse the marke he shoots at) having begun ill he fals into an ague or spite of this accident, which afterward continueth in succeeding occasions. Married men, because time is at their command, and they may go to it when they list, ought never to presse or importune their enterprise, unless they be readie. And it is better undœcently to faile in hanseling the nuptiall bed, full of agitation and fits, by waiting for some or other fitter occasion, and more private opportunitie, less sudden and alarmed, than to fall into a perpetual miserie, by apprehending an astonishment and desperation of the first refusall. Before possession taken, a patient ought by sallies, and divers times, lightly assay and offer himselfe without vexing or opiniating himselfe, definitively to convince himselfe. Such as know their members docile and tractable by nature, let them only endeavour to countercosin their fantasie,

Men have reason to checke the indocile libertie of this member, for so importunately insinuating himselfe when we have no need of him, and so importunately, or as I may say impertinently failing, at what time we have most need of him ; and so imperiously contesting by his authority with our will, refusing with such fiercenes and obstinacie our solicitations both mentall and manuall. Nevertheless if a man inasmuch as he doth gormandize and devour his rebellion, and drawes a triall by his condemnation, would pay me for to plead his cause, I would per-adventure make other of our members to be suspected to have (in envy of his importance, and sweetnesse of his use) devised this imposture, and framed this set quarrell against him, and by some malicious complot armed the world against him, enviously charging him alone with a fault common to them all. For I referre to your thought, whether there be any one particular part of our body that doth not sometimes refuse her particular operation to our will and wish, and that doth not often exercise and practise against our will. All of them have their proper passions, which without any leave of ours doe either awaken or lull them asleepe. How often doe the forced motions and changes of our faces witness the secretest and most lurking thoughts we have, and bewray them to by-standers ? The same cause that doth animate this member, doth also, unwitting to us, embolden our heart, our lungs, and our pulses. The sight of a pleasing object, reflecting imperceptibly on us, the flame of a contagious or aguish emotion. Is there nought besides these muscles and veines, that rise and fall without the consent, not only of our will, but also of our thought ? We cannot command our haire to stand on end, nor our skinne to startle for desire or feare. Our hands are often carried where we direct them not. Our tongue and voice are sometimes to seeke of their faculties, the one loseth her speech, the other her nimblenesse. Even when we have nothing to feed upon, we would willingly forbid it : the appetites to eat, or list to drinke, doe not leave to move the parts subject to them, even as this other appetite, and so, though it be out of season, forsaketh us, when he thinks good. Those instruments that serve to discharge the belly, have their proper compressions and dilatations, besides our intent, and against our meaning, as these are destined to discharge the kidneys. And that which, the better to authorize our wills power, Saint Augustin allegeth, to have seene one, who could at all times command his posterior, to let as many scapes as he would, and which Vives

endeareth by the example of an other in his daies, who could let tunable and organized ones, following the tune of any voice propounded into his eares, inferreth the pure obedience of that member : than which none is commonly more indiscreet and tumultuous. Seeing my selfe know one so skittish and mutinous, that these fortie yeares keeps his master in such awe, that, will he or nill he, he will with a continual breath, constant and unintermitted custome breake winde at his pleasure, and so brings him to his grave. And would to God I knew it but by histories, how that many times our belly, being restrained thereof, brings us even to the gates of a pining and languishing death : And that the Emperour, who gave us free leave to vent at all times, and every where, had also given us the power to doe it. But our will, by whose privilege we advance this reproch, how much more likely, and consonant to truth may we tax it of rebellion, and accuse it of sedition, by reason of its unrulinesse and disobedience. Will shee at all times doe that which we would have her willingly to doe? Is shee not often willing to effect that which we forbid her to desire? and that to our manifest prejudice and damage? Doth she suffer herselfe to be directed by the conclusions of our reason? To conclude, I would urge in defence of my client, that it would please the judges to consider, that concerning this matter, his cause being inseparably conjoynd to a comfort, and indistinctly ; yet will not a man addresse himselfe but to him, both by the arguments and charges, which can no way appertaine to his said consort. For, his effect is indeed sometime importunately to invite, but to refuse never : and also to invite silently and quietly. Therefore is the sawcinesse and illegallitie of the accusers seene. Howsoever it be, protesting that advocates and judges may wrangle, contend, and give sentence, what and how they please, Nature will in the meane time follow her course ; who, had she endued this member with any particular privilege, yet had she done but right, and shewed but reason. Author of the only immortall worke of mortall man. Divine worke according to Socrates ; and love, desire of immortalitie, and immortall Damon himselfe. Some man peradventure, by the effects of imagination leaveth the pex or kings evill heere, which his companion carrieth into Spaine againe : loe heere why in such cases men are accustomed to require a prepared minde, wherefore doe physitians labour and practise before hand the conceit and credence of their patients, with so many false promises of their recoverie and health,

unlesse it be that the effect of imagination may supple and prepare the imposture of their decoction? They knew that one of their trades-masters hath left written, how some men have been found, in whom the only sight of a potion hath wrought his due operation : All which humor or caprice is now come into my minde, upon the report which an apothecarie, whilome a servant in my fathers house, was wont to tell me, a man by knowledge simple, and by birth a Switzer ; a nation little vaine-glorious, and not much given to lying, which was, that for a long time he had knowne a merchant in Tholouse, sickish, and much troubled with the stone, and who often had need of glisters, who according to the fits and occurrences of his evill, caused them diversly to be prescribed by physitians. Which being brought him, no accustomed forme to them belonging was omitted, and would often taste whether they were too hot, and view them well, and lying along upon his bed, on his bellie, and all complements performed, only injection excepted, which ceremony ended, the apothecarie gone, and the patient lying in his bed, even as if he had received a glister indeed, he found and felt the very same effect which they doe that have effectually taken them. And if the physitian saw it had not wrought sufficiently, he would accordingly give him two or three more in the same manner. My witness protesteth, that the sickes mans wife, to save charges (for he paid for them as if he had received them) having sometimes assaid to make them onely with luke warme water, the effect discovered the craft, and being found not to worke at all, they were forced to returne to the former, and use the apothecarie. A woman supposing to have swallowed a pinne with her bread, cried and vexed her-selfe, even as if she had felt an intolerable paine in her throat, where she imagined the same to sticke ; but because there appeared neither swelling or alteration, a skilfull man deeming it to be but a fantasie conceived, or opinion, apprehended by eating of some gretty peece of bread, which haply might prick her in the swallow, made her to vomit, and unknowne to her, cast a pin in that which she had vomited. Which the woman perceiving, and imagining she had cast the same, was presently eased of her paine. I have knowne a gentleman, who having feasted a company of very honest gentlemen and gentlewomen, in his owne house, by way of sport, and in jest, boasted two or three daies after (for there was no such thing) that he had made them eat of a baked cat ; wherat the gentlewoman of the companie apprehended such horror, that

falling into a violent ague and distemper of her stomacke, she could by no means be recovered. Even brute beasts, as well as we, are seene to be subject to the power of imagination; witness some dogs, who for sorrow of their masters death are seene to die, and whom we ordinarily see to startle and barke in their sleep, and horses to neigh and struggle. But all this may be referred to the narrow future of the spirit and the body, entercommunicating their fortunes one unto another. It is another thing, that imagination doth sometimes worke, not only against her owne body, but also against that of others. And even as one body ejecteth a disease to his neighbour, as doth evidently appeare by the plague, pox, or sore eies, that goe from one to another:

*Dum spectant oculi lesos, leduntur et ipsi:
Nullaque corporibus transiunt nocent.*¹

Eies become sore, while they looke on sore eies:
By passage many ills our limmes surprise.

Likewise the imagination moved and tossed by some vehemence, doth cast some darts, that may offend a strange object. Antiquitie hath held, that certaine women of Scithia, being provoked and vexed against some men, had the power to kill them only with their looke. The tortoises and the estriges hatch their egges with their looks only, a signe that they have some ejaculative vertue. And concerning witches they are said to have offensive and harme-working eies.

*Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.*²

My tender Lambs I cannot see,
By what bad eie, bewitched be.

Magitians are but ill respondents for me. So it is, that by experience wee see women to transfere divers marks of their fantasies, unto children they beare in their wombes: witness she that brought forth a blacke-n-more. There was also presented unto Charles, King of Bohemia, an Emperour, a young girle, borne about Pisa, all shagd and hairy over and over, which her mother said, to have beene conceived so, by reason of an image of Saint John Baptist, that was so painted, and hung over her bed. That the like is in beasts, is witnessed by Jacob's sheepe, and also by partridges and hares, that grow white by the snow upon mountaines. There was lately seene a cat about my owne house, so earnestly eyeing a bird, sitting upon a tree, that he seeing the cat, they both so wistly fixed their looks one upon another, so long, that at last the

bird fell downe as dead in the cat's pawes, either drunken by his owne strong imagination, or drawne by some attractive power of the cat. Those that love hawking, have haply heard the Falkner tale, who earnestly fixing his sight upon a kite in the aire, laid a wager that with the only force of his looke, he would make it come stooping downe to the ground, and as some report did it many times. The histories I borrow, I referre to the consciences of those I take them from. The discourses are mine, and hold together by the prooffe of reason, not of experiences: each man may adde his example to them: and who hath none, considering the number and varietie of accidents, let him not leave to think, there are store of them. If I come not well for my selfe, let another come for me. So in the studie wherein I treat of our manners and motions, the fabulous testimonies, alwaies provided they be likely and possible, may serve to the purpose, as well as the true, whether it hapned or no, be it at Rome or at Paris, to John or Peter, it is alwaies a trick of humane capacitee, of which I am profitably advised by this report. I see it and reape profit by it, as well in shadow as in bodie. And in divers lessons that often histories afford, I commonly make use of that which is most rare and memorable. Some writers there are whose end is but to relate the events. Mine, if I could attaine to it, should be to declare what may come to passe, touching the same. It is justly allowed in schooles, to suppose similitudes, when they have none. Yet doe not I so, and concerning that point, in superstitious religion, I exceed all historical credit. To the examples I here set downe, of what I have read, heard done, or scene, I have forbid my selfe so much as to dare to change the least, or alter the iddest circumstances. My conscience doth not falsifie the least jot. I wot not whether my insight doth. Concerning this subject I doe sometimes enter into conceit, that it may well become a divine, a philosopher, or rather men of exquisite conscience, and exact wisdome, to write histories. How can they otherwise engage their credit upon a popular reputation? How can they answer for the thoughts of unknowne persons? And make their bare conjectures passe for current payment? Of the actions of divers members, acted in their presence, they would refuse to beare witness of them, if by a judge they were put to their corporall oath. And there is no man so familiarly knowne to them, of whose inward intention they would undertake to answer at full. I hold it lesse hazardous to write of things past than present; forasmuch as the writer is not bound

¹ OVID. *Am. A.* ii. 219.

² Ysaie. *Buc. Eccl.* iii. 103.

to give account but of a borrowed truth. Some perswade mee to write the affaires of my time, imagining I can see them with a sight lesse blinded with passion, than other men, and perhaps neerer, by reason of the access which fortune hath given me to the chiefest of divers factions. But they will not say, how for the glory of Salust, I would not take the paines; as one that am a vowed enemy of observance, to assiduitie, and to constancie, and that there is nothing so contrarie to my style as a continued narration. I doe so often for want of breath breake off and interrupt my selfe. I have neither composition nor explication of any worth. I am as ignorant as a childe of the phrases and vowels belonging to common things. And therefore have I attempted to say what I can, accomodating the matter to my power. Should I take any man for a guide, my measure might differ from his. For, my libertie being so farre, I might haply publish judgements, agreeing with me, and consonant to reason, yet unlawfull and punishable. Plutarke would peradventure tell us of that which he had written, that it is the worke of others, that his examples are in all and everie where true, that they are profitable to posteritie, and presented with a lustre, that lights and directs us unto vertue, and that is his worke. It is not dangerous, as in a medicinable drug, whether an old tale or report, be it thus or thus, so or so.

CHAPTER XXII.

The profit of one man is the damage of another.

DEMADES the Athenian condemned a man of the Citie, whose trade was to sell such necessities as belonged to burials, under colour, hee asked too much profit for them: and that such profit could not come unto him without the death of many people. This judgement seemeth to be ill taken, because no man profiteth but by the losse of others: by which reason a man should condemne all manner of gaine. The Merchant thrives not but by the licentiousnesse of youth; the Husbandman by dearth of corne; the Architect but by the ruine of houses; the Lawyer by suits and controversies betweene men: Honour it selfe, and practice of religious ministers, is drawne from our death and vices. "No physitian delighteth in the health of his owne friend," saith the ancient Greeke Comike: "nor no Soldier is pleased with

the peace of his citie, and so of the rest." And which is worse, let every man sound his owne conscience, hee shall finde that our inward desires are for the most part nourished and bred in us by the losse and hurt of others; which when I considered, I began to thinke how Nature doth not gaine say herselfe in this, concerning her generall policie: for Physitians hold that "The birth, increase, and augmentation of everything, is the alteration and corruption of another."

*Nam quodcumque suis mutatum finibus exit,
Continuo hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante.¹*
Whatever from it's bounds doth changed passe,
That strait is death of that which erst it was.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of Custome, and how a received law should not easily be changed.

MY opinion is, that hee conceived aright of the force of custome that first invented this tale; how a country woman having enured herselfe to cherish and beare a young calfe in her armes, which continuing, shee got such a custome, that when he grew to be a great ox, shee carried him still in her armes. For truly "Custome is a violent and deceiving schoole-mistris." She by little and little, and as it were by stealth, establisheth the foot of her authoritie in us; by which mild and gentle beginning, if once by the aid of time it have settled and planted the same in us, it will soone discover a furious and tyrannicall countenance unto us; against which we have no more the libertie to lift so much as our eyes: wee may plainly see her upon every occasion to force the rules of Nature: *Vnus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister.*² "Use is the most effectuall master of all things." I beleve Platoes den mentioned in his common-wealth, and the Physitians that so often quit their arts reason by authoritie; and the same King who by means of her, ranged his stomacke to be nourished with poyson; and the mayden that Albert mentioneth to have accustomed herselfe to live upon spiders; and now in the new-found world of the Indians, there were found divers populous nations, in farre differing climates, that lived upon them; made provision of them, and carefully fed them; as also of grasse-hoppers, pisse-

¹ LUCKET. l. i. 687, 313; l. ii. 162; l. iii. 536.

² PLIN. *Epist.* x.

mires, lizards, and night-bats; and a toad was sold for six crownes in a time that all such meats were scarce amongst them, which they boyle, rost, bake, and dresse with divers kinds of sawces. Others have beene found to whom our usuall flesh and other meats were mortall and venomous. *Consuetudinis magna est vis; Pernocant venatores in nive, in montibus uri se patiuntur: Fugiles castibus contusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem.*¹ "Great is the force of custome: Huntsmen wil watch all night in snow, and endure to bee scorched on the hills: Fencers brused with sand-bags or cudgels, doe not so much as groane." These forrein examples are not strange, if wee but consider what we ordinarily finde by travell, and how custome qualleth and weakeneth our customary senses. We need not goe seeke what our neighbours report of the Cataracts of Nile; and what Philosophers deeme of the celestiall musicke, which is, that the bodies of it's circles, being solid smooth, and in their rowling motion, touching and rubbing one against another, must of necessitie produce a wonderfull harmonie: by the changes and enterappings of which, the revolutions, motions, cadences, and carols of the asters and planets, are caused and transported. But that universally the hearing senses of these low world's creatures, dizzied and lulled asleepe, as those of the Egyptians are, by the continuation of that sound, low loud and great soever it be, cannot sensibly perceive or distinguish the same. Smiths, Millers, Forgers, Armorers, and such other, could not possibly endure the noise that commonly rings in their eares, if it did pierce them as it doth us. My perfumed Jerkin serveth for my nose to smell unto, but after I have worne it three or foure daies together, not I, but others have the benefit of it. This is more strange, that notwithstanding long intermissions, custome may joyne and establish the effect of her impression upon our senses; as they prove that dwell neere to bells or steeples. I have my lodging neere unto a tower, where both evening and morning a very great bell doth chime Ave Marie and Coverfew, which jangling doth even make the tower to shake; at first it troubled me much, but I was soone acquainted with it, so that now I am nothing offended with it, and many times it cannot waken me out of my sleepe. Plato did once chide a child for playing with nuts, who answered him, "Thou chidest me for a small matter." "Custome," replied Plato, "is no small matter." I finde that our greatest vices

make their first habit in us from our infancie, and that our chiefe government and education lieth in our nurses hands. Some mothers thinke it good sport to see a childe wring off a chickens necke, and strive to beat a dog or cat. And some fathers are so fond-foolish, that they will conser as a good Augur or fore-boding of a martiall minde to see their sonnes misuse a poore peasant, or tug a lackey, that doth not defend himselfe; and impute it to a ready wit, when by some wily disloyaltie, or crafty deceit, they see them cousin and over-reach their fellows: yet are they the true seeds or roots of cruelty, of tyranny, and of treason. In youth they bud, and afterward grow to strength, and come to perfection by meanes of custome.

And it is a very dangerous institution, to excuse so base and vile inclinations, with the weaknesse of age, and lightnesse of the subject. First, it is nature that speaketh, whose voice is then shriller, purer, and more native, when it is tender, newer, and youngest. Secondly, the deformity of the crime consisteth not in the difference betweene crownes and pinnes; it depends of it selfe. I finde it more just to conclude thus: Why should not hee as well deceive one of a crowne, as he doth of a pinne? than as commonly some doe, saying, alas, it is but a pinne; I warrant you, he wil not doe so with crownes. A man would carefully teach children to hate vices of their owne genuity, and so distinguish the deformity of them, that they may not only eschew them in their actions, but above all, hate them in their hearts: and what colour soever they beare, the very conceit may seeme odious unto them. I know well, that because in my youth I have ever accustomed my selfe to tread a plaine-beaten path, and have ever hated to intermeddle any manner of deceit of cousoning-craft, even in my childish sports (for truly it is to be noted, that Childrens playes are not sports, and should be deemed as their most serious actions), there is no pastime so slight, that inwardlie I have not a naturall propension and serious care, yea extreme contradiction, not to use any deceit. I shuffle and handle the cards as earnestly for counters, and keepe as strict an accompt, as if they were double duckets, when playing with my wife or children, it is indifferent to mee whether I win or lose, as I doe when I play in good earnest. How and wheresoever it be, mine owne eies will suffice to keepe me in office; none else doe watch mee so narrowly; not that I respect more. It is not long since in mine owne house, I saw a little man, who at Night was borne without armes, and

¹ Cic. Tusc. Qu. ii.

hath so well fashioned his feet to those services his hands should have done him, that in truth they have almost forgotten their naturall office. In all his discourses he nameth them his hands: he carveth any meat, he chargeth and shoots off a pistole, he threads a needle, he soweth, he writeth, puts off his cap, combeth his head, plaith at cards and dice; shuffeth and handleth them with as great dexteritie as any other man that hath the perfect use of his hands: the monie I have sometimes given him he hath carried away with his feet, as well as any other could doe with his hands. I saw another, being a Childe, that with the bending and winding of his necke (because he had no hands) would brandish a two-hand-sword, and mannage a Holbard, as nimbly as any man could doe with his hands: he would cast them in the aire, then receive them againe, he would throw a Dagger, and make a whip to yarke and lash, as cunningly as any Carter in France. But her effects are much better discovered in the strange impressions which it worketh in our mindes where it meetes not so much resistance. What cannot she bring to passe in our judgements and in our conceits? Is there any opinion so fantastical, or conceit so extravagant (I omit to speake of the grosse imposture of religions, wherewith so many great nations and so many worthy and sufficient men have beene besotted, and drunken: For, being a thing beyond the compasse of our humane reason, it is more excusable if a man that is not extraordinarily illuminated thereunto by divine favour, doe lose and miscarrie himselfe therein), or of other opinions, is there any so strange, that custome hath not planted and established by lawes in what regions soever it hath thought good? And this ancient exclamation is most just: *Non pudet physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque naturæ, ab animis consuetudine imbutis querere testimonium veritatis*?" Is it not a shame for a naturall Philosopher, that is the watch-man and hunts-man of nature, to seeke the testimonie of truth from mindes endued and double dide with custome?" I am of opinion, that no fantasie so mad can fall into humane imagination, that meetes not with the example of some publike custome, and by consequence that our reason doth not ground and bring to a stay. There are certaine people that turne their backs towards those they salute, and never looke him in the face whom they would honour or worship. There are others, who when the King spitteth, the most favoured Ladie in his court stretcheth forth

her hand; and in another countrey, where the noblest about him, stoop to the ground to gather his ordure in some fine linnen cloth. Let us here by the way insert a tale. A French Gentleman was ever wont to blow his nose in his hand (a thing much against our fashion), maintaining his so doing; and who in wittie jesting was very famous. He asked me on a time, what privilege this filthie excrement had, that we should have a daintie linnen cloth or handkercher to receive the same; and which is worse, so carefully fold it up, and keepe the same about us, which should be more loathsome to ones stomacke than to see it cast away, as we doe all our other excrements and filth. Mee thought he spake not altogether without reason; and custome had taken from me the discerning of this strangenesse, which being reported of another countrie we deeme so hideous. Miracles are according to the ignorance wherein we are by nature, and not according to natures essence; use brings the sight of our judgement asleepe. The barbarous heathen are nothing more strange to us than we are to them: nor with more occasion, as every man would avow, if after he had travelled through these farrefetcht examples, hee could stay himselfe upon the discourses, and soundly conferre them. Humane reason is a tincture in like weight and measure, infused into all our opinions and customes, what form soever they be of: infinite in matter: infinite in diversitie. But I will returne to my theme. There are certaine people, where, except his wife and children, no man speaketh to the King but through a trunk. Another nation, where virgins shew their secret parts openly, and married women diligently hide and cover them. To which custome, this fashion, used in other places, hath some relation: where chastitie is nothing regarded but for marriage sake; and maidens may at their pleasure lie with whom they list; and being with childe, they may without feare of accusation, spoyle and cast their children with certaine medicaments, which they have only for that purpose. And in another country, if a Merchant chance to marrie, all other Merchants that are bidden to the wedding are bound to lie with the bride before her husband, and the more they are in number, the more honour and commendation is hers for constancie and capacite: the like if a gentleman or an officer marrie; and so of all others: except it be a day-labourer, or some other of base condition; for then must the Lord or Prince lie with the bride; amongst whom (notwithstanding this abusive custom) loyaltie in married women is highly regarded, and held in speciall

account during the time they are married. Others there are where publike brothel-houses of men are kept, and where open mart of marriages are ever to be had : where women goe to the warres with their husbands, and have place, not onely in fight, but also in command, where they doe not onely weare jewels at their noses, in their lip and cheekes, and in their toes, but also big wedges of gold through their paps and buttocks, where when they eat they wipe their fingers on their thighs, on the bladder of their genitories, and the soles of their feet ; where not children, but brethren and nephewes inherit ; and in some places, the nephewes onely, except in the succession of the Prince. Where to order the communitie of goods, which amongst them is religiously observed, certaine Sovereigne Magistrats have the generall charge of husbandry and tilling of the lands, and of the distribution of the fruits, according to every mans need : where they howle and weepe at their childrens deaths, and joy and feast at their old mens decease. Where ten or twelve men lie all in one bed with all their wives ; where such women as lose their husbands, by any violent death, may marrie againe, others not ; where the condition of women is so detested that they kill all the maiden children so soon as they are borne, and to supply their naturall need, they buy women of their neighbours. Where men may at their pleasure, without alleaging any cause, put away their wives, but they (what just reason soever they have) can never put away their husbands. Where husbands may lawfully sell their wives, if they be barren. Where they cause dead bodies first to be boyled, and then to be brayed in a mortar, so long till it come to a kind of pap, which afterward they mingle with their wine, and so drinke it. Where the most desired sepulcher that some wish for, is to bee devoured of dogges, and in some places of birds. Where some thinke that blessed soules live in all liberty, in certaine pleasant fields stored with al commodities, and that from them proceeds that Eccho which we heare. Where they fight in the water, and shoot exceeding true with their bowes as they are swimming. Where in signe of subjection men must raise their shoulders and stoope with their heads, and put off their shoes when they enter their Kings houses. Where Eunuchs that have religious women in keeping, because they shall not be loved, have also their noses and lips cut off. And Priests that they may the better acquaint themselves with their Demons, and take their Oracles, put out their eyes. Where every man makes him-

selfe a God of what he pleaseth ; the hunter of a Lion or a Fox ; the fisher, of a certaine kinde of Fish ; and frame themselves Idols of every humane action or passion : the Sunne, the Moone, and the earth are their chiefest Gods : the forme of swearing is, to touch the ground, looking upon the Sunne, and where they eat both flesh and fish raw. Where the greatest oath is to sweare by the name of some deceased man that hath lived in good reputation in the countrie, touching his grave with the hand. Where the new-yeares gifts that Kings send unto Princes their vassals every yeare, is some fire, which when it is brought, all the old fire is cleane put out : of which new fire all the neighbouring people are bound upon paine, *læsa majestatis*, to fetch for their uses. Where, when the King (which often cometh to passe) wholly to give himselfe unto devotion, giveth over his charge, his next successor is bound to doe like, and conveyeth the right of the Kingdome unto the third heire. Where they diversifie the forme of policie according as their affaires seeme to require ; and where they depose their Kings when they thinke good, and appoint them certaine ancient grave men to undertake and weald the Kingdoms government, which sometimes is also committed to the communalitie. Where both men and women are equally circumcised, and alike baptised. Where the Souldier, that in one or divers combats hath presented his King with seven enemies heads, is made noble. Where some live under that so rare and unsociable opinion of the mortalitie of soules. Where women are brought a-bed without paine or grieve. Where women on both their legs weare greaves of Copper : and if a louse bite them, they are bound by duty of magnanimitie to bite it againe : and no maid dare marrie, except she have first made offer of her Virginitie to the King. Where they salute one another laying the forefinger on the ground, and then lifting it up toward heaven : where all men beare burthens upon their head, and women on their shoulders. Where women pisse standing, and men cowering. Where in signe of true friendship they send one another some of their owne blond, and offer incense to men which they intend to honour, as they doe to their Gods : where not only kindred and consanguinitie in the fourth degree, but in any furthest off, can by no means be tolerated in marriages : where children sucke till they be four, and sometimes twelve years old, in which place they deeme it a dismal thing to give a childe sucke the first day of his birth. Where fathers have the charge to punish their male

children, and mothers only maid-children, and whose punishment is to hang them up by the feet and so to smoke them. Where women are circumcised: where they eat all manner of herbes, without other distinction but to refuse those that have ill savour: where all things are open, and how faire and rich soever their houses be, they have neither doors nor windowes, nor any chests to locke; yet are all thieves much more severely punished there than anywhere else; where, as monkees do, they kill lice with their teeth, and thinke it a horrible matter to see them crusht between their nailes; where men as long as they live never cut their haire nor paire their nailes: another place where they onely paire the nailes of their right hand, and those of the left are never cut, but very curiously maintained: where they endeavour to cherish all the haire growing on the right side, as long as it will grow, and very often shave away that of the left side: where in some Provinces neere unto us some women cherish their haire before, and other some that behinde, and shave the contrarie: where fathers lend their children, and husbands their wives to their guests, so that they pay ready money: where men may lawfully get their mothers with childe: where fathers may lie with their daughters and with their sonnes: where in solemne assemblies and banquets, without any distinction of blood or alliance, men will lend one another their children. In some places men feed upon humane flesh, and in others, where it is deemed an office of pietie in children to kill their fathers at a certaine age: in other places fathers appoint what children shall live and be preserved, and which die and be cast out, whilst they are yet in their mothers wombe: where old husbands lend their wives to young men, for what use soever they please: In other places, where all women are common without sinne or offence: yea in some places, where for a badge of honour they weare as many frienged tassels, fastened to the skirt of their garment, as they have laine with severall men. Hath not custome also made a severall common-wealth of women? hath it not taught them to manage Armies? to levie Armies, to marshall men, and to deliver battles? And that which strict-searching Philosophie could never persuade the wisest, doth she not of her owne naturall instinct teach it to the grosest headed vulgar? For we know all nations, where death is not only condemned, but cherished: where children of seven years of age, without changing of countenance,

or shewing any signe of dismay, endured to be whipped to death; where riches and worldly pelfe was so despised and holden so contemptible, that the miserablist and neediest wretch of a Citie would have scorned to stoope for a purse full of gold. Have we not heard of divers most fertile regions, plenteously yeelding al manner of necessary victuals, where nevertheless the most ordinary cates and daintiest dishes were but bread, water-cresses, and water? Did not custome worke this wonder in Chios, that during the space of seven hundred yeres it was never found or heard of that any woman or maiden had her honor or honestie called in question? And to conclude, there is nothing in mine opinion, that either she doth not, or cannot: and with reason doth Pindarus, as I have heard say, call her the Queen and Emprise of all the world. He that was met beating of his father answered, "It was the custome of his house; that his father had so beaten his grandfather, and he his great-grandfather;" and pointing to his sonne, said, "This child shall also beat mee when he shall come to my age." And the father, whom the sonne halcd and dragged through thicke and thinne in the street, commanded him to stay at a certaine doore: for himself had dragged his father no further: which were the bounds of the hereditaire and injurious demeanours the children of that family were wont to shew their fathers. "By custome," saith Aristotle, "as often by sickness, doe we see women tug and teare their haires, bite their nailes, and eat cole and earth: and more by custome than by nature doe men meddle and abuse themselves with men." The laws of conscience, which we say to proceed from nature, rise and proceed of custome: every man holding in special regard and inward veneration the opinions approved, and customes received about him, cannot without remorse leave them, nor without applause applie himselfe unto them: when those of Creet would in former ages curse any man, they besought the Gods to engage him in some bad custome. But the chiefest effect of her power is to seize upon us, and so to entangle us, that it shall hardly lie in us to free ourselves from her hold-fast, and come into our wits againe, to discourse and reason of her ordinances; verily, because we sucke them with the milke of our birth, and forasmuch as the worlds visage presents itselfe in that estate unto our first view, it seemeth we are borne with a condition to follow that course. And the common imaginations we finde in credit about us, and by our

fathers seed infused in our soule, seeme to be the generall and naturall. Whereupon it followeth, that whatsoever is beyond the compasse of custome, wee deeme likewise to bee beyond the compasse of reason. God knows how for the most part, unreasonably. If as we, who study ourselves, have learned to doe, every man that heareth a just sentence, would presently consider, how it may in any sort belonging unto his private state, each man should finde that this is not so much a good word as a good blow to the ordinary sottishnesse of his judgment. But men receive the admonitions of truth and her precepts, as directed to the vulgar, and never to themselves; and in lieu of applying them to their maners, most men most foolishly and unprofitably apply them to their memorie. But let us returne to customes soveraignty: such as are brought up to libertie, and to command themselves, esteeme all other forme of policie as monstrous and against nature. Those that are enured to Monarchie doe the like. And what facilitie soever fortune affordeth them to change, even when with great difficultie they have shaken off the importunitie of a tutor, they run to plant a new one with semblable difficulties, because they cannot resolve themselves to hate tutorship. It is by the meditation of custome that every man is contented with the place where nature hath settled him; and the savage people of Scotland have nought to do with Touraine; nor the Scythians with Thessalie. Darius demanded of certaine Græcians, "For what they would take upon them the Indians custome, to eat their deceased fathers." (For such was their maner, thinking they could not possibly give them a more noble and favourable tomb than in their owne bowels.) They answered him, "That nothing in the world should ever bring them to embrace so inhumane a custome." But having also attempted to persuade the Indians to leave their fashion, and take the Græcians, which was to burne their corpses, they were much more astonished thereat. Every man doth so, forsomuch as custome doth so blearie us that we cannot distinguish the true visage of things.

Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam Principio, quod non minuunt mirari omnes l'usulim.

Nothing at first so wondrous is, so great,
But all, t'admire, by little slake their heat.

Having other times gone about to endear and make some one of our observations to be of force, and which was with resolute

auctoritie received in most parts about us, and not desiring, as most men doe, onely to establish the same by the force of lawes and examples, but having ever bin from her beginning, I found the foundation of it so weak that my selfe, who was to confirm it in others, had much adoe to keepe my countenance. This is the receipt by which Plato undertaketh to banish the unnaturall and preposterous loves of his time, and which hee esteemeth Sovereigne and principall: To wit, that publike opinion may condemne them; that Poets, and all men else may tell horrible tales of them. A receipt by meanes whereof the fairest daughters winne no more the love of their fathers, nor brethren most excellent in beautie the love of their sisters. The very babies of Thyestes, of Oedipus, and of Macareus, having with the pleasures of their songs infused this profitable opinion in the tender conceit of children. Certes, chastitie is an excellent virtue, the commoditie whereof is very well knowne; but to use it, and according to nature to prevaile with it, is as hard as it is easie, to endear it and to prevaile with it according to custome, to lawes and precepts. The first and universall reasons are of a hard perscrutation. And our Masters passe them over in gleaning, or in not daring so much as to taste them, at first sight cast themselves headlong into the libertie or sanctuarie of custome. Those that will not suffer themselves to be drawne out of his original source, do also commit a greater error, and submit themselves to savage opinions: witness Chrysippus; who in so many severall places of his compositions, inserted the small accompt he made of conjunctions, how incestuous soever they were. Hee that will free himselfe from this violent prejudice of custome, shall find divers things received with an undoubted resolution, that have no other anker but the hoarie head and frowning wimples of custome, which ever attends them: which maske being pulled off, and referring all matters to truth and reason, he shall perceive his judgment, as it were overturned, and placed in a much surer state. As for example, I will then aske him, what thing can be more strange than to see a people bound to follow lawes he never understood? Being in all his domesticall affaires, as marriages, donations, testaments, purchases, and sales necessarily bound to customary rules, which forsomuch as they were never written nor published in his owne tongue, he cannot understand, and whereof he must of necessity purchase the interpretation and use. Not according to the ingenious opinion of Isocrates, who counselleth his King "to

make the Trafikes and negotiations of his subjects free, enfranchise and gameful, and their debates, controversies, and quarrels burthensome, and charged with great subsidies and impositions." But according to a prodigious opinion, to make open sale, and trafficke of reason itselfe, and to give lawes a course of merchandize, is very strange. I commend fortune for that (as our Historians report) it was a Gentleman of Gasconie, and my Countreman, that first opposed himselfe against Charles the great, at what time he went about to establish the Latine and Imperiall lawes amongst us. What is more barbarous than to see a nation, where by lawfull custome the charge of judging is sold, and judgments are paid for with readie monie; and where justice is lawfully denied him that hath not wherewithall to pay for it; and that this merchandize hath so great credit, that in a political government there should be set up a fourth estate of Lawyers, breath-sellers, and pettifoggers, and joyned to the three ancient states, to wit, the Clergie, the Nobility, and the Communitie; which fourth state having the charge of lawes, and sometimes auctoritie of goods and lives, should make a body, apart and severall from that of Nobilitie, whence double lawes must follow, those of honour and those of justice; in many things very contrarie do those as rigorously condemne a lie pocketed up, as these a lie revenged: by the law and right of armes he that putteth up an injurie shall be degraded of honour and nobilitie; and he that revengeth himselfe of it, shall by the civil Law incurre a capitall punishment. Hee that shall addresse himselfe to the lawes to have reason for some offence done unto his honour, dishonoureth himselfe. And who doth not so, is by the Lawes punished and chastised. And of these so different parts, both nevertheless having reference to one head; those having peace, these war committed to their charge; those having the gaine, these the honour; those knowledge, these vertue; those reason, these strength; those the word, these action; those justice, these valour; those reason, these force; those a long gowne, and these a short coat, in partage and share. Touching indifferent things, as clothes and garments, whosoever will reduce them to their true end, which is the service and commodity of the bodie, whence dependeth their original grace and comelines, for the most fantastieall to my humour that may be imagined, amongst others I will give them our square caps; that long hood of plaited velvet, that hangs over our womens head, with his parti-coloured traile, and that vaine and unprofitable modell of a member which

we may not so much as name with modestie, whereof notwithstanding we make publike shew and open demonstration. These considerations do nevertheless never distract a man of understanding from following the common guise. Rather, on the contrary, mee seemeth that all severall, strange, and particular fashions proceed rather of follie or ambitious affectation than of true reason: and that a wise man ought inwardly to retire his minde from the common presse, and hold the same liberty and power to judge freely of all things, but for outward matters he ought absolutely to follow the fashions and forme customarily received. Publike societie hath nought to do with our thoughts; but for other things, as our actions, our travel, our fortune, and our life, that must be accommodated and left to its service and common opinions; as that good and great Socrates, who refused to save his life by disobeying the magistrate, yea a magistrate most wicked and unjust. For that is the rule of rules, and generall law of lawes, for every man to observe those of the place wherein he liveth.

Νόμοις ἑπείσθαι τοῖσιν ἐγχώριον καλόν.

Lawes of the native place,
To follow, is a grace.

Loe here some of another kind. There riseth a great doubt whether any so evident profit may be found in the change of a received law, of what nature soever, as there is hurt in removing the same; forso much as a well-settled policie may be compared to a frame or building of divers parts joyned together with such a ligament as it is impossible to stirre or displace one, but the whole body must needs be shaken, and shew a feeling of it. The Thurians Law-giver instituted that "whosoever would goe about, either to abolish any one of the old Lawes, or attempt to establish a new, should present himselfe before the people with a roape about his necke, to the end, that if his invention were not approved of all men, he should presently be strangled." And he of Lacedæmon laboured all his life to get an assured promise of his citizens, that they would never infringe any one of his ordinances. That Ephore or Tribune, who so rudely cut off the two strings that Phrinis had added unto musicke, respecteth not whether musicke be better or no with them, or whether the accords of it be better filled, he hath sufficient reason to condemne them, because it is an alteration of the old forme. It is that which the old rustie sword of justice of Marseille did signify. I am distasted with noveltie, what counte-

nance soever it shew ; and I have reason so to be, for I have seene very hurtfull effects follow the same. That which so many yeares since doth so presse us, hath not yet exploited all. But some may alleage, with apparance, that by accident it hath produced and engendered all, yea, both the mischiefs and ruines that since are committed without against it ; it is that a man should blame and finde faulte with.

*Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis.*¹

Alas I suffer smart

Procured by mine owne dart.

Those which attempt to shake an estate, are commonly the first overthrowne by the fall of it : he that is first mover of the same, repeth not alwayes the fruit of such troubles ; he beats and troubleth the water for others to fish in. The contexture and combining of this monarchie and great building, having bin dismist and dissolved by it, namely in her old yeares, giveth as much overture and entrance as a man will to like injuries. Royall Majestie doth more hardly fall from the top to the middle, than it tumbleth downe from the middle to the bottom. But if the inventors are more damageable, the imitators are more vicious, to cast themselves into examples, of which they have both felt and punished the horror and mischiefe. And if there be any degree of honour, even in ill doing, these are indebted to others for the glory of the invention and courage of the first attempt. All sorts of new licentiousnesse doe haply draw out of this original and fruitfull source, the images and patterns to trouble our commonwealth. We may reade in our very lawes, made for the remedie of the first evill, the apprenticeship and excuse of all sorts of wicked enterprises : And in favour of publike vices, they are named with new and more pleasing words for their excuses, bastardizing and allying their true titles : yet it is to reforme our consciences and our conceits, *Honesta oratio est*²—"It is an honest speech and well said." But the best pretence of innovation or novelty is most dangerous : *Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est.*³ "So nothing moved out of the first place is allowable." Yet me seemeth (if I may speake boldly) that it argueth a great selfe-love and presumption for a man to esteeme his opinions so far, that for to establish them a man must be faine to subvert a publike peace, and introduce so many inevitable mischiefs, and so horrible a corruption of manners, as civil

warres and alterations of a state bring with them, in matters of such consequence, and to bring them into his owne cuntry. Is it not ill husbanded to advance so many certaine and knowne vices, for to combate contested and debatable errors ? Is there any worse kinde of vices than those which shooke a man's owne conscience and naturall knowledge ? The Senate durst give this defeat in payment about the controversies betweene it and the people for the mysterie of their religion : *Ad deos id magis quam ad se pertinere : ipsos visuros, ne sacra sua polluantur.*¹ "That that did rather belong to the Gods than to them, and the Gods should looke to it, that their due rites were not polluted." Agreeing with that, which the Oracle answered those of Delphos, in the Median warre, fearing the invasions of the Persians. They demanded of that God what they should doe with the treasures consecrated to his temple, whether hide or cary them away : who answered them, that they should remove nothing, but take care of themselves, for he was able to provide for all things that were fit for him. Christian religion hath all the markes of extreme justice and profit, but none more apparent than the exact commendation of obedience due unto magistrate, and manutention of policies : what wonderfull example hath divine wisdom left us, which to establish the wel-fare of humane kinde, and to conduct this glorious victorie of hers against death and sinne, would not do it but at the mercy of our politick order, and hath submitted the progresse of it, and the conduct of so high and worthie effect, to the blindness and injustice of our observations and customes, suffering the innocent blood of so many her favored elect to run, and allowing a long losse of yeares for the ripening of this inestimable fruit ? There is much difference betweene the cause of him that followeth the formes and lawes of his cuntry, and him that undertaketh to governe and change them. The first alleageth for his excuse, simplicitie, obedience, and example ; whatsoever he doth cannot be malice, at the most it is but ill lucke. *Quis est enim, quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas ?*² "For who is he whom antiquitie will not move, being witnessed and signed with former monuments ?" Besides that which Isocrates saith, that defect hath more part in moderation, than hath excesse. The other is in much worse case. For he that medleth with chusing and changing, usurpeth the authoritie of judging : and must resolve himselfe to see

¹ OVID. *Epist. Phyl.* 48.

² TERENCE. *Andria Act. i. sc. i.*

³ TIT. LIV. XXXIV. 54.

¹ TIT. LIV. x. 6.

² CIC. *Div. l. i.*

the fault of what he hunteth for, and the good of what he bringeth in. This so vulgar consideration hath confirmed me in my state, and restrained my youth, that was more rash, from burthening my shoulders with so filthie a burthen, as to make my selfe respondent of so important a science. And in this to dare, what in sound judgement I durst not in the easiest of those wherein I had been instructed, and wherein the rashness of judging is of no prejudice. Seeming most impious to me, to goe about to submit publike constitutions and unmoveable observances, to the instabilitie of a private fantasie (private reason is but a private jurisdiction) and to undertake that on divine lawes, which no policie would tolerate in civill law. Wherein although man's reason have much more commerce, yet are they sovereignly judges of their judges : and their extreme sufficiency serveth to expound custome and extend the use that of them is received, and not to divert and innovate the same. If at any time divine providence hath gone beyond the rules to which it hath necessary constrained us, it is not to give us a dispensation from them. They are blowes of her divine hand, which we ought not imitate, but admire : as extraordinary examples, markes of an expresse and particular avowing of the severall kinds of wonders, which for a testimonie of her omnipotencie it offereth us, beyond our orders and forces, which it is folleie and impietie to goe about to represent, and which we ought not follow but contemplate with admiration, and meditate with astonishment. Acts of her personage, and not of ours. Cotta protesteth very opportunely ; *Quum de religione agitur, T. Coruncanium, P. Scipionem, P. Sævolam, Pontifices maximos, non Zenonem, aut Cleanthem, aut Chrysippum, sequor.*¹ "When we talke of religion, I follow Titus Coruncanus, Publius Scipio, P. Sævola, and the professors of religion, not Zeno, Cleantes, or Chrysippus."

May God know it in our present quarell, wherein are a hundred articles, yea, great and deepe articles, to be removed and altered, although many there are who may boast to have exactly survaid the reasons and foundations of one and another faction. It is a number, if it be a number, that should have no great meane to trouble us. But whither goeth all this other throng? Under what colours doth it quarter itselfe? It followeth of theirs, as of other weake and ill applied medicines, the humors that it would have purged in us, it hath enflamed,

exasperated, and sharpened, by her conflict, and still do remaine in our bodies. It could not by reason of her weaknesse purge us, but hath rather weakned us; so that we cannot now void it, and by her operation we reap nothing but long, continuall, and intestine griefes and aches, yet is it, that fortune, ever reserving her authoritie above our discourses, doth sometimes present us the urgent necessitie, that lawes must needs yeeld her some place : And when a man resisteth the increase of an innovation, brought in by violence, to keepe himselfe each-where and altogether in rule and bridle against those that have the keyes of fields, to whom all things are lawfull, that may in any sort advance their desseigne, that have not law, nor order, but to follow their advantage, it is a dangerous obligation and prejudiciall inequality.

*Aditum nocendi perfido præstat fides.*¹

Trust in th' untrusty, may
To hurt make open way

For so much as the ordinarie discipline of an estate, that hath his perfect health, doth not provide for these extraordinarie accidents, it presupposeth a bodie holding it selfe in his principall members and offices, and a common consent to observe and obey it. Lawfull proceeding is a cold, dull, heavie, and forced proceeding : and is not like to hold out against a licentious and unbridled proceeding. It is yet, as all men know, a reproach to those two great personages, Octavius and Cato, in their civill warres : the one of Scilla, the other of Cæsar, because they rather suffered their countrie to incur all extremities, than by her lawes to aid her, or to innovate anything. For truly in these last necessities, where nothing is left to take hold by, it were peradventure better to shrug the shoulders, stoop the head, and somewhat yeeld to the stroke, than beyond possibilitie to make head and resist, and be nothing the better, and give violence occasion to trample all underfoot : and better were it to force the lawes to desire but what they may, since they may not what they would. So did he that ordained them to sleepe foure and twentie houres : And he who for a time removed one day from the Calender : And another who of the moneth of June made a second May. The Lacedemonians themselves, so strict observers of their countries ordinances, being urged by their Lawes, which precisely forbade and inhibited to chuse one man twice to be their Admirall, and on the other side their affaires necessarily requiring that Iysander should once more take that charge

¹ CIC. *De Nat.* l. iii. c. 2.

¹ SEN. *Cæ.* act. iii. sc. 1.

upon him, they created one Aracus Admirall, but instituted Lysander superintendent of all maritime causes. And with the same sutteltie, one of their Ambassadors being sent to the Athenians for to obtaine the change of some ordinance, Pericles alleaging that it was expressly forbid to remove the table wherein a law had once bene set downe, perswaded him but to turne, for that was not forbidden. It is that whereof Plutarke commendeth Philopæmen, who being borne to command, could not onely command according to the lawes, but the lawes themselves, whensoever publique necessitie required it.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Divers events from one selfsame counsell.

JAMES AMIOT, great Almoner of France, did once tell me this storie, to the honour of one of our Princes (and so he was indeed by very good tokens, albeit by off-spring he were a stranger), that during our first troubles, at the siege of Roane, the said Prince being advertised by the Queene-mother of a conspiracie and enterprise that should be attempted against his life, and by letters particularly informed him of the partie that should performe it, who was a gentleman of Anjou, or Manse, and who to that purpose did ordinarily frequent the said Princes court; he never imparted that secret or communicated that warning to any man, but the next morrow walking upon Saint Catherins hill, whence our batterie played against the towne (for it was, at what time we laid siege to Roane) with the said Lord great Almoner and another Bishop by his side, he chanced to descrie the said gentleman, whom the Queene-mother had described unto him, and caused him to be called, who being come before his presence, said thus unto him, perceiving him already to wax pale and tremble at the alarums of his conscience: "Master, such a one, I am fully perswaded you fore-imagine what I will charge you with, and your countenance doth plainly shew it, you can conceale nothing from me: for I am so well instructed of your businesse, that would you goe about to hide it, you should but marre all, you have perfect knowledge of this and this thing (which were the chiefe props and devices of the secretest drifts of his complot and conspiracie) faile not therefore, as you tender your life, to confesse the truth of all your purpose." When the silly man saw himselfe

so surprized and convicted (for the whole matter had bene discovered unto the Queene by one of the complices) he had no other way but to lift up his hands and beg for grace and mercie at the Princes hands, at whose feet he would have prostrated himselfe, but that he would not let him: thus following his discourse: "Come hither my friend," said he, "Did I ever doe you any displeasure? Have I ever through any particular hatred wronged or offended any friend of yours? It is not yet three weekes since I knew you, what reason might move you to conspire and enterprise my death?" The gentleman with a faint trembling voyce, and selfe-accusing looke, answered him, that no particular occasion had ever moved him to that, but the interest of the generall cause of his faction, and that some of them had perswaded him, that to root out, and in what manner soever, to make away so great an enemy of their religion, would be an execution full of pietie, and a worke of supererogation. Then said the Prince, "I will shew you how much the religion which I professe is more milde than that whereof you make profession: yours hath perswaded you to kill me, without hearing me, having never been offended by me: and mine commands me to pardon you, convicted as you are, that you would so treacherously and without cause have killed me. Goe your way, withdraw your selfe, let me never see you here againe, and if you be wise, hence-forward in your enterprises take honest men for your counsellors than those of your religion." The Emperour Augustus being in Gaule, received certaine advertisement of a conspiracie, that L. Cinna comploted against him, whereof he purposed to be avenged, and for that purpose sent to all his friends against the next morrow for advice and counsell, but passed the fore-going night with great anxietie and unrest, considering that following his intent, he should bring a yong Gentleman, well borne, of a noble house, and great Pompeyes nephew, to his death: which perplexitie produced divers strange discourses and consideration in him. "What," saith he unto himselfe, "shall it ever be reported, that I doe live in feare, and suffer mine enemy to walke at his pleasure and libertie? Shall he then goe free, that hath attempted and resolved to deprive me of my life, which both by sea and land I have saved from so many civill warres, and from so many battels? And now that I have established an universall peace in the world, shall he be absolved and goe unpunished, that hath not only determined to murder, but to sacrifice me?" (For, the complice

of the conspiracie was to murder him when he should be at sacrifice.) After that, having taken some rest with himselfe, he with a lower voice began to exclaime and cry out against himselfe, saying, "Why livest thou, if the lives of so many depend on thy death? Shall thy vengeance and cruelties never have an end? Is thy life of that worth, as it may countervail the sundry mischiefs that are like to ensue, if it be preserved?" Livia his wife being in bed with him, perceiving his agonie and hearing his speeches, saith thus unto him: "And may not womens counsell be admitted? Doe as Physitians are wont, who when their ordinarie receipts will not worke, have recourse to the contrarie. Hitherto thou couldest never doe any good with severitie: Lepidus hath followed Savidicius, Murena Lepidus, Cæpio Murena, Egnatius Scæpio; begin now to prove what good lenitie and clemencie will doe thee. Cinna is convicted, pardon him: To annoy or hurt thee now he is not able, and thou shalt thereby increase thy glory." Augustus seemed very glad to have found an Advocate of his humour, and having thanked his wife, and countermanded his friends, whom he had summoned to the Counsell, commanded Cinna to be brought before him alone. Then sending all men out of his chamber, and a chaire prepared for Cinna to sit in, he thus bespake him: "First, Cinna, I require to have gentle audience, and that thou wilt not interrupt my speech, which ended, I will give thee time and leasure to answer me: Thou knowest (oh Cinna) that when I had taken thee prisoner in mine enemies campe, who wast not only become, but borne my foe; I saved thee, then put thee in quiet possession of thy goods, and at last, have so enriched thee, and placed thee in so high a degree, that even the conquerours are become envious over the conquered. The Priests office, which thou beggedst at my hands, I freely bestowed on thee, having first refused the same to others, whose fathers and friends had in many battels shed their bloud for me: After all which benefits, and that I had in dutie tied thee so fast unto me, thou hast notwithstanding undertaken to kill me." To whom Cinna replied, crying aloud, "That he had never so much as conceived so wicked a thought, much lesse entertained the same." "Oh Cinna, this is not according to thy promise," answered then Augustus, "which was that thou wouldest not interrupt me: What I say is true, thou hast undertaken to murder me, in such a place, on such a day, in such a company, and in such manner:" and seeing him so amazed in heart, and by

his evidence stricken dumbe, moved thereunto, not by the condition of his promise, but by the guilt of his selfe-accusing conscience; "why wouldest thou doe it," replied he, "is it because thou wouldest be Emperour? Truly the commonwealth is but in hard condition, if none but my selfe hinder thee from the Empire. Thou canst not so much as defend thine owne house, and didst but lately lose a processe only by the favor of a seely libertine. What, hast thou no meane or power in any other matter, but to attempt Cæsars life? I quit it, if there be no man but my selfe to impeach thy hopes. Supposeth thou that Paulus, that Fabius, that the Cossenians, or the Servillians will ever permit thee? And so great a troupe of noble men, noble not only in name, but such as by their virtues honour their nobilitie, will ever suffer it?" After many other such like discourses (for he talked with him more than two houres) he said unto him: "Away, oh Cinna, that life which once I gave thee, as to an enemy, I now give thee againe, as to a traitour and a patricide: let a true friendship from this day forward begin betwene us, let us strive together which of us two with a better faith shall out-goe the other, and whether I have given thy life, or thou hast received the same with great confidence:" and so left him. Shortly after he gave him the Consulship, blaming him that he durst not aske it of him. And ever after held him as his deere friend, and made him alone heire and executor of his goods. Now after this accident, which hapned to Augustus in the xl. yeare of his age, there was never any conspiracie or enterprise attempted against him: and he received a just reward for his so great clemencie. But the like succeeded not to one Prince, for his mildnesse and lenitie could not so warrant him, but that afterward he fell into the snares of the like treason: so vaine and frivolous a thing is humane wisdom: and contrary to all projects, devices, counsels and precautions, fortune doth ever keepe a full sway and possession of all events. We count those Physitians happy and successful, that successfully end a desperate cure, or come to a good issue: as if there were no other art but theirs, that could not subsist of itselfe, and whose foundations were too feeble to stand and relie upon her owne strength: and as if there were none but it, that stands in need of fortunes helpe-affording hand, for the effecting of her operations. My conceit of it is, both the worst and the best a man may imagine: for, thanks be to God, there is no commerce betwene us: I am contrary to others: for I ever despise it, and when

I am sick, instead of entring into league or composition with it, I then beginne to hate and feare it most : and answer such as urge mee to take Physicke, that at least they will tarie till such time as I have recovered my health and strength againe ; that then I may the better be enabled to endure the violence and hazard of their potions. I let nature worke, and presuppose unto my selfe, that she hath provided her selfe, both of teeth and clawes, to defend her self from such assaults as shall beset her, and to maintaine this contexture or frame, whose dissolution it so much hateth. In lieu of bringing helpe unto her when shee most striveth, and is combated by sicknesse, I greatly feare lest I bring succor unto her adversarie, and surcharge her with new enemies. Now I conclude, that not onely in Physicke, but likewise in sundry more certaine arts, fortune hath great share in them. The Poeticall furies, which ravish and transport their Author beyond himselfe, why shall we not ascribe them to his good fortune, since himselfe confesseth that they exceed his strength and sufficiencie, and acknowledgeth to proceed from elsewhere than from himselfe, and that they are not in his power, no more than Orators say to have those strange motions and extraordinary agitations, that in their art transport them beyond their purpose ? The like wee see to bee in painting, for sometimes the Painters hand shall draw certaine lines or draughts, so farre exceeding his conception or skill, that himselfe is forced to enter into admiration and amazement. But fortune yet doth much more evidently shew the share shee hath in all their workes, by the graces and beauties that often are found in them, not onely beyond the intent, but besides the very knowledge of the workman. A heedy Reader shall often discover in other mens compositions, perfections farre differing from the Authors meaning, and such as haply he never dreamed of, and illustrateth them with richer senses and more excellent constructions. As for military enterprises, no man is so blinde but seeth what share fortune hath in them : even in our counsels and deliberations, some chance or good lucke must needs be joyned to them, for whatsoever our wisdom can effect is no great matter. The sharper and quicker it is, more weaknesse findes it in it selfe, and so much the more doth it distrust it selfe. I am of Sillaes opinion : and when I nearest consider the most glorious exploits of warre, he thinks I see, that those who have the conduct of them, employ neither counsell nor deliberation about them, but for fashion-sake, and leave

the best part of the enterprise to fortune, and on the confidence they have in her ayd, they still go beyond the limits of all discourse. Casuall rejoycings, and strange furies ensue among their deliberations, which for the most induce them to take the counsell least grounded upon appearance or reason, and which quaille their courage beyond reason ; whence it hath succeeded unto divers great Captaines, by giving credit to such rash counsels ; and alleaging to their souldiers, that by some divine inspiration, and other signes and prognostications, they were encouraged to such and such enterprises. Loe here wherefore in this uncertaintie and perplexitie, which the impuissances and inabilitie doth bring us to see and chuse what is most commodious for the difficulties which the divers accidents and circumstances of everie thing draw with them : the surest way, if other considerations did not invite us thereto, is, in my conceit, to follow the partie, wherein is most honestie and justice ; and since a man doubteth of the nearest way, ever to keepe the right. As in these two examples I have lately mentioned, there is no doubt but that it was more commendable and generous in him who had received the offence, to remit and pardon the same, than to have done otherwise. If the first had but ill-successe, his good intent is not to be blamed ; and no man knoweth, had he taken the contrary way, whether he should have escaped the end, to which his destinie called him ; and then had he lost the glorie and commendations of so seld-seene humanitie. Sundrie men possessed with this feare, are read-of in ancient Histories ; the greatest part of which have followed the way of fore-running the conspiracies which were complotted against them, by revenge or tortures, but I see very few, that by this remedy have received any good ; wnesse so many Romane Emperours. Hee that perceiveth himselfe to bee in this danger, ought not much to relie upon his power, or hope in his vigilancie. For, how hard a matter is it for a man to warrant and safeguard himselfe from an enemie, that masks under the visage of the most officious and heartie-seeming friend we have ? And to know the inward thoughts and minde-concealed meanings of such as daily attend, and are continually with us ? It will little availle him to have foraine nations to his guard, and ever to be encircled about with troupes of Armed men ? whosoever he be that resolveth to condemn his owne life, may at any time become Master of other mens lives.

Moreover, that continual suspicion which

makes the Prince to mistrust every body, should be a wonderfull vexation to his minde. And therefore when Dion was advertised that Calippus watched to kill him, could never finde in his heart to informe himselfe of it : affirming : " He had rather die once, than ever live in feare and miserie, and to guard himselfe not onely from his enemies, but from his very friends." Which thing Alexander presented more lively and undantly by effect, who by a letter of Parmenio having received advertisement that Philip, his necest and best regarded Physitian, had with money beene suborned and corrupted by Darius to poison him, who at the very instant that he gave Philip the letter to reade, swallowed downe a potion he had given him : was it not to express his resolution, that if his friends would kill him, he would not shun them, but consent to their treachery ? This Prince is the Sovereigne patterne of hazardous attempts ; yet know I not whether in all his life he shewed an act of more resolute constancie than this, nor an ornament so many wayes famous. Those which daily preach and buzze in Princes eares, under colour of their safetie, a heedie diffidence and ever-warie distrustfulness, doe nought but tell them of their ruine, and further their shame and downfall. No noble act is achieved without danger. I know one by his owne complexion, of a right martiall courage, and ready for any resolution, whose good and hopefull fortune is dayly corrupted by such verball perswasion ; as first to keepe close with his friends ; never to listen to any reconciliation with his old enemies : to stand upon his owne guard ; never to commit himselfe to any stronger than himselfe, what faire promise soever they make him, or whatsoever apparant profit they seeme to containe. I also know another, who because he did ever follow the contrarie counsell, and would never listen to such schoole-reasons, hath beyond all hope raised his fortune above the common reach. That boldnesse wherewith they so greedily gape after glory, is alwayes at hand, when ever need shall be, as gloriously in a doublet as in an armour ; in a cabinet as in a campe ; the arme held downe, as lifted up. A wisedome so tenderly precise, and so precisely circumspect, is a mortall enemy to haughty executions. Scipio, to sound the depth of Siphax intent, and to discover his minde ; leaving his armie, and abandoning the yet unsetled country of Spaine, which under his new conquest of it was likely to be suspected, he, I say, could passe into Affrike onely with two simple ships or small barks, to commit himselfe in a

strange and foe countrie, to engage his person, under the power of a barbarous King, under an unknowne faith, without either hostage or letters of credence, yea, without any body, but onely upon the assurance of the greatnesse of his courage, of his succesfull good fortune, and of the promise of his high-raised hopes. *Habitu fides ipsam plerumque fidem obligat* : " Most commonly trusting obligeth trustinesse." To an ambitious and fame aspiring minde, contrariwise, a man must yeeld little, and cary a hard hand against suspicions : Feare and distrust draw on offences and allure them. The most mistrustful of our Kings established his affaires, and settled his estate, especially because he had voluntarily given over, abandoned and committed his life and liberty, to the hands and mercy of his enemies : Seeming to put his whole confidence in them, that so they might likewise conceive an undoubted affiance in him. Cæsar did onely confront his mutinous legions, and oppose his hardly-ruled Armies, with the minde-quelling authoritie of his countenance, and awe-moving fiercenesse of his words : and did so much trust himselfe and his fortune, that he no whit feared to abandon and commit himselfe to a seditious and rebellious Armie.

— *stetit aggere fultus*

Cespitis, intripidus vultu, meruitque timeri
*Nil metuens.*¹

He on a rampart stood of turfe upreard,
Fearlesse and fearing none, was to be fear'd.

True it is, that this undaunted assurance cannot so fully and lively be represented, but by those in whom the imagination or apprehension of death, and of the worst that may happen, can strike no amazement at all : for, to represent it fearfully-trembling, doubtful and uncertaine, for the service of an important reconciliation, is to effect no great matter : It is an excellent motive to gaine the heart and good will of others, for a man to go and submit himselfe to them, provided it be done freely, and without constraint of any necessitie, and in such sort that a man bring a pure and unspotted confidence with him, and at least his countenance void of all scruple. Being yet a childe, I saw a gentleman, who had the command of a great Citie, and by a commotion of a seditiously furious people greatly put to his plunges, who to suppress the rising fire of his tumult, resolved to sally out from a strongly assured place, where he was safe, and yeeld himselfe to that many-headed monster mutinous rowt ;

¹ LUCAN. l. iii. 296.

thrived so ill by it, that he was miserably slaine amongst them : yet deeme I not this oversight to have bene so great in issuing out, his memorie being of most men condemned, as because he tooke away his submission and remissenesse, and attempted to extinguish that rage and hurly-burly, rather by way of following than of guiding, and by requiring sute than by demonstrative resolution ; and I deeme, a gratically milde severetie, with a militarie commandement, full of confidence and securitie, becomming his ranke and the dignitie of his charge, had better availed him, had bene more successfull, at least with more honour, and well-seeming comlinesse. There is nothing lesse to bee expected or hoped for at the hands of this monstrous faced multitude, thus agitated by furie, than humanitie and gentleness ; it will much sooner receive reverence and admit feare. I might also blame him, that having undertaken a resolution (in my judgment, rather brave than rash) to caste himselfe inconsiderately, weake and unarmed, amidst a tempestuous ocean of senselesse and mad men, he should have gone through stich with it, and not leave the person he represented in the briers, whereas after he had perceived the danger at hand, he chanced to bleed at the nose ; and then to change that demisse and flattering countenance he had undertaken into a dismayd and drooping looke, filling both voice and eyes with astonishment and repentance : and seeking to squat himselfe, hee the more enflamed and called them upon him. It was determined there should be a generall muster made of divers troupes of armed men (a place fittest for secret revenges, and where they may safest be achieved) there were most apparent reasons, that the place was very unsure, or at least to be suspected, by such as were to have the principall and necessary charge to survey them. Divers counsells were proposed, sundry opinions heard, as in a subject of great difficultie, and on which depended so many weightie consequences. My advice was, they should carefully avoid to give any testimonie of suspition or shew of doubt, and that our troupes should be as full as might be, and the Fyles orderly ranked, and every Souldier shew an undaunted carriage and undismayed countenance, and instead of keeping some of our forces backe (which thing most opinions aimed at) all Captaines should be put in minde to admonish their Souldiers to make their sallies as orderly and as strong as might be, in honour of the assistance ; and spare no powder, which would serve as a gratification toward these suspectfull

troupes, which afterward caused a mutuall and profitable confidence. I finde the course that Julius Cæsar held to be the best a man may take : First he assayed by clemencie to purchase the love of his very enemies, contenting himselfe in the conspiracies that were discovered unto him, simply to shew they were not unknowne to him, but had perfect notice of them. That done, he tooke a most noble resolution, which was, without dread or dismay, or any care-taking, to attend whatsoever might betide him, wholly abandoning and remitting himselfe into the hands of the Gods and of fortune. For certainly, it is the state wherein he was, when he was murdered in the Senate. A stranger having published everywhere that he could teach Dionysius the tyrant of Siracusa a way to understand and discover the very certaintie of all the practices his subjects or any else should practise against him, if he would bestowe a good summe of money upon him : Dionysius being thereof advertised, sent for him, to discover the secret, and understand the truth of so necessarie an art for this preservation : the stranger told him, there was no other skill in his art, but that he should deliver him a talent, and then boast hee had learned the use of so unvaluable a secret of him. Dionysius allowed of his invention, and forthwith caused six hundred crownes to be delivered him. It is not likely that ever he would have given so great a summe of mony to an unknowne man, but in reward of a most profitable instruction ; for by way of this reputation he kept his enemies still in awe. And therefore doe Princes wisely publish such advertisements as they receive of the plots conspired, and treasons practised against their lives and states, thereby to make men beleve, that nothing can be attempted against them, but they shall have knowledge of it. The Duke of Athens committed many fond oversights in the establishing of his late tyrannie upon the Florentines, but this the chieftest, that having received the first advertisement of the Monopolies and Complots the Florentines contrived against him, by Mathew, surnamed Morozo, one of the complices, thinking to suppress this warning, and conceale that any in the Citie were offended at him, or grudged at his rule, caused him immediately to be put to death. I remember to have heretofore read the storie of a Romane (a man of speciall dignitie) who flying the tyrannie of the Triumvirate, had many times by the subteltie of his invention, escaped those who pursued him.

It fortuned upon a day, that a troupe of horse-men, who had the charge to apprehend him, passing amongst a hedge under which he lay lurking, had well-nigh discovered him; which he perceiving, and considering the dangers and difficulties he had so long endured, thinking to save himself from the continuall and daily searches that every where were made after him, and calling to minde the small pleasure he might hope of such a life, and how much better it were for him to die at once than live in such continuall feare and agonie, himselfe called them, and voluntarily discovered his lurking hole, and that he might rid them and himselfe from further pursuit and care, did willingly yeeld unto their crueltye. For a man to call his enemies to aid him, is a counsell somewhat rash, yet thinke I it were better to embrace it, then remaine still in the continuall fit of such a fever that hath no remedie. But since the provisions of man may apply unto it, are full of unquietnesse and uncertaintie, much better is it with a full assurance to prepare himselfe patiently to endure whatsoever may happen, and draw some comfort from that which a man is never sure shall come to passe.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of Pedantisme.

I HAVE in my youth oftentimes beene vexed to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian comedies, for a vice or sport-maker, and the nicke-name of Magister to be of no better signification amongst us. For, my selfe being committed to their tuition, how could I chuse but be somewhat jealous of their reputation? In deed I sought to excuse them by reason of the naturall disproportion that is betweene the vulgar sort, and rare and excellent men, both in judgment and knowledge; forso-much as they take a cleane contrarie course one from another. But when I considered the choysiest men were they that most contemned them, I was far to seeke, and as it were lost my selfe: witness our good Belay:

Mais je hay par sur tout un sçavoir pedantesque.

A pedant knowledge, I
Detest out of all cry.

Yet is this custome very ancient; for Plutarch saith that Greeke and Scholer were amongst the Romans words of reproach and imputation. And coming afterwards to yeares of more discretion, I have found

they had great reason, and that *magis magnos clericos, non sunt magis magnos sapientes*; "The most great Clerkes are not the most wisest men." But whence it may proceed, that a minde rich in knowledge, and of so many things, becommeth thereby never livelier nor more quick-sighted; and a grose-headed and vulgar spirit may without amendment containe the discourse and judgement of the most excellent wits the world ever produced, I still remaine doubtful. To receive so many, so strange, yea and so great wits, it must needs follow (said once a Lady unto me, yea one of our chiefest Princesses, speaking of somebody) that a man's owne wit, force, droops, and as it were diminishes it selfe, to make roome for others. I might say, that as plants are choked by over-much moisture, and lamps dammed with too much oyle, so are the actions of the mind over-whelmed by over-abundance of matter and studie; which occupied and intangled with so great a diversitie of things, loseth the meane to spread and cleare it selfe; and that surcharge keepeth it low-drooping and faint. But it is otherwise, for our mind stretcheth the more by how much more it is replenished. And in examples of former times, the contrary is seene, of sufficient men in the managing of publique affaires, of great Captaines, and notable Counsellors in matters of estate, to have been therewithall excellently wise. And concerning Philosophers, retired from all publique negotiations, they have indeed sometimes been vilified by the comike libertie of their times, their opinions and demeanors yeelding them ridiculous. Will you make them Judges of the right of a processe, or of the actions of a man? They are readie for it. They enquire whether there be any life yet remaining, whether any motion. Whether man be any thing but an Oxe, what working or suffering is; what strange beasts law and justice are. Speake they of the Magistrate, or speake they unto him; they do it with an unreverent and uncivil libertie. Heare they a Prince or a King commended? Hee is but a shepherd to them, as idle as a Swaine busied about milking of his cattell, or shearing of his sheepe: but yet more rudely. Esteeme you any man the greater for possessing two hundred acres of land? They scoffe at him, as men accustomed to embrace all the world as their possession. Do you boast of your Nobilitie, because you can blazon your descent of seven or eight rich Grandfathers? They will but little regard you, as men that conceive not the universall image of nature, and how many predecessors every one of us hath

had, both rich and poore, Kings and groomes, Greekes and Barbarians. And were you lineally descended in the fiftieth degree from Hercules, they deeme it a vanitie to vaunt or allege this gift of fortune. So did the vulgar sort disdain them as ignorant of the first and common things, and as presumptuous and insolent. But this Platonick lustre is far from that which our men stand in need of. They were envied as being beyond the common sort, as despising publike actions, as having proposed unto themselves a particular and inimitable life, aiming and directed at certaine high discourses, and from the common use; these are disdained as men beyond the ordinary fashion, as incapable of publike charges, as leading an unsociable life, and professing base and abject customes, after the vulgar kind. *Odi homines ignavos opere. Philosophus sententia:* "I hate men that are fooles in working, and Philosophers in speaking." As for those Philosophers, I say, that as they were great in knowledge, so were they greater in all action. And even as they report of that Syracusan Geometrician, who being taken from his bookish contemplation to shew some practice of his skill, for the defence of his cuntry reared sordainly certaine terror-moving engines, and shewed effects farre exceeding all mens conceit, himselfe notwithstanding disclaiming all this his handie-worke, supposing he had thereby corrupted the dignitie of his art; his engines and manuell works being but the apprenticeships, and trials of his skill in sport: So they, if at any time they have been put to the triall of any action, they have been seen to flie so high a pitch, and with so loftie a flight, that men might apparently see their minds and spirits were through the intelligence of things become wonderfully rich and great. But some perceiving the seat of politike government possessed by unworthy and incapable men, have withdrawn themselves from it. And hee who demanded of Crates, how long men should Philosophize, received this answer, "Untill such time as they who have the conduct of our Armies be no longer blockish asses." Heraclitus resigned the royaltie unto his brother. And to the Ephesians, who reproved him for spending his time in playing with children before the temple he answered, "And is it not better to doe so, than to governe the publike affaires in your companie?" Others having their imagination placed beyond fortune and the world, found the seat of justice, and the thrones of

Kings, to be but base and vile. And Empedocles refused the royaltie which the Agrigentines offered him. Thales sometimes accusing the carke and care men tooke about good husbandry, and how to grow rich; some replied unto him, that he did as the Fox, because he could not attaine unto it himselfe; which hearing, by way of sport he would needs shew by experience how he could at his pleasure become both thrifitie and rich; and bending his wits to gaine and profit, erected a traffike, which within one yeare brought him such riches as the skilfullest in the trade of thriving could hardly in all their life devise how to get the like. That which Aristotle reporteth of some who called both him and Anaxagoras, and such like men, wise and not prudent, because they cared not for things more profitable: besides, I doe not verie well digest this nice difference of words that serveth my find-fault people for no excuse: and to see the base and needie fortune wherewith they are content, we might rather have just cause to pronounce them neither wise nor prudent. I quit this first reason, and thinke it better to say, that this evill proceedeth from the bad course they take to follow sciences; and that respecting the manner we are instructed in them, it is no wonder if neither Schollers nor Masters, howbeit they prove more learned, become no whit more sufficient. Verily the daily care and continuall charges of our fathers ayemeth at nothing so much as to store our heads with knowledge and learning; as for judgement and virtue, that is never spoken of. If a man passe by, crie out to our people: "Oh what a wise man goeth yonder!" And of another: "Oh what a good man is yonder!" he will not faile to cast his eyes and respect toward the former. A third crier were needfull, to say, "Oh what blocke-heads are those!" We are ever readie to aske, "Hath he any skill in the Greeke and Latine tongue? can he write well? doth hee write in prose or verse?" But whether hee be growne better or wiser, which should be the chiefe of his drift, that is never spoken of. We should rather enquire who is better wise than who is more wise. We labour, and toyle, and plod to fill the memorie, and leave both understanding and conscience emptie. Even as birds flutter and skip from field to field to pecke up corne, or any graine, and without tasting the same, carrie it in their bills, therewith to feed their little ones; so doe our pedants gleane and picke learning from bookes, and never lodge it further than their lips, only to degorge and cast it to the wind. It is strange how fitly sottishnesse

takes hold of mine example. Is not that which I doe in the greatest part of this composition, all one and selfe same thing? I am ever heere and there picking and culling, from this and that booke, the sentences that please me, not to keepe them (for I have no store-house to reserve them in) but to transport them into this: where, to say truth, they are no more mine than in their first place: we are (in mine opinion) never wise, but by present learning, not by that which is past, and as little by that which is to come. But which is worse, their Schollers and their little ones are never a whit the more fed or better nourished: but passeth from hand to hand, to this end only, thereby to make a glorious shew, therewith to entertaine others, and with it's help to frame some quaint stories, or prettie tales, as of a light and counterfeit coyne, unprofitable for any use or imployment, but to reckon and cast accompts. *Apud alios loqui didicerunt, non ipsi secum. Non est loquendum, sed gubernandum.*¹ "They have learned to speake with others, not with themselves: speaking is not so requisite as government." Nature, to shew that nothing is savage in whatsoever she produceth, causeth oftentimes, even in rudest and most unarted nations, productions of spirits to arise, that confront and wrestle with the most artist productions. As concerning my discourse, is not the Gaskonie proverbe, drawne from a bagpipe, prettie and quaint? *Bouha prou bouha, mas à remuda lous dits qu'em:* "You may blow low enough, but if once you stirre your fingers, you may go seekke." Wee can talke and prate, Cicero saith thus, These are Platoes customes, These are the verie words of Aristotle; but what say we our selves? what doe we? what judge we? A Peroquet would say as much. This fashion puts me in mind of that rich Romane, who to his exceeding great charge had bene verie industrious to finde out the most sufficient men in all sciences, which he continually kept about him, that if at any time occasion should bee moved amongst his friends to speake of any matter pertaining to Schollership, they might supplie his place, and be readie to assist him: some with discourse, some with a verse of Homer, othersome with a sentence, each one according to his skill or profession; who perswaded himselfe that all such learning was his owne, because it was contained in his servants minds. As they doe whose sufficiency is placed in their sumptuous libraries. I know some, whom if I aske what he knoweth,

hee will require a booke to demonstrate the same, and durst not dare to tell me that his posteriors are scabious, except he turne over his Lexicon to see what posteriors and scabiousis. Wee take the opinions and knowledge of others into our protection, and that is all; I tell you they must be enfeofed in us, and made our owne. Wee may verie well be compared unto him, who having need of fire, should goe fetch some at his neighbours chimney, where finding a good fire, should there stay to warme himselfe, forgetting to carrie some home. What avails it us to have our bellies full of meat, if it be not digested? If it bee not transchanged in us? except it nourish, augment, and strengthen us. We may imagine that Iaculus, whom learning made and framed so great a captaine without experience, would have taken it after our manner? We relie so much upon other mens armes, that we disanull our owne strength. Will I arme my selfe against the feare of death? it is at Senecaes cost: will I draw comfort either for my selfe, or any other? I borrow the same of Cicero. I would have taken it in my selfe, had I been exercised unto it: I love not this relative and begd-for sufficiency. Suppose we may be learned by other mens learning. Sure I am we can never be wise but by our owne wisdom.

*Μαῶ σοφιστὴν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός.*¹

That wise man I cannot abide,
That for himselfe cannot provide,

*Ex quo Ennius: Nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui ipse sibi prodesse non quiret.*²

"Whereupon saith Ennius: That wise man is vainly wise, who could not profit himselfe."

— *si cupidus, si Vanus, et Euganeā quantumvis mollior agnā.*³

If covetous, if vaine (not wise)
Than any lambe more base, more nice.

*Non enim paranda nobis solum, sed fruenta sapientia est.*⁴ "For wee must not only purchase wisdom, but enjoy and employ the same." Dionysius scoffeth at those Gramarians, who ploddingly labour to know the miseries of Vysses, and are ignorant of their owne; mocketh those musitians that so attentively tune their instruments, and never accord their manners; derideth those orators that study to speake of justice, and never put it in execution. Except our mind be the better, unless our judgement be the sounder, I had rather my scholler had imployed his time in

¹SEN. *Epist.* cxiij.

¹ *Proverb.* *Iam.*

² *Juv. Sat.* viij. 14.

²ENNIUS.

³ *Cic. Finib.* l. i. p.

playing at tennis; I am sure his bodie would be the nimble. See but one of these our universitie men or bookish schollers returne from schole, after he hath there spent ten or twelve years under a pedant's charge: who is so inapt for any matter? who so unfit for any companie? who so to seeke if he come into the world? all the advantage you discover in him is that his Latine and Greeke have made him more sottish, more stupid, and more presumptuous, than before he went from home. Whereas he should return with a mind full-fraught, he returns with a wind-puff conceit: instead of plum-feeding the same, he has only spunged it up with vanitie. These masters, as Plato speaketh of sophisters (their cosin Germanes) of all men, are those that promise to be most profitable unto men, and alone, amongst all, that not only amend not what is committed to their charge as doth a carpenter or a mason, but empaire and destroy the same, and yet they must full dearely be paid. If the law which Protagoras proposed to his disciples, were followed, which was, that either they should pay him according to his word, or swear in the temple, how much they esteemed the profit they had received by his discipline, and accordingly satisfy him for his paines, my pedagogues would be aground, especially if they would stand to the oath of my experience. My vulgar Perigordian speech doth verie pleasantly terme such self-conceited wizards, letter ferits, as if they would say letter-stricken men, to whom (as the common saying is) letters have given a blow with a mallet. Verily for the most part they seeme to be distracted even from common sense. Note but the plaine husbandman, or the unwillie shoemaker, and you see them simply and naturally plod on their course, speaking only of what they know, and no further; whereas these letter-puff pedants, because they would faine raise themselves aloft, and with their litterall doctrine which floteth up and downe the superficies of their braine, arme themselves beyond other men, they unnecessarily intricate and entangle themselves: they utter loftie words, and speake golden sentences, but so that another man doth place, fit, and applie them. They are acquainted with Galen, but know not the use. They will stuffe your head with lawes, when God wot they have not yet conceived the ground of the case. They knowe the theorie of all things, but you must seeke who shall put it in practice. I have seene a friend of mine, in mine owne house, who by way of sport talking with one of these pedanticall gulls, counterfeited a kind of

fustian tongue, and spake a certaine gibbrish, without rime or reason, sans head or foot, a hotch-potch of divers things, but that he did often interlace it with inke-pot termes, incident to their disputations, to amuse the bookish sot for a whole day long with debating and contending; ever thinking he answered the objections made unto him; yet was he a man of letters and reputation, a graduate, and wore a goodly formall long gowne.

*Vos, ô patritius sanguis, quos vivere par est
Occipili cæco, postica occurrere sanne.*¹

You noble blouds, who with a noddle blind
Should live, meet with the mocke that's made behind.

Whosoever shall narrowly looke into this kind of people, which far and wide hath spread it selfe, he shall find (as I have done) that for the most part they neither understand themselves nor others, and that their memorie is many times sufficiently full fraught, but their judgment ever hollow and emptie: except their natural inclination have of it selfe otherwise fashioned them. As I have seene Adrianus Turnebus, who having never professed any thing but studie and letters, wherein he was, in mine opinion, the worst man that lived these thousand yeares, and who notwithstanding had no pedanticall thing about him but the wearing of his gowne, and some externall fashions that could not well be reduced, and incivilized to the courtiers cut; things of no consequence. And I naturally hate our people, that will more hardly endure a long robe uncursively worn, than a crosse skittish mind: and that observe what leg, or reverence he makes, note his garbe or demeanor, view his boots or his hat, and marke what manner of man he is. For his inward parts, I deme him to have been one of the most unspotted and truly honest minds that ever was. I have sundry times of purpose urged him to speak of matters furthest from his study, wherein he was so cleare-sighted, and could with so quicke an apprehension conceive, and with so sound a judgment distinguish them, that he seemed never to have professed or studied other facultie than warre, and matters of state. Such spirits, such natures may be termed worthy, goodly, and solid:

— *quis arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan* ²

Whose bowels heavens-bright-Sunne composed
Of better mold, art wel disposed,

that maintaine themselves against any
bad institution. Now it sufficeth not that

¹ PERS. Sat. i. 61.

² JUV. Sat. xiv. 34.

our institution marre us not, it must change us to the better. There are some of our parliaments and courts, who when they are to admit of any officers, doe only examine them of their learning; others, that by presenting them the judgment of some law cases, endeavour to sound their understanding. Me thinks the latter keep the better style: And albeit these two parts are necessarie, and both ought to concur in one, yet truly should that of learning be lesse prized than judgement, this may well be without the other, and not the other without this. For as the Greeke verse saith,

Ὅς οὐδὲν ἢ μάθῃς, ἢν μὴ σοῦς παρῇ.¹
Learning nought worth doth lie,
Be not discretion by.

Whereto serveth learning, if understanding be not joined to it? Oh would to God, that for the good of our justice, the societies of lawyers were as well stored with judgement, discretion and conscience, as they are with learning and wit. *Non vitæ, sed scholæ discimus*:² "We learne not for our life, but for the schoole." It is not enough to joyne learning and knowledge to the minde, it should be incorporated into it: it must not be sprinkled, but dyed with it; and if it change not and better her estate (which is imperfect) it were much better to leave it. It is a dangerous sword, and which hindreth and offendeth her master, if it be in a weake hand, and which hath not the skill to manage the same: *Vt fuerit melius non didicisse*! "So as it were better that we had not learned." It is peradventure the cause that neither we nor divinitie require much learning in women; and that Francis Duke of Britannie, sonne to John the fifth, when he was spoken unto for a marriage betwene him and Isabel a daughter of Scotland; and some told him she was meanly brought up, and without any instruction of learning, answered, hee loved her the better for it, and that a woman was wise enough if she could but make a difference betwene the shirt and dublet of her husbands. It is also no such wonder (as some say) that our auncestors did never make any great accompt of letters, and that even at this day (except it be by chance) they are not often found in our kings and princes chiefest counells and consultations: And if the end to grow rich by them, which now adaies is altogether proposed unto us by the studie of Law, of Phisicke, of Pedantisme, and of Divinitie; did not keep them in credit, without

doubt you should see them as beggarly and needy, and as much vilified as ever they were. And what hurt I pray you, since they neither teach us to think well nor doe well? *Postquam docti prodierunt, boni desunt*:¹ "Since men became learned, good men failed." Each other science is prejudiciall unto him that hath not the science of goodnesse. But may not the reason I whilom sought for, also proceed thence? That our studie in France, having as it were no other aime but profit, but those lesse whom nature hath produced to more generous offices, than lucrative, giving themselves unto learning, or so briefly (before they have apprehended any liking of them, retired unto a profession that hath no communitie with bookes) there are then none left, altogether to engage themselves to studie and Bookes, but the meaner kind of people, and such as are borne to base fortune, and who by learning and letters seek some meane to live and enrich themselves. The minds of which people being both by naturall inclination, by example, and familiar institution, of the basest stampe, doe falsly reap the fruit of learning. For it is not in her power to give light unto the mind, that hath none, nor to make a blind man to see. The myserie of it is not to afford him sight, but to direct it for him, to addresse his goings, alwaies provided he have feet of his owne, and good, strait, and capable legs. Knowledge is an excellent drug, but no drug is sufficiently strong to preserve it selfe without alteration or corruption, according to the fault of the vessell that contains it. Some man hath a cleare sight, that is not right-sighted; and by consequence seeth what good is, and doth not follow it; and seeketh knowledge, but makes no use of it. The chiefest ordinance of Plato in his *Commonwealth* is to give unto his Citizens their charge according to their nature. Nature can doe all, and doth all. The crookt backt, or deformed, are unfit for any exercise of the bodie, and crookt and mis-shapen minds unproper for exercises of the minde. The bastard and vulgar sort are unworthy of Philosophie. When we see a man ill shod, if he chance to be a Shoemaker, wee say it is no wonder, for commonly none goes worse shod than they. Even so it seemes that experience doth often shew us, a Physitian lesse healthy, a Divine lesse reformed, and most commonly a Wiseman lesse sufficient than another. Aristo Chius had heretofore reason to say that Philosophers did much hurt their auditors, forasmuch as the greatest

¹ *Comm. Grac.* π. et φ. ult.

² *Sen. Epist.* cvi. f.

¹ *SEN. Epist.* xcii.

number of minds are not apt to profit by such instructions, which, if they take not a good, they will follow a bad course: ἀσάτους ex Aristippi, acerbos ex Zenonis schola exire.¹ "They proceed licentious out of the Schoole of Aristippus, but bitter out of the Schoole of Zeno." In that excellent institution which Zenophon giveth the Persians, wee find, that as other nations teach their children Letters, so they taught theirs vertue. Plato said the eldest borne sonne, in their royall succession, was thus taught. "As soone as he was borne, he was delivered, not to women, but to such Eunuchs as by reason of their vertue were in chiefeest authoritie about the King. Their speciall charge was first to shapen his limmes and bodie, goodly and healthy; and at seven yeares of age they instructed and inured him to sit on horsebacke, and to ride a hunting; when he came to the age of fourteene, they delivered him into the hands of foure men, that is to say, the wisest, the justest, the most temperate, and the most valiant of all the nation. The first taught him religion; the second, to be ever upright and true; the third, to become Master of his owne desires; and the fourth, to feare nothing." It is a thing worthy great consideration, that in that excellent, and as I may terme it, matchlesse policie of Lycurgus, and in truth, by reason of her perfection, monstrous, yet notwithstanding, so carefull for the education of children, as of her principall charge, and even in the Muses bosome and resting-place, there is so little mention made of learning: as if that generous youth disdain- ing all other yokes but of vertue, ought only to be furnished, in lieu of tutors of learning, with masters of valour, of justice, of wisdom, and of temperance. An example which Plato hath imitated in his Lawes. The manner of their discipline was, to propound questions unto them, teaching the judgement of men and of their actions: and if by way of reason or discourse they condemned or praised either this man or that deed, they must be told the truth and best: by which meanes at once they sharpened their wits, and learned the right. Astiages in Zenophon calleth Cyrus to an accompt of his last lesson: It is (saith he) that a great lad in our Schoole, having a little coat, gave it to one of his fellowes, that was of lesser stature than himselfe, and tooke his coat from him, which was too big for him: our Master having made me judge of that difference, I judged that things must be left in the state they were in, and that both seemed to be better fitted as they

were; whereupon he shewed me I had done ill; because I had only considered the comelinesse where I should chiefly have respected justice, which required that none should be forced in any thing which properly belonged to him, and said he was whipt for it, as we are in our countie-townes, when we have forgotten the first preterperfect tense or Aoriste of τῆρτω. My Regent might long enough make me a prolix and cunning Oration in genere demonstrativo, in the oratorie kind of praise or dispraise, before ever hee should perswade me his Schoole is worth that. They have gone about to make the way shorter: and since Sciences (even when they are right taken) can teach us nothing but wisdom, honestie, integritie, and resolution; they have at first sight attempted to put their children to the proper of effects, and instruct them, not by heare-say, but by assay of action, lively modelling and framing them, not only by precepts and words, but principally by examples and works, that it might not be a Science in their mind, but rather his complexion and habitude; not to purchase, but a naturall inheritance.

To this purpose, when Agesilaus was demanded what his opinion was, children should learne: he answered, "What they should doe being men." It is no marvell, if such an institution have produced so admirable effects. Some say, that in other Cities of Greece they went to seeke for Rhetoricians, for Painters, and for Musicians; whereas in Lacedemon, they sought for Law-givers, for Magistrates, and Generals of armies: In Athens men learn'd to say well, but here, to doe well: there to resolve a sophistical argument, and to confound the imposture and amphibologie of words, captiously entangled together; here to shake off the allurements of voluptuousnesse, and with an undanted courage to contemne the threats of fortune, and reject the menaces of death: those busied and laboured themselves about idle words, these after martiall things: there the tongue was ever in continuall exercise of speaking, here the minde in an uncessant practice of well-doing. And therefore was it not strange, if Antipater requiring fiftie of their children for hostages, they answered cleane contrarie to that we would doe, "that they would rather deliver him twice so many men;" so much did they value and esteeme the losse of their countries education. When Agesilaus inviteth Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, there to be brought up; it is not because they should learne Rhetorike or Logike, but, as himselfe saith, "to the end they may learne the worthiest and best

¹ Cic. Nat. Deor. l. iii.

science that may bee, to wit, the knowledge how to obey and the skill how to command." It is a sport to see Socrates, after his blunt manner, to mocke Hippias, who reporteth unto him what great summes of money he had gained, especially in certaine little Cities and small townes of Sicily, by keeping schoole, and teaching letters, and that at Sparta he could not get a shilling. That they were but Idiots and foolish people, who can neither measure nor esteeme; nor make no account of Grammer, or of Rhythmes; and who only amuse themselves to know the succession of Kings, the establishing and declination of estates, and such like trash of flim-flam tales. Which done, Socrates forcing him particularly to allow the excellencie of their forme of publike government, the happinesse and vertue of their private life, remits unto him to guesse the conclusion of the unprofitableness of his arts. Examples teach us both in this martiall policie, and in all such like, that the studie of sciences doth more weaken and effeminate mens minds, than corroborate and adapt them to warre. The mightiest, yea the best settled estate, that is now in the world, is that of the Turkes, a nation equally instructed to the esteeme of armes, and disesteeme of letters. I find Rome to have bene most valiant when it was least learned. The most warlike nations of our daies are the rudest and most ignorant. The Scythians, the Parthians, and Tamburlane, serve to verifie my saying. When the Gothes over-ran and ravaged Greece; that which saved all their Libraries from the fire was, that one among them scattered this opinion, that such trash of bookes and papers must be left untoucht and whole for their enemies, as the only meane and proper instrument to divert them from all militarie exercises, and amuse them to idle, secure, and sedentarie occupations. When our King Charles the eight, in a manner without unsheathing his sword, saw himselfe absolute Lord of the whole Kingdome of Naples, and of a great part of Tuscanie, the Princes and Lords of his traine ascribed this sodaine and unhoped for victorie, and facilitie of so noble and prodigious a conquest, only to this, that most of the Princes and nobilitie of Italie amused themselves rather to become ingenious and wise by learning, than vigorous and warriors by militarie exercises.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the institution and education of Children; to the Ladie Diana of Foix, Countesse of Gursen.

I NEVER knew father, how crooked and deformed soever his sonne were, that would either altogether cast him off, or not acknowledge him for his owne: and yet (unlesse he be meerey besotted or blinded in his affection) it may not be said, but he plainly perceiveth his defects, and hath a feeling of his imperfections. But so it is, he is his owne. So it is in my selfe. I see better than any man else, that what I have set downe is nought but the fond imaginations of him who in his youth hath tasted nothing but the paring, and seen but the supersticies of true learning; whereof he hath retained but a generall and shapelesse forme: a smacke of every thing in generall, but nothing to the purpose in particular: After the French manner. To be short, I know there is an art of Phificke; a course of lawes; foure parts of the Mathematickes; and I am not altogether ignorant what they tend unto. And perhaps I also know the scope and drift of Sciences in generall to be for the service of our life. But to wade further, or that ever I tired my selfe with plodding upon Aristotle (the Monarch of our moderne doctrine) or obstinately continued in search of any one science: I confesse I never did it. Nor is there any one art whereof I am able so much as to draw the first lineaments. And there is no scholler (be he of the lowest forme) that may not repute himselfe wiser than I, who am not able to oppose him in his first lesson: and if I be forced to it, I am constrained verie impertinently to draw in matter from some generall discourse, whereby I examine, and give a guesse at his naturall judgement: a lesson as much unknowne to them as theirs is to me. I have not dealt or had commerce with any excellent booke, except Plutarke or Seneca, from whom (as the Danaides) I draw my water, uncessantly filling, and as fast emptying: some thing whereof I fasten to this paper, but to my selfe nothing at all. And touching bookes: Historie is my chiefe studie, Poesie my only delight, to which I am particularly affected: for as Cleanthes said, that as the voice being forcible pent in the narrow gullet of a trumpet, at last issueth forth more strong and shriller, so me seemes, that a sentence cunningly and closely couched in measure-keeping Posie, darts it selfe forth more furiously, and wounds me even to the

quicke. And concerning the naturall faculties that are in me (whereof behold here an essay), I perceive them to faint under their owne burthen ; my conceits, and my judgement march but uncerteine, and as it were groping, staggering, and stumbling at every rush : And when I have gone as far as I can, I have no whit pleased my selfe : for the further I saile the more land I descrie, and that so dimmed with fogges, and overcast with clouds, that my sight is so weakened, I cannot distinguish the same. And then undertaking to speake indifferently of all that presents it selfe unto my fantasie, and having nothing but mine owne naturall meanes to imploy therein, if it be my hap (as commonly it is) among good Authors, to light upon those verie places which I have undertaken to treat off, as even now I did in Plutarke, reading his discourse of the power of imagination, wherein in regard of those wise men, I acknowledge my selfe so weake and so poore, so dull and grose-headed, as I am forced both to pittie and disdaine my selfe, yet am I pleased with this, that my opinions have often the grace to jump with theirs, and that I follow them a loofe-off, and thereby possesse at least, that which all other men have not ; which is, that I know the utmost difference betweene them and my selfe : all which notwithstanding, I suffer my inventions to run abroad, as weake and faint as I have produced them, without bungling and botching the faults which this comparison hath discovered to me in them. A man had need have a strong backe, to undertake to march foot to foot with these kind of men. The indiscreet writers of our age, amidst their triviall compositions, intermingle and wrest in whole sentences taken from ancient Authors, supposing by such filching-theft to purchase honour and reputation to themselves, doe cleane contrarie. For, this infinite varietie and dissemblance of lustres, makes a face so wan, so ill-favored, and so ugly, in respect of theirs, that they lose much more than gaine thereby. These were two contrarie humours : The Philosopher Chrisippus was wont to foist-in amongst his bookes, not only whole sentences and other long-long discourses, but whole bookes of other Authors, as in one, he brought in Euripides his *Medea*. And Apollodorus was wont to say of him, that if one should draw from out his bookes what he had stolne from others, his paper would remaine blanke. Whereas Epicurus cleane contrarie to him in three hundred volumes he left behind him, had not made use of one allegation. It was my fortune not long since to light upon such a place :

I had languishingly traced after some French words, so naked and shallow, and so void either of sense or matter, that at last I found them to be nought but meere French words ; and after a tedious and wearisome travell, I chanced to stumble upon an high, rich, and even to the clouds-raised piece, the descent whereof had it been somewhat more pleasant or easie, or the ascent reaching a little further, it had been excusable, and to be borne with-all ; but it was such a steepe downe-fall, and by meere strength hewen out of the maine rocke, that by reading of the first six words, me thought I was carried into another world : whereby I perceive the bottome whence I came to be so low and deep, as I durst never more adventure to go through it ; for, if I did stuffe any one of my discourses with those rich spoiles, it would manifestly cause the sottishnesse of others to appeare. To reprove mine owne faults in others, seemes to me no more unsufferable than to reprehend (as I doe often) those of others in my selfe. They ought to be accused every where, and have all places of Sanctuarie taken from them : yet do I know how over boldly, at all times I adventure to equal my selfe unto my filchings, and to march hand in hand with them ; not without a fond hardie hope, that I may perhaps be able to bleare the eyes of the Judges from discerning them. But it is as much for the benefit of my application, as for the good of mine invention and force. And I doe not furiously front, and bodie to bodie wrestle with those old champions : it is but by flights, advantages, and false offers I seek to come within them, and if I can, to give them a fall. I do not rashly take them about the necke, I doe but touch them, nor doe I go so far as by my bargain I would seeme to doe ; could I but keepe even with them, I should then be an honest man ; for I seeke not to venture on them, but where they are strongest. To doe as I have seen some, that is, to shroud themselves under other armes, not daring so much as to show their fingers ends unarmed, and to botch up all their works (as it is an easie matter in a common subject, namely for the wiser sort) with ancient inventions, here and there huddled up together. And in those who endeavoured to hide what they have filched from others, and make it their owne, it is first a manifest note of injustice, then a plaine argument of cowardlinesse ; who having nothing of any worth in themselves to make show of, will yet under the countenance of others sufficiencie goe about to make a faire offer : Moreover (oh great foolishnesse) to seek by such cosening tricks

to forestall the ignorant approbation of the common sort, nothing fearing to discover their ignorance to men of understanding (whose praise only is of value) who will soone trace out such borrowed ware. As for me, there is nothing I will doe lesse. I never speake of others, but that I may the more speake of my selfe. This concerneth not those mingle-mangles of many kinds of stuffe, or as the Grecians call them Rap-sodies, that for such are published, of which kind I have (since I came to yeares of discretion) seen divers most ingenious and wittie; amongst others, one under the name of Caplupus; besides many of the ancient stampe. These are wits of such excellence, as both here and elsewhere they will soone be perceived, as our late famous writer Lipsius, in his learned and laborious work of the Politikes: yet whatsoever come of it, for so much as they are but follies, my intent is not to smother them, no more than a bald and hoarie picture of mine, where a Painter hath drawne not a perfect visage, but mine owne. For, howsoever, these are but my humors and opinions, and I deliver them but to show what my conceit is, and not what ought to be beleaved. Wherein I ayme at nothing but to display my selfe, who peradventure (if a new prentiship change me) shall be another to morrow. I have no authoritie to purchase beliefe, neither do I desire it; knowing well that I am not sufficiently taught to instruct others. Some having read my precedent Chapter, told me not long since in mine owne house, I should somewhat more have extended my selfe in the discourse concerning the institution of children. Now (Madam) if there were any sufficiencie in me touching that subject, I could not better employ the same than to bestow it as a present upon that little lad, which ere long threatneth to make a happie issue from out your honorable wombe; for (Madame) you are too generous to begin with other than a man childe. And having had so great a part in the conduct of your successful marriage, I may challenge some right and interest in the greatnesse and prosperitie of all that shall proceed from it: moreover, the ancient and rightfull possession, which you from time to time have ever had, and still have over my service, urgeth me with more than ordinarie respects, to wish all honour, well-fare and advantage to whatsoever may in any sort concerne you and yours. And truly, my meaning is but to show that the greatest difficultie, and importing all humane knowledge, seemeth to be in this point, where the nurture and institution of young children is in question.

For, as in matters of husbandrie, the labor that must be used before sowing, setting, and planting, yea in planting itselfe, is most certaine and easie. But when that which was sowed, set and planted, commeth to take life; before it come to ripenesse, much adoe, and great varietie of proceeding be-longeth to it. So in men, it is no great matter to get them, but being borne, what continuall cares, what diligent attendance, what doubts and feares, doe daily wait to their parents and tutors, before they can be nurtured and brought to any good? The fore-shew of their inclination whilst they are young is so uncertaine, their humours so variable, their promises so changing, their hopes so false, and their proceedings so doubtful, that it is very hard (yea for the wisest) to ground any certaine judgment, or assured successe upon them. Behold Cymon, view Themistocles, and a thousand others, how they have differed, and fallen to better from themselves, and deceivd the expectation of such as knew them. The young whelps both of Dogges and Beares at first sight shew their naturall disposition, but men headlong embracing this custome or fashion, following that humor or opinion, admitting this or that passion, allowing of that or this law, are easily changed, and soone disguised; yet it is hard to force the naturall propension or readinesse of the mind, whereby it followeth, that for want of heedie fore-sight in those that could not guide their course well, they often employ much time in vaine, to addresse young children in those matters whereunto they are not naturally addicted. All which difficulties notwithstanding, mine opinion is, to bring them up in the best and profitabest studies, and that a man should slightly passe over those fond presages, and deceiving prognostikes, which we over precisely gather in their infancie. And (without offence be it said) me thinks that Plato in his *Commonwealth* allowed them too-too much authoritie.

Madame, Learning joyned with true knowledge is an especiall and gracefull ornament, and an implemēt of wonderfull use and consequence, namely, in persons raised to that degree of fortune wherein you are. And in good truth, learning hath not her owne true forme, nor can she make shew of her beauteous lineaments, if she fall into the hands of base and vile persons. [For, as famous Torquato Tasso faith: "Philosophie being a rich and noble Queene, and knowing her owne worth, graciously smileth upon and lovingly embraceth Princes and noble men, if they become suiters to her, admitting them as her minions, and gently

affording them all the favours she can; whereas upon the contrarie, if she be wooed, and sued unto by clownes, mechanical fellows, and such base kind of people, she holds herselfe disparaged and disgraced, as holding no proportion with them. And therefore see we by experience, that if a true Gentleman or nobleman follow her with any attention, and wooed her with importunitie, he shall learne and know more of her, and prove a better scholler in one yeare, than an ungentle or base fellow shall in seven, though he pursue her never so attentively." She is much more readie and fierce to lend her furtherance and direction in the conduct of a warre, to attempt honourable actions, to command a people, to treat a peace with a prince of forraine nation, than she is to forme an argument in Logick, to devise a Syllogisme, to canvase a case at the barre, or to prescribe a receipt of pills. So (noble Ladie) forsomuch as I cannot perswade myselfe, that you will either forget or neglect this point, concerning the institution of yours, especially having tasted the sweetnesse thereof, and being descended of so noble and learned a race. For we yet possesse the learned compositions of the ancient and noble Earles of Foix, from out whose heroicke loynes your husband and you take your of-spring. And Francis Lord of Candale, your worthie uncle, doth daily bring forth such fruits thereof, as the knowledge of the matchlesse qualitie of your house shall hereafter extend itselfe to many ages; I will therefore make you acquainted with one conceit of mine, which contrarie to the common use I hold, and that is all I am able to afford you concerning that matter. The charge of the Tutor, which you shall appoint your sonne, in the choice of whom consisteth the whole substance of his education and bringing up; on which are many branches depending, which (forasmuch as I can adde nothing of any moment to it) I will not touch at all. And for that point, wherein I presume to advise him, he may so far forth give credit unto it, as he shall see just cause. To a gentleman borne of noble parentage, and heire of a house that aymeth at true learning, and in it would be disciplined, not so much for game or commoditie to himselfe (because so abject an end is far unworthie the grace and favour of the Muses, and besides, hath a regard or dependencie of others) nor for externall shew and ornament, but to adorne and enrich his inward minde, desiring rather to shape and institute an able and sufficient man, than a bare learned man; my desire is therefore, that the parents or overseers of such a gentleman be very circumspect, and careful

in chusing his director, whom I would rather commend for having a well composed and temperate braine, than a full stuff head, yet both will doe well. And I would rather prefer wisdome, judgement, civill customes, and modest behaviour, than bare and meere littall learning; and that in his charge he hold a new course. Some never cease brawling in their schollers eares (as if they were still pouring in a tonell) to follow their booke, yet is their charge nothing else but to repeat what hath bene told them before. I would have a tutor to correct this part, and that at first entrance, according to the capacite of the wit he hath in hand, he should begin to make shew of it, making him to have a smacke of all things, and how to choose and distinguish them, without helpe of others, sometimes opening him the way, other times leaving him to open it by himselfe. I would not have him to invent and speake alone, but suffer his disciple to speake when his turne commeth. Socrates, and after him Arcesilaus, made their schollers to speake first, and then would speake themselves. *Oest plerumque iis qui discere volunt, auctoritas eorum quid docent*:¹ "Most commonly the authoritie of them that teach, hinders them that would learne."

It is therefore meet that he make him first trot-on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so guesse how long he will hold out, that accordingly he may fit his strength; for want of which proportion we often marre all. And to know how to make a good choice, and how far forth one may proceed (still keeping a due measure), is one of the hardest labours I know. It is a signe of a noble, and effect of an undanted spirit, to know how to second, and how far forth he shall condescend to his childish proceedings, and how to guide them. As for myselfe, I can better and with more strength walke up than downe a hill. Those which, according to our common fashion, undertake with one selfe-same lesson, and like maner of education, to direct many spirits of divers formes and different humours, it is no marvell if among a multitude of children, they scarce meet with two or three that reap any good fruit by their discipline, or that come to any perfection. I would not only have him to demand an accompt of the words contained in his lesson, but of the sense and substance thereof, and judge of the profit he hath made of it, not by the testimonie of his memorie, but by the witness of his life. That what he lately learned, he cause him to set forth

¹ Cic. *De Nat.* l. i.

and pourtray the same into sundrie shapes, and then to accommodate it to as many different and severall subjects, whereby he shal perceive, whether he have yet apprehended the same, and therein enfeofed himselfe, at due times taking his instruction from the institution given by Plato. It is a signe of cruditie and indigestion for a man to yeeld up his meat, even as he swallowed the same; the stomacke hath not wrought his full operation, unless it have changed forme, and altered fashion of that which was given him to boyle and concoct.

[Wee see men gape after no reputation but learning, and when they say, such a one is a learned man, they thinke they have said enough;] Our minde doth move at others pleasure, and tyed and forced to serve the fantasies of others, being brought under by authoritie, and forced to stoop to the lure of their bare lesson; wee have bene so subjected to harpe upon one string, that we have no way left us to descant upon voluntarie; our vigor and libertie is cleane extinct. *Nunquam tutelæ sue fiunt*: "They never come to their owne tuition." It was my hap to bee familiarie acquainted with an honest man at Pisa, but such an Aristotelian, as he held this infallible position; that a conformitie to Aristotles doctrine was the true touchstone and squire of all solid imaginations and perfect veritie; for, whatsoever had no coherencie with it, was but fond Chimeraes and idle humors; inasmuch as he had knowne all, seene all, and said all. This proposition of his being somewhat over amply and injuriously interpreted by some, made him a long time after to be troubled in the inquisition of Rome. I would have him make his scholler narrowly to sift all things with discretion, and harbour nothing in his head by mere authoritie, or upon trust. Aristotles principles shall be no more axiomes unto him, than the Stoikes or Epicurians. Let this diversitie of judgements be proposed unto him, if he can, he shall be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood, if not, he will remaine doubtful.

*Che non men che saper dubbiar m'aggrata.*¹

No lesse it pleaseth me,
To doubt, than wish to be.

For if by his owne discourse he embrace the opinions of Xenophon or of Plato, they shall be no longer theirs, but his. He that meerely followeth another, traceth nothing, and seeketh nothing: *Non sumus sub Rege, sibi quisque se vindicet.*² "We are not under a Kings command, every one

may challenge himselfe, for let him at least know that he knoweth." It is requisite he endeavour as much to feed himselfe with their conceits, as labour to learne their precepts; which, so he know how to applie, let him hardly forget, where or whence he had them. Truth and reason are common to all, and are no more proper unto him that spake them heretofore, than unto him that shall speake them hereafter. And it is no more according to Platoes opinion than to mine, since both he and I understand and see alike. The Bees do here and there sucke this and cull that flower, but afterward they produce the hony, which is peculiarly their owne, then is it no more Thyme or Majoram. So of peeces borrowed of others, he may lawfully alter, transforme, and found them, to shape out of them a perfect peece of worke, altogether his owne; alwaies provided his judgement, his travell, studie, and institution tend to nothing, but to frame the same perfect. Let him hardly conceale where or whence he hath had any helpe, and make no shew of anything, but of that which he hath made himselfe. Pirates, pilchers, and borrowers, make a shew of their purchases and buildings, but not of that which they have taken from others: you see not the secret fees or bribes Lawyers take of their Clients, but you shall manifestly discover the alliances they make, the honours they get for their children, and the goodly houses they build. No man makes open shew of his receipts, but every one of his gettings. The good that comes of studie (or at least should come) is to prove better, wiser and honest. It is the understanding power (said Epicharmus) that seeth and heareth, it is it that profiteth all and disposeth all, that moveth, swayeth, and ruleth all: all things else are but blind, senselesse, and without spirit. And truly in barring him of libertie to doe any thing of himselfe, we make him thereby more servile and more coward. Who would ever enquire of his scholler what he thinketh of Rhetorike, of Grammar, of this or of that sentence of Cicero? Which things thorowly fethered (as if they were oracles) are let flie into our memorie; in which both letters and syllables are substantiall parts of the subject. To know by roat is no perfect knowledge, but to keep what one hath committed to his memories charge, is commendable: what a man directly knoweth, that will he dispose-of, without turning still to his booke or looking to his pattern. A meere bookish sufficiencie is unpleasant. All I expect of it is an imbelishing of my actions, and not a foundation of them, according to Platoes mind, who

¹ DANTE, *Inferno*, cant. xi. 93.

² SEN. *Epist.* xxxiii.

saith, constancie, faith, and sinceritie are true Philosophie; as for other Sciences, and tending else-where, they are but garish paintings. I would faine have Paluel or Pompey, those two excellent dauncers of our time, with all their nimblenesse, teach any man to doe their loftie tricks and high capers, only with seeing them done, and without stirring out of his place, as some Pedanticall fellows would instruct our minds without moving or putting it in practice. And glad would I be to find one that would teach us how to manage a horse, to tosse a pike, to shoot-off a peece, to play upon the lute, or to warble with the voice, without any exercise, as these kind of men would teach us to judge, and how to speake well, without any exercise of speaking or judging. In which kind of life, or as I may terme it, Prentiship, what action or object soever presents it-selfe into our eies, may serve us in stead of a sufficient booke. A prettie pranke of a boy, a knavish trick of a page, a foolish part of a lackey, an idle tale or any discourse else, spoken either in jest or earnest, at the table or in companie, are even as new subjects for us to worke upon: for furtherance whereof, commerce or common societie among men, visiting of forraigne countries, and observing of strange fashions, are verie necessary, not only to be able (after the manner of our yong gallants of France) to report how many paces the Church of Santa Rotonda is in length or breadth, or what rich garments the curtezan Signora Livia weareth, and the worth of her hosen; or as some do, nicely to dispute how much longer or broader the face of Nero is, which they have seene in some old ruines of Italie, than that which is made for him in other old monuments else-where. But they should principally observe, and be able to make certaine relation of the humours and fashions of those countries they have seene, that they may the better know how to correct and prepare their wits by those of others. I would therefore have him begin even from his infancie to travell abroad; and first, that at one shoot he may hit two markes, he should see neighbour-countries, namely where languages are most different from ours; for, unless a mans tongue be fashioned unto them in his youth, he shall never attaine to the true pronounciation of them if he once grow in yeares. Moreover, we see it received as a common opinion of the wiser sort, that it agreeth not with reason, that a childe be alwaies nuzzled, cockered, dandled, and brought up in his parents lap or sight; forsomuch as their naturall kindnesse, or (as I may call it) tender fondnesse, causeth often, even the

wisest to prove so idle, so overnice, and so base-minded. For parents are not capable, neither can they find in their hearts to see them checkt, corrected, or chastised, nor indure to see them brought up so meanly, and so far from daintinesse, and many times so dangerously, as they must needs be. And it would grieve them to see their children come home from those exercises, that a Gentleman must necessarily acquaint himselfe with, sometimes all wet and bemyred, other times sweatie and full of dust, and to drinke being either extreme hot or exceeding cold; and it would trouble them to see him ride a rough-untamed horse, or with his weapon furiously encounter a skilful Fencer, or to handle or shoot-off a musket; against which there is no remedy, if he will make him prove a sufficient, compleat, or honest man: he must not be spared in his youth; and it will come to passe, that he shall many times have occasion and be forced to shooke the rules of Physicke.

*Vitamque sub dio et trepidis agit
In rebus.*¹

Leade he his life in open aire,
And in affaires full of despaire.

It is not sufficient to make his minde strong, his muskles must also be strengthened: the mind is over-borne if it be not seconded: and it is too much for her alone to discharge two offices. I have a feeling how mine panteth, being joyned to so tender and sensible a bodie, and that lieth so heavie upon it. And in my lecture, I often perceive how my Authors in their writings sometimes commend examples for magnanimitic and force, that rather proceed from a thicke skin and hardnes of the bones. I have knowne men, women and children borne of so hard a constitution, that a blow with a cudgell would lesse hurt them, than a filip would doe me, and so dull and blockish, that they will neither stir tongue nor eyebrows, beat them never so much. When wrestlers goe about to counterfeit the Philosophers patience, they rather shew the vigor of their sinnewes than of their heart. For the custome to beare travell, is to tolerate griefe: *Labor callum obducit dolori*:² "Labour worketh a hardnesse upon sorrow." Hee must be enured to suffer the paine and hardnesse of exercises, that so he may be induced to endure the paine of the colicke, of cauterie, of fals, of sprains, and other diseases incident to mans bodie: yea, if need require, patiently to beare imprisonment and other tortures, by which sufferance he shall come

¹ Hor. l. i. *Od.* ii. 4. ² Cic. *Tusc.* Qu. i. ii.

to be had in more esteeme and accompt: for according to time and place, the good as well as the bad man may haply fall into them; we have seen it by experience. Whosoever striveth against the lawes, threatens good men with mischiefe and extortion. Moreover, the authoritie of the Tutor (who should be soveraigne over him) is by the cockering and presence of the parents, hindred and interrupted: besides the awe and respect which the household beares him, and the knowledge of the meane, possibilities, and greatnesse of his house, are in my judgement no small lets in a young Gentleman. In this schoole of commerce, and societie among men, I have often noted this vice, that in lieu of taking acquaintance of others, we only endeavour to make our selves knowne to them: and we are more ready to utter such merchandize as we have, than to ingrosse and purchase new commodities. Silence and modestie are qualities very convenient to civil conversation. It is also necessary that a young man be rather taught to be discreetly-sparing and close-handed, than prodigally-wastfull and lavish in his expences, and moderate in husbanding his wealth when he shall come to possesse it. And not to take pepper in the nose for every foolish tale that shall be spoken in his presence, because it is an uncivil opportunity to contradict whatsoever is not agreeing to our humour: let him be pleased to correct himselfe. And let him not seeme to blame that in others which he refuseth to doe himselfe, nor goe about to withstand common fashions, *Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia*:¹ "A man may bee wise without ostentation, without envie." Let him avoid those imperious images of the world, those uncivil behaviours and childish ambition wherewith, God wot, too-too many are possess'd: that is, to make a faire shew of that which is not in him; endeavouring to be reputed other than indeed he is; and as if reprehension and new devices were hard to come by, he would by that meane acquire into himselfe the name of some peculiar vertue. As it pertaineth but to great Poets to use the libertie of arts; so is it tolerable but in noble minds and great spirits to have a preheminance above ordinarie fashions. *Si quid Socrates et Aristippus contra morem et consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitretur licere: Magis enim illi et divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequabamur*:² "If Socrates and Aristippus have done ought against custome or good manner, let not a man thinke he may doe the same; for they obtained this licence

by their great and excellent good parts:" He shall be taught not to enter rashly into discourse or contesting, but when he shall encounter with a Champion worthe his strength; And then would I not have him employ all the tricks that may fit his turne, but only such as may stand him in most stead. That he be taught to be curious in making choice of his reasons, loving pertinency, and by consequence brevitye. That above all, he be instructed to yeeld, yea to quit his weapons unto truth, as soone as he shall discern the same, whether it proceed from his adversarie, or upon better advice from himselfe; for he shall not be preferred to any place of eminencie above others, for repeating of a prescript part; and he is not engaged to defend any cause, further than he may approve it; nor shall he bee of that trade where the libertie for a man to repent and re-advise himselfe is sold for readie money. *Neque, ut omnia, que præscepta et imperata sunt, defendat, necessitate ulla cogitur*:³ "Nor is he enforced by any necessitie to defend and make good all that is prescribed and commanded him." If his tutor agree with my humour, he shall frame his affection to be a most loyall and true subject to his Prince, and a most affectionate and courageous Gentleman in al that may concerne the honor of his Sovereigne or the good of his cuntry, and endeavour to suppress in him all manner of affection to undertake any action otherwise than for a publike good and dutie. Besides many inconveniences, which greatly prejudice our libertie by reason of these particular bonds, the judgment of a man that is waged and bought, either it is lesse free and honest, or else it is blemisht with oversight and ingratitude. A meere and precise Courtier can neither have law nor will to speake or thinke otherwise than favourable of his Master, who among so many thousands of his subjects hath made choice of him alone, to institute and bring him up with his owne hand. These favours, with the commodities that follow minion Courtiers, corrupt (not without some colour of reason) his libertie, and dazle his judgement. It is therefore commonly seene that the Courtiers-language differs from other mens, in the same state, and to be of no great credit in such matters. Let therefore his conscience and vertue shine in his speech, and reason be his chiefe direction. Let him be taught to confesse such faults as he shall discover in his owne discourses, albeit none other perceive them but himselfe; for it is an evident shew of judgement, and effect of sinceritie, which

¹ SRN. Epist. ciii. f.² CIC. Off. l. i.³ CIC. Acad. Qu. l. iv.

are the chiefeſt qualities he aymeth at. That wilfully to ſtrive, and obſtinateſtly to conteſt in words, are common qualities, moſt apparent in baſeſt mindes: That to re-advise and correct himſelfe, and when one is moſt earneſt, to leave an ill opinion, are rare, noble, and Philoſophicall conditions. Being in companie, he ſhall be put in minde, to caſt his eyes round about, and every where: For I note, that the chiefeſt places are uſually ſeezed upon by the moſt unworthie and leſſe capable; and that height of fortune is ſeldome joyned with ſufficiencie. I have ſcene that whiſt they at the upper end of a board were buſie entertaining themſelves with talking of the beautie of the hangings about a chamber, or of the taſte of ſome good cup of wine, many good diſcourſes at the lower end have utterly been loſt. He ſhall weigh the carriage of every man in his calling, a Heardsman, a Maſon, a Stranger, or a Traveller; all muſt be employed; every one according to his worth; for all helps to make up houſhold; yea, the follie and the ſimplicite of others ſhall be as inſtructions to him. By controlling the graces and manners of others, he ſhall acquire unto himſelfe envie of the good and contempt of the bad. Let him hardly be poſſeſſed with an honeſt curioſitie to ſearch out the nature and cauſes of all things: let him ſurvey whatſoever is rare and ſingular about him; a building, a fountaine, a man, a place where any battell hath been fought, or the paſſages of Cæſar or Charlemaine.

*Quæ tellus ſit lenta gelu, quæ putris ab æſtu,
Ventus in Italiam quis bene vela ſerat.*¹

What land is parcht with heat, what clog'd with froſt.

What wind drives kindly to th' Italian coaſt.

He ſhall endeavour to be familiarly acquainted with the cuſtomes, with the meanes, with the ſtate, with the dependances and alliances of all Princes; they are things ſoone and pleaſant to be learned, and moſt profitable to be knowne. In this acquaintance of men, my intending is, that hee chiefly comprehend them, that live but by the memorie of bookes. He ſhall, by the help of Hiſtories, informe himſelfe of the worſthieſt minds that were in the beſt ages. It is a frivolous ſtudie, if a man liſt, but of unvaluable worth to ſuch as can make uſe of it, and as Plato ſaith, the only ſtudie the Lacedæmonians reſerved for themſelves. What profit ſhall he not reap, touching this point, reading the lives of our Plutark? Alwayes conditioned, the maſter

bethinke himſelfe whereto his charge tendeth, and that he imprint not ſo much in his ſchollers mind the date of the ruine of Carthage, as the manners of Hanniball and Scipio, nor ſo much where Marcellus died, as becauſe he was unworthy of his devoire he died there: that he teach him not ſomuch to know Hiſtories as to judge of them. It is amongſt things that beſt agree with my humour, the ſubject to which our ſpirits doe moſt diverſly applie themſelves. I have read in Titus Livius a number of things, which peradventure others never read, in whom Plutarke haply read a hundred more than ever I could read, and which perhaps the author himſelfe did never intend to ſet downe. To ſome kind of men it is a meere gramaticall ſtudie, but to others a perfect anatomie of Philoſophie; by meanes whereof the ſecretteſt part of our nature is ſearched into. There are in Plutarke many ample diſcourſes moſt worthy to be knowne: for in my judgement, he is the chiefeſt work-maſter of ſuch works, whereof there are a thouſand, wheræat he hath but ſlightly glanced; for with his finger he doth but point us out a way to walke in, if we liſt; and is ſometimes pleaſed to give but a touch at the quickeſt and maine point of a diſcourſe, from whence they are by diligent ſtudie to be drawne, and ſo brought into open market. As that ſaying of his, That the inhabitants of Aſia ſerved but one alone, becauſe they could not pronounce one onely ſyllable, which is Non, gave perhaps both ſubject and occaſion to my friend Boetie to compoſe his booke of voluntarie ſervitude. If it were no more but to ſee Plutarke wreſt a ſlight action to mans life, or a word that ſeemeth to beare no ſuch ſence, it will ſerve for a whole diſcourſe. It is pittie men of underſtanding ſhould ſo much love brevitie; without doubt their reputation is thereby better, but we the worſe. Plutarke had rather we ſhould commend him for his judgement than for his knowledge, he loveth better to leave a kind of longing-deſire in us of him, than a ſatietie. He knew verie well that even in good things too much may be ſaid: and that Alexandridas did juſtly reprove him who ſpake verie good ſentences to the Ephores, but they were over tedious. Oh ſtranger, quoth he, thou ſpeakeſt what thou oughteſt, otherwiſe then thou ſhouldeſt. Thoſe that have leane and thin bodies ſtuffe them up with bumbaſting. And ſuch as have but poore matter, will puffe it up with loftie words. There is a marvelous cleerenesse, or as I may terme it an enlightning of mans judgement drawne from the commerce of men, and by frequenting abroad in the world: we are all ſo contrived and compact

in our selves, that our sight is made shorter by the length of our nose. When Socrates was demanded whence he was, he answered, not of Athens, but of the world; for he, who had his imagination more full and rather stretching, embraced all the world for his native Citie, and extended his acquaintance, his societie, and affections to all man-kind: and not as we do, that looke no further than our feet. If the frost chance to nip the vines about my village, my Priest doth presently argue that the wrath of God hangs over our head, and threatneth all mankind: and judgeth that the Pippe is alreadie falne upon the Canibals.

In viewing these intestine and civil broiles of ours, who doth not exclaime, that this worlds vast frame is neere unto a dissolution, and that the day of judgement is readie to fall on us? never remembering that many worse revolutions have been seene, and that whilst we are plunged in griefe, and overwhelmed in sorrow, a thousand other parts of the world besides are blessed with happinesse, and wallow in pleasures, and never thinke on us? whereas, when I behold our lives, our licence, and impunity, I wonder to see them so milde and easie. He on whose head it haileth, thinks all the Hemisphere besides to be in a storme and tempest. And as that dull-pated Savoyard said, that if the seelie King of France could cunningly have managed his fortune, he might verie well have made himselfe chiefe Steward of his Lords household, whose imagination conceived no other greatnesse than his Masters; we are all insensible of this kind of error: an error of great consequence and prejudice. But whosoever shall present unto his inward eyes, as it were in a Table, the Idea of the great image of our universall mother Nature, attired in her richest robes, sitting in the throne of her Majestic, and in her visage shall read so generall and so constant a varietie; he that therein shall view himselfe, not himselfe alone, but a whole Kingdome, to be in respect of a great circle but the smallest point that can be imagined, he onely can value things according to their essentiall greatnesse and proportion. This great universe (which some multiple as Species under one Genus) is the true looking-glasse wherein we must looke, if we will know whether we be of a good stampe or in the right byase. To conclude, I would have this worlds-frame to be my Schollers choise-booke: So many strange humours, sundrie sects, varying judgements, diverse opinions, different lawes, and fantastickall customes teach us to judge rightly of ours, and instruct our

judgement to acknowledge his imperfections and naturall weaknesse, which is no easie an apprentiship: So many innovations of estates, so many fals of Princes, and changes of publike fortune, may and ought to teach us, not to make so great account of ours: So many names, so many victories, and so many conquests buried in darke oblivion, makes the hope to perpetuate our names but ridiculous, by the surprising of ten Argo-lettiers, or of a small cottage, which is knowne but by his fall. The pride and fiercenesse of so many strange and gorgeous shewes: the pride-puft majestie of so many courts, and of their greatnesse, ought to confirme and assure our sight, undauntedly to beare the affronts and thunder-claps of ours, without feeling our eyes: So many thousands of men, low-laide in their graves afore us, may encourage us not to feare, or be dismayed to go meet so good companie in the other world, and so of all things else. Our life (said Pithagoras) drawes neare unto the great and populous assemblies of the Olympike games, wherein some, to get the glorie and to win the goale of the games, exercise their bodies with all industrie; others, for greedinesse of gaine, bring thither marchandise to sell: others there are (and those be not the worst) that seek after no other good, but to marke how wherefore, and to what end, all things are done: and to be spectators or observers of other mens lives and actions, that so they may the better judge and direct their owne. Unto examples may all the most profitable Discourses of Philosophie be sorted, which ought to be the touch-stone of human actions, and a rule to square them by, to whom may be said,

— *quid fas optare, quid asper
Vtile nummus habet, patriæ charisque pro-
pinqvis*

*Quantum elargiri deceat, quem te Deus esse
Iussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re.¹*

Quid sinitus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur.²

What thou maiest wish, what profit may come
cleare,

From new-stamp't coyne, to friends and countrie
deare

What thou ought'st give: whom God would have
thee be,

And in what part amongst men he placed thee.

What we are, and wherefore,
To live heer we were bore.

What it is to know, and not to know (which ought to be the scope of studie), what valour, what temperance, and what justice is: what difference there is betwene ambition and avarice, bondage and freedom, subjection and libertie, by which

markes a man may distinguish true and perfect contentment, and how far-forth one ought to feare or apprehend death, griefe, or shame.

Et quo quemque modo fugiatque feriatque laborem.

How ev'ry labour he may plie,
And beare, or ev'ry labour flie.

What wards or springs move us, and the causes of so many motions in us: For me seemeth, that the first discourses, wherewith his conceit should be sprinkled, ought to be those that rule his manners and direct his sense; which will both teach him to know himselfe, and how to live and how to die well. Among the liberall Sciences, let us begin with that which makes us free: Indeed, they may all, in some sort stead us, as an instruction to our life, and use of it, as all other things else serve the same to some purpose or other. But let us make especiall choice of that which may directly and pertinently serve the same. If we could restraine and adapt the appurtenances of our life to their right byasse and naturall limits, we should find the best part of the Sciences that now are in use, cleane out of fashion with us; yea, and in those that are most in use, there are certaine by-ways and deep-flows most profitable, which we should do well to leave, and according to the institution of Socrates, limit the course of our studies in those where profit is wanting.

*Incipe: vivendi qui rectè prorogat horam,
Rusticus expectat dum defluat annus, at ille
Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*¹
Be bold to be wise: to begin, be strong,
He that to live well doth the time prolong,
Clowne-like expects, till downe the streame be
run,

That runs, and will run, till the world be done.

It is mere simplicitie to teach our children,

*Quid moveant Pisces, animosaque signa
Leonis,*

*Lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua.*²

What Pisces move, or hot breath'd Leos beames,
Or Capricornus bath'd in western streames,

the knowledge of the starres, and the motion of the eighth spheare, before their owne;

*Τί Πλειάδες καὶ καὶ τί δ' Ἀστράσι βούρω.*³

What longs it to the seven stars, and me,
Or those about Boötes be.

Anaximenes writing to Pythagoras, saith, "With what sense can I amuse myselfe in the secrets of the Starres, having continually death or bondage before mine eyes?" For at that time the Kings of Persia were making preparations to war against his Countrey. All men ought to say so: Being beaten with ambition, with avarice, with rashnesse, and with superstition, and having such other enemies unto life within him. Wherefore shall I study and take care about the mobility and variation of the world? When hee is once taught what is fit to make him better and wiser, he shall be entertained with Logicke, naturall Philosophy, Geometry, and Rhetoricke, then having settled his judgement, looke what science he doth most addict himselfe unto, he shall in short time attaine to the perfection of it. His lecture shall be sometimes by way of talke and sometimes by booke: his tutor may now and then supply him with the same Author, as an end and motive of his institution: sometimes giving him the pith and substance of it ready chewed. And if of himselfe he be not so thoroughly acquainted with bookes, that hee may readily find so many notable discourses as are in them to effect his purpose, it shall not be amisse that some learned man bee appointed to keepe him company, who at any time of need may furnish him with such munition as hee shall stand in need of; that hee may afterward distribute and dispense them to his best use. And that this kind of lesson be more easie and naturall than that of Gaza, who will make question? Those are but harsh, thornie, and unpleasant precepts; vaine, idle and immaterial words, on which small hold may be taken; wherein is nothing to quicken the minde. In this the spirit findeth substance to bide and feed upon. A fruit without all comparison much better, and that will soone be ripe. It is a thing worthy consideration, to see what state things are brought unto in this our age; and how Philosophie, even to the wisest, and men of best understanding, is but an idle, vaine and fantastick name, of small use and lesse worth, both in opinion and effect. I thinke these Sophistries are the cause of it, which have forestalled the wayes to come unto it: They doe very ill that goe about to make it seeme as it were inaccessible for children to come unto, setting it forth with a wrimpled, gastlie, and frowning visage; who hath masked her with so counterfet, pale, and hideous a countenance? There is nothing more beauteous, nothing more delightful, nothing more gamesome: and as I may say,

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iii. 853.

² HOR. l. i. *Epist.* ii. 40.

³ PROP. l. iv. *El.* i. 85.

⁴ ANACR. *Od.* xvii. 10. 11.

nothing more fondly wanton: for she presenteth nothing to our eyes, but preacheth nothing to our eares, but sport and pastime. A sad and lowring looke plainly declareth that that is not her haunt. Demetrius the Gramarian, finding a company of Philosophers sitting close together in the Temple of Delphos, said unto them, "Either I am deceived, or by your plausible and pleasant lookes, you are not in any serious and earnest discourse amongst your selves;" to whom one of them, named Heracleon the Megarian, answered, "That belongeth to them, who busie themselves in seeking whether the future tense of the verbe βάλω hath a double λ, or that labour to find the derivation of the comparatives, χειρον, βελτιον, and of the superlatives χειροσπον, βελτιστον, it is they that must chafe in intertaining themselves with their science: as for discourses of Philosophie they are wont to glad, rejoyce, and not to vex and molest those that use them.

*Deprendas animi tormenta latentis in agro
Corpore, deprendas et gaudia; sumit utrumque
Inde habitum facies.*¹

You may perceive the torments of the mind,
Hid in sicke bodie, you the joyes may find;
The face such habit takes in either kind.

That mind which harboureth Philosophie, ought by reason of her sound health, make that bodie also sound and healthie: it ought to make her contentment to through-shine in all exteriour parts: it ought to shapen and modell all outward demeanours to the modell of it: and by consequence arme him that doth possesse it, with a gracious stoutnesse and lively audacite, with an active and pleasing gesture, and with a settled and cheerefull countenance. The most evident token and apparant signe of true wisdom is a constant and unconstrained rejoycing, whose estate is like unto all things above the Moone, that is ever cleare, alwaies bright. It is Baroco and Baralipton, that makes their followers prove so base and idle, and not Philosophie; they know her not but by heare-say; what? Is it not shee that cleereth all stormes of the mind? And teacheth miserie, famine, and sicknesse to laugh? Not by reason of some imaginarie Epicles, but by naturall and palpable reasons. Shee aymeth at nothing but vertue; it is vertue shee seekes after; which as the schoole saith, is not pitch on the top of an high, steepe, or inaccessible hill; for they that have come unto her, affirme that cleane-contrarie shee keeps her stand, and holds her mansion in a faire, flourishing,

and pleasant plaine, whence as from an high watch tower, she survaieith all things, to be subject unto her, to whom any man may with great facilitie come, if he but know the way or entrance to her palace: for, the pathes that lead unto her are certaine fresh and shadie greene allies, sweet and flowrie waies, whose ascent is even, easie, and nothing wearisome, like unto that of heavens vaults. Forso much as they have not frequented this vertue, who gloriously, as in a throne of Majestie sits soveraigne, goodly, triumphant, lovely, equally delicious, and couragious, protesting her selfe to be a professed and irreconcilable enemy to all sharpnesse, austeritie, feare, and compulsion; having nature for her guide, fortune and voluptuousnesse for her companions; they according to their weaknesse have imaginarily fained her, to have a foolish, sad, grim, quarrelous, spitefull, threatening, and disdainfull visage, with an horrid and unpleasant looke; and have placed her upon a craggie, sharpe, and unfrequented rocke, amidst desert cliffes and uncouth crags, as a scar-crow, or bug-bear, to alight the common people with. Now the tuteur, which ought to know that he should rather seek to fill the mind and store the will of his disciple, as much, or rather more, with love and affection, than with awe, and reverence unto vertue, may shew and tell him, that Poets follow common humours, making him plainly to perceive, and as it were palpably to feele, that the Gods have rather placed labour and sweat at the entrances which lead to Venus chambers, than at the doores that direct to Pallas cabinets.

And when he shall perceive his scholler to have a sensible feeling of himselfe, presenting Bradamant or Angelica before him, as a Mistress to enjoy, embellished with a naturall, active, generous, and unspotted beautie, not ugly or Giant-like, but blithe and livelie, in respect of a wanton, soft, directed, and artificiall-flaring beautie; the one attired like unto a young man, coyed with a bright-shining helmet, the other disguised and drest about the head like unto an impudent harlot, with embroyderies, frizelings, and carcanets of pearles: he will no doubt deeme his owne love to be a man and no woman, if in his choice he differ from that effeminate shepheard of Phrygia. In this new kind of lesson he shall declare unto him, that the prize, the glorie, and height of true vertue, consisted in the facilitie, profit, and pleasure of his exercises: so far from difficultie and incumbrances, that children as well as men, the simple as soone as the wise, may come unto her

Discretion and temperance, not force or way-wardnesse are the instruments to bring him unto her. Socrates (vertues chiefe favorite) that he might the better walke in the pleasant, naturall, and open path of her progresses, doth voluntarily and in good earnest, quit all compulsion. Shee is the nurse and foster-mother of all humane pleasures, who in making them just and upright, she also makes them sure and sincere. By moderating them, she keepeth them in ure and breath. In limiting and cutting them off, whom she refuseth; she whets us on toward those she leaveth unto us; and plenteously leaves us them, which Nature pleaseth, and like a kind mother giveth us over unto satietie, if not unto wearisomesse, unlesse we will peradventure say that the rule and bridle, which stayeth the drunkard before drunkennesse, the glutton before surfetting, and the lecher before the losing of his haire, be the enemies of our pleasures. If common fortune faile her, it cleerely scapes her; or she cares not for her, or she frames another unto herselfe, altogether her owne, not so fleeting nor so rowling. She knoweth the way how to be rich, mightie and wise, and how to lie in sweet-perfumed beds. She loveth life; she delights in beautie, in glorie, and in health. But her proper and particular office is, first to know how to use such goods temperately, and how to lose them constantly. An office much more noble than severe, without which all course of life is unnaturall, turbulent, and deformed, to which one may lawfully joyne those rocks, those incumbrances, and those hideous monsters. If so it happen, that his Disciple prove of so different a condition, that he rather love to give eare to an idle fable than to the report of some noble voiage, or other notable and wise discourse, when he shall heare it; that at the sound of a Drum or clang of a Trumpet, which are wont to rowse and arme the youthly heat of his companions, turneth to another that calleth him to see a play, tumbling, juggling tricks, or other idle lose-time sports; and who for pleasures sake doth not deeme it more delightsome to returne all sweatie and wearie from a victorious combat, from wrestling, or riding of a horse, than from a Tennis-court or dancing schoole, with the prize or honour of such exercises; The best remedy I know for such a one is, to put him prentice to some base occupation, in some good towne or other, yea, were he the sonne of a Duke; according to Platoes rule, who saith "That children must be placed, not according to their fathers conditions, but the faculties of their mind."

Since it is Philosophie that teacheth us to live, and that infancie as well as other ages, may plainly read her lessons in the same, why should it not be imparted unto young Schollers?

*Vdum et molle lutum est, nunc nunc properandus, et acri
Fingendus sine fine rota.*¹

He's moist and soft mould, and must by and by
Be cast, made up, while wheele whirles readily.

We are taught to live when our life is well-nigh spent. Many schollers have been infected with that loathsome and marrow-wasting disease before ever they came to read Aristotles treatise of Temperance. Cicero was wont to say, "That could he out-live the lives of two men, he should never find leasure to study the Lyrike Poets." And I find these Sophisters both worse and more unprofitable. Our childe is engaged in greater matters; And but the first fiftene or sixteene yeares of his life are due unto Pedantisme, the rest unto action: let us therefore employ so short time as we have to live in more necessarie instructions. It is an abuse; remove these thornie quiddities of Logike, whereby our life can no whit be amended, and betake our selves to the simple discourses of Philosophy; know how to chuse and fitly to make use of them: they are much more easie to be conceived than one of Boccace his tales. A childe comming from nurse is more capable of them, than he is to learne to read or write. Philosophy hath discourses, whereof infancie as well as decaying old-age may make good use. I am of Plutarkes mind, which is, that Aristotle did not so much amuse his great Disciple about the arts how to frame Syllogismes, or the principles of Geometric, as he endeavoured to instruct him with good precepts concerning valour, prowesse, magnanimitie, and temperance, and an undantied assurance not to feare any thing; and with such munition he sent him, being yet verie young, to subdue the Empire of the world, only with 30000 footmen, 4000 horsemen, and 42000 Crownes in monie. As for other arts and sciences; he saith Alexander honoured them, and commended their excellencie and comlinesse; but for any pleasure he tooke in them, his affection could not easily be drawne to exercise them.

—*petite hinc juvenesque senesque
Finem animo certum, miserisque viaticum canis.*²
Young men and old, draw hence (in your
affaires)

Your minds set marke, provision for gray haire.

¹ PERS. Sat. iii. 23.

² Sat. v. 64.

It is that which Epicurus said in the beginning of his letter to Memiceus: "Neither let the youngest shun nor the oldest wearie himselfe in philosophizing, for who doth otherwise seemeth to say, that either the season to live happily is not yet come, or is already past." Yet would I not have this young gentleman pent-up, nor carelesly cast-off to the heedlesse choler, or melancholy humour of the hasty Schoole-master. I would not have his budding spirit corrupted with keeping him fast-tied, and as it were labouring fourteene or fifteene houres a day poring on his booke, as some doe, as if he were a day-labouring man; neither doe I think it fit, if at any time, by reason of some solitarie or melancholy complexion, he should be seene with an over-indiscreet application given to his booke, it should be cherished in him; for, that doth often make him both unapt for civill conversation and distracts him from better employments: How many have I seene in my daies, by an over-greedy desire of knowledge, become as it were foolish? Carneades was so deeply plunged, and as I may say besotted in it, that he could never have leisure to cut his haire, or pare his nailes: nor would I have his noble manners obscured by the incivillitie and barbarisme of others. The French wisdom hath long since proverbially been spoken of as verie apt to conceive study in her youth, but most unapt to keepe it long. In good truth, we see at this day that there is nothing lovelier to behold than the young children of France; but for the most part, they deceive the hope which was fore-apprehended of them: for when they once become men, there is no excellencie at all in them. I have heard men of understanding hold this opinion, that the Colleges to which they are sent (of which there are store) doe thus besot them: whereas to our scholler, a cabinet, a garden, the table, the bed, a solitarinesse, a companie, morning and evening, and all houres shall be alike unto him, all places shall be a study for him: for Philosophy (as a former of judgments, and modeler of customes) shall be his principall lesson, having the privilege to entermiddle her selfe with all things, and in all places. Isocrates the Orator, being once requested at a great banket to speake of his art, when all thought he had reason to answer, said, "It is not now time to doe what I can, and what should now be done, I cannot doe it; For, to present orations, or to enter into disputation of Rhetorike, before a companie assembled together to be merrie, and make good cheere, would be but a medley of harsh and jarring musicke." The like may be said of all other Sciences,

But touching Philosophy, namely, in that point where it treateth of man, and of his duties and offices, it hath been the common judgement of the wisest, that in regard of the pleasantnesse of her conversatione, she ought not to be rejected, neither at banquets nor at sports. And Plato having invited her to his solemne feast, we see how kindly she entertaineth the companie with a milde behaviour, fitly suting her selfe to time and place, notwithstanding it be one of his learnedst and profitable discourses.

*Alquid pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquæ,
Et neglecta æquæ pueris senibusque nocet.*

Poorre men alike, alike rich men it easeth,
Alike it, scorned, old and young displeaseth.

So doubtlesse he shall lesse be idle than others; for even as the paces we bestow walking in a gallerie, although they be twice as many more, wearie us not so much as those we spend in going a set journey: So our lesson being past over, as it were, by chance, or way of encounter, without strict observance of time or place, being applied to all our actions, shall be digested, and never felt. All sports and exercises shall be a part of his study; running, wrestling, musicke, dancing, hunting, and managing of armes and horses. I would have the exterior demeanor or decencie, and the disposition of his person to be fashioned together with his mind: for, it is not a mind, it is not a body that we erect, but it is a man, and we must not make two parts of him. And as Plato saith, They must not be erected one without another, but equally be directed, no otherwise than a couple of horses matched to draw in one selfe-same teeme. And to heare him, doth he not seeme to imploy more time and care in the exercises of his bodie: and to thinke that the minde is together with the same exercised, and not the contrarie? As for other matters, this institution ought to be directed by a sweet-severe mildnesse; Not as some do, who in lieu of gently-bidding children to the banquet of letters, present them with nothing but horror and crueltie. Let me have this violence and compulsion removed, there is nothing that, in my seeming, doth more bastardise and dizzie a well-borne and gentle nature: If you would have him stand in awe of shame and punishment, doe not so much enure him to it: accustom him patiently to endure sweat and cold, the sharpnesse of the wind, the heat of the sunne, and how to despise all hazards. Remove from him all nicenesse and quaintnesse in clothing, in lying, in eating, and in

drinking : fashion him to all things , that he prove not a faire and wanton-puling boy, but a lustie and vigorous boy : When I was a child, being a man, and now am old, I have ever judged and believed the same. But amongst other things, I could never away with this kind of discipline used in most of our Colleges. It had peradventure been lesse hurtfull, if they had somewhat inclined to mildnesse, or gentle entreatie. It is a verie prison of captivated youth, and proves dissolute in punishing it before it be so. Come upon them when they are going to their lesson, and you heare nothing but whipping and brawling, both of children tormented, and masters besotted with anger and chafing. How wide are they, which go about to allure a child's mind to go to its booke, being yet but tender and fearefull, with a stearne-frowning countenance, and with hands full of rods? Oh wicked and pernicious manner of teaching! which Quintillian hath very wel noted, that this imperious kind of authoritie, namely, this way of punishing of children, drawes many dangerous inconveniences within. How much more decent were it to see their school-houses and formes strewed with greene boughs and flowers, than with bloody burchen-twigs? If it lay in me, I would doe as the Philosopher Speusippus did, who caused the pictures of Gladness and Joy, of Flora and of the Graces, to be set up round about his school-house. Where their profit lieth, there should also be their recreation. Those meats ought to be sugred over, that are healthful for childrens stomakes, and those made bitter that are hurtfull for them. It is strange to see how careful Plato sheweth him selfe in framing of his lawes about the recreation and pastime of the youth of his Citie, and how far he extends him selfe about their exercises, sports, songs, leaping, and dancing, wherof he saith, that severe antiquitie gave the conduct and patronage unto the Gods themselves, namely, to Apollo, to the Muses, and to Minerva. Marke but how far-forth he endevoeth to give a thousand precepts to be kept in his places of exercises both of bodie and mind. As for learned Sciences, he stands not much upon them, and seemeth in particular to commend Poesie, but for Musickes sake. All strangenesse and selfe-particularitie in our manners and conditions, is to be shunned, as an enemy to societie and civill conversation. Who would not be astonished at Demophons complexion, chiefe steward of Alexanders household, who was wont to sweat in the shadow, and quiver for cold in the sunne? I have seene some to startle at the smell of

an apple more than at the shot of a peece ; some to be frighted with a mouse, some readie to cast their gorge at the sight of a messe of creame, and others to be scared with seeing a fether bed shaken : as Germanicus, who could not abide to see a cock, or heare his crowing. There may haply be some hidden proprietie of nature, which in my judgement might easilie be removed, if it were taken in time. Institution hath gotten this upon me (I must confesse with much adoe) for, except beere, all things else that are mans food agree indifferently with my taste. The bodie being yet souple, ought to be accommodated to all fashions and customes ; and (alwaies provided, his appetites and desires be kept under) let a yong man boldly be made fit for al Nations and companies ; yea, if need be, for al disorders and surfetings ; let him acquaint him selfe with al fashions ; That he may be able to do al things, and love to do none but those that are commendable. Some strict Philosophers commend not, but rather blame Calisthenes, for losing the good favour of his Master Alexander, only because he would not pledge him as much as he had drunke to him. He shall laugh, jest, dally, and debauch himselfe with his Prince. And in his debauching, I would have him out-go al his fellows in vigor and constancie, and that he omit not to doe evill, neither for want of strength or knowledge, but for lacke of will, *Autulm interest utrum peccare quis nolit, aut nesciat* : " There is a great difference, whether one have no will, or no wit to doe amisse." I thought to have honoured a gentleman (as great a stranger, and as far from such riotous disorders as any is in France) by enquiring of him in verie good companie, how many times in all his life he had bin drunke in Germanie during the time of his abode there, about the necessarie affaires of our King ; who tooke it even as I meant it, and answered three times, telling the time and manner how. I know some, who for want of that qualitie, have been much perplexed when they have had occasion to converse with that nation. I have often noted with great admiration, that wonderfull nature of Alcibiades, to see how easilie he could sute himselfe to so divers fashions and different humors, without prejudice unto his health ; sometimes exceeding the sumptuousnesse and pompe of the Persians, and now and then surpassing the austeritie and frugalitie of the Lacedemonians ; as reformed in Sparta, as voluptuous in Ionia.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.¹

All colours, states, and things are fit
For courtly Aristippus wit.

Such a one would I frame my Disciple,

*— quem duplici panno patientia velat,
Mirabor, vita via si conversa decebit.*

Whom patience clothes with sutes of double kind,
I muse, if he another way will find.

Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque.²

He not unfittly may,

Both parts and persons play.

Loe here my lessons, wherein he that
acteth them, profiteth more than he that but
knoweth them, whom if you see, you heare,
and if you heare him, you see him. God
forbid, saith some bodie in Plato, that to
Philosophize, be to learne many things, and
to exercise the arts. *Hanc amplissimam*

*omnium artium bene vivendi disciplinam,
vita magis quam litteris persequenti sunt.³*

"This discipline of living well, which is the
amplest of all other arts, they followed
rather in their lives than in their learning
or writing." Leo Prince of the Phliasians,
enquiring of Heraclides Ponticus, what art
he professed, he answered, "Sir, I professe
neither art nor science; but I am a Philo-
sopher." Some reproved Diogenes, that be-
ing an ignorant man, he did neverthelesse
meddle with Philosophie, to whom he re-
plied, "So much the more reason have I and
to greater purpose doe I meddle with it." Hegesias praid him upon a time to reade
some booke unto him: "You are a merry
man," said he: "As you chuse naturall and
not painted right and not counterfeit figges
to eat, why doe you not likewise chuse, not
the painted and written, but the true and
naturall exercises?" He shall not so much
repeat, as act his lesson. In his actions
shall he make repetition of the same. We
must observe, whether there bee wisdom
in his enterprises, integritie in his demeanor,
modestie in his jestures, justice in his actions,
judgement and grace in his speech, courage
in his sicknesses, moderation in his sports,
temperance in his pleasures, order in the
government of his house, and indifferance
in his taste, whether it be flesh, fish, wine, or
water, or whatsoever he feedeth upon. *Qui
disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientie
sed legem vite putat: qui que obtemperet ipse
sibi, et decretis parat.⁴* "Who thinks his
learning not an ostentation of knowledge,
but a law of life, and himselfe obayes
himselfe, and doth what is decreed."

The true mirror of our discourses is the
course of our lives. Zeuxidamus answered

one that demanded of him, why the Lace-
demonians did not draw into a booke, the
ordinances of prowesse, that so their yong
men might read them; "it is," saith he,
"because they would rather accustome
them to deeds and actions, than to bookes
and writings." Compare at the end of
fifteene or sixteen years one of these
collegiall Latinizers, who hath employed all
that while onely in learning how to speake,
to such a one as I meane. The world is
nothing but babbling and words, and I never
saw man that doth not rather speake more
than he ought, than lesse. Notwithstanding
halfe our age is consumed that way. We
are kept foure or five yeares learning to
understand bare words, and to joine them
into clauses, then as long in proportioning
a great bodie extended into foure or five
parts; and five more at least ere we can
succinctly know how to mingle, joine, and
interlace them handsomly into a subtil
fashion, and into one coherent orbe. Let
us leave it to those whose profession is to
doe nothing else. Being once on my
journey to Orleans, it was my chance to
meet upon that plaine that lieth on this
side Cleri, with two Masters of Arts, travel-
ling toward Burdeaux, about fiftie paces
one from another; far off behind them, I
descried a troupe of horsemen, their Master
riding foremost, who was the Earle of Roche-
focault; one of my servants enquiring of
the first of those Masters of Arts, what
Gentleman he was that followed him; sup-
posing my servant had meant his fellow-
scholler, for he had not yet seen the Earles
traine, answered pleasantly, "He is no
gentleman, Sir, but a Gramarian, and I am
a Logitian." Now, we that contrariwise
seek not to frame a Gramarian, nor a
Logitian, but a compleat gentleman, let us
give them leave to mispend their time; we
have else-where, and somewhat else of
more import to doe. So that our Disciple
be well and sufficiently stored with matter;
words will follow apace, and if they will
not follow gently, he shall hale them on
perforce. I heare some excuse themselves,
that they cannot express their meaning,
and make a semblance that their heads are
so full stuff with many goodly things,
but for want of eloquence they can neither
utter nor make show of them. It is a
meere fopperie. And will you know what,
in my seeming, the cause is? They are
shadows and Chimeraes, proceeding of some
formelesse conceptions, which they cannot
distinguish or resolve within, and by con-
sequence are not able to produce them in
asmuch as they understand not themselves:
And if you but marke their earnestnesse,

¹ Hor. *Epist.* xvii. 25.

² *Ib.* 29.

³ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* i. iv.

⁴ *Ib.* i. ii.

and how they stammer and labour at the point of their deliverie, you would deeme that what they go withall, is but a conceiving, and therefore nothing neere downe-lying; and that they doe but likee that imperfect and shapelesse lump of matter. As for me, I am of opinion, and Socrates would have it so, that he who had a cleare and lively imagination in his mind, may easilie produce and utter the same, although it be in Bergamask or Welsh, and if he be dumbe, by signes and tokens.

*Verbaque prævisam rem non invita sequentur.*¹

When matter we fore-know,
Words voluntarie flow.

As one said, as poetically in his prose, *Cum res animum occupavere, verba ambiunt*;² "When matter hath possesseth their minds, they hunt after words:" and another: *Ipsæ res verba rapiunt*.³ "Things themselves will catch and carry words:" He knowes neither Ablative, Coniunctive, Substantive, nor Gramar, no more doth his Lackey, nor any Oyster-wife about the streets, and yet if you have a mind to it he will intertaine you, your fill, and peradventure stumble as little and as seldom against the rules of his tongue, as the best Master of arts in France. He hath no skill in Rhetoricke, nor can he with a preface fore-stall and captivate the Gentle Readers good will: nor careth he greatly to know it. In good sooth, all this garish painting is easilie defaced, by the lustre of an in-bred and simple truth; for these dainties and quaint devices serve but to amusse the vulgar sort: unapt and incapable to taste the most solid and firme meat: as Afer verie plainly declareth in Cornelius Tacitus. The Ambassadors of Samos being come to Cleomenes King of Sparta, prepared with a long prolix Oration, to stir him up to war against the tyrant Policrates, after he had listned a good while unto them, his answer was: "Touching your Exordium or beginning I have forgotten it; the middle I remember not; and for your conclusion I will do nothing in it." A fit, and (to my thinking) a verie good answer; and the Orators were put to such a shift, as they knew not what to replie. And what said another? the Athenians from out two of their cunning Architects, were to chuse one to erect a notable great frame; the one of them more affected and selfe presuming, presented himselfe before them, with a smooth fore-premeditated discourse, about the subject of that piece of worke, and thereby drew the judgements of

the common people unto his liking; but the other in few words spake thus: "Lords of Athens, what this man hath said I will performe." In the greatest earnestnesse of Ciceroes eloquence many were drawn into a kind of admiration; But Cato jesting at it, said, "Have we not a pleasant Consult?" A quicke cunning Argument, and a wittie saying, whether it go before or come after, it is never out of season. If it have no coherence with that which goeth before, nor with what commeth after; it is good and commendable in it selfe. I am none of those that think a good Ryme, to make a good Poeme; let him hardly (if so he please) make a short syllable long, it is no great matter; if the invention be rare and good, and his wit and judgement have cunningly played their part, I will say to such a one; he is a good Poet, but an ill Versifier.

*Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus.*¹

A man whose sense could finely pierce,
But harsh and hard to make a verse.

Let a man (saith Horace) make his worke loose all seames, measures, and joynts.

*Tempora certa modisque, et quod prius ordine verbum est.*²

*Posterius fucias, præponens ultima primis: Invenias etiam disiecti membra Poetæ.*³

Set times and moods, make you the first word last,

The last word first, as if they were new cast:
Yet find th' unjoynted Poets joints stand fast:

He shall for all that, nothing gain-say himselfe, every piece will make a good shew. To this purpose answered Menander those that chid him, the day being at hand, in which he had promised a Comedy, and had not begun the same, "Tut-tut," said he, "it is alreadie finished, there wanteth nothing but to adde the verse unto it;" for, having ranged and cast the plot in his mind, he made small accompt of feet, of measures, or cadences of verses, which indeed are but of small import in regard of the rest. Since great Ronsarde and learned Bellay have raised our French Poesie unto that height of honour where it now is: I see not one of these petty ballad-makers, or prentise dog-rell rymers, that doth not bombast his labours with high-swalling and heaven-disimbowelling words, and that doth not marshall his cadences verie neere as they doe. *Plus sonat quam valet.*⁴ "The sound is more than the weight or worth." And for the vulgar sort, there were never so many Poets, and so few good: but as it hath been easie for them to represent their rymes, so come they far short in imitating the rich

¹ Hor. Art. Poet. 321.

² Sen. Controv. l. vii. præc.

³ Cic. de Fin. l. iii. c. 5.

¹ Hor. l. i. Sat. iv. 8.

² Ib. 62.

³ Ib. 58.

⁴ Sen. Epist. xl.

descriptions of the one, and rare inventions of the other. But what shall he doe, if he be urged with sophistical subtilties about a Sillogisme? A gammon of Bacon makes a man drink, drinking quencheth a mans thirst; Ergo, a gammon of bacon quencheth a mans thirst. Let him mock at it, it is more wittie to be mockt at than to be answered. Let him borrow this pleasant counter-craft of Aristippus; "Why shall I unbind that, which being bound doth so much trouble me?" Some one proposed certaine Logically quiddities against Cleanthes, to whom Chrisippus said; use such jugling tricks to play with children, and divert not the serious thoughts of an aged man to such idle matters. If such foolish wiles, *Contorta et aculeata sophismata*,¹ "Intricate and stinged sophismes," must persuade a lie, it is dangerous: but if they prove void of any effect, and move him but to laughter, I see not why he shall beware of them. Some there are so foolish that will go a quarter of a mile out of the way to hunt after a quaint new word, if they once get in chace; *Aut qui non verba rebus aptant, sed res extrinsecus arcessunt, quibus verba conveniant*: "Or such as fit not words to matter, but fetch matter from abroad, whereto words be fitted." And another, *Qui alicujus verbi decore placentis, vocentur ad id quod non proposuerant scribere*:² "Who are allured by the grace of some pleasing word, to write what they intended not to write." I doe more willingly winde up a wittie notable sentence, that so I may sew it upon me, than unwind my thread to go fetch it. Contrariwise, it is for words to serve and wait upon the matter, and not for matter to attend upon words, and if the French tongue cannot reach unto it, let the Gaskonie, or any other. I would have the matters to surmount, and so fill the imagination of him that harkeneth, that he have no remembrance at all of the words. It is a naturall, simple, and unaffected speech that I love, so written as it is spoken, and such upon the paper, as it is in the mouth, a pithie, sinnowie, full, strong, compendious and material speech, not so delicate and affected as vehement and piercing.

*Hæc demum sapient dictio quæ feriet.*³

In fine, that word is wisely fit,
Which strikes the fence, the marke doth hit.

Rather difficult than tedious, void of affection, free, loose and bold, that every member of it seeme to make a bodie; not Pedanticall, nor Frier-like, nor Lawyer-like, but rather downe right, Souldier-like. As

Suetonius calleth that of Julius Cæsar, which I see no reason wherefore he calleth it. I have sometimes pleased myselfe in imitating that licentiousnesse or wanton humour of our youths, in wearing of their garments; as carelessly to let their cloaks hang downe over one shoulder; to weare their cloakes scarfe or bawdrikewise, and their stockings loose hanging about their legs. It represents a kind of disdainful fiercenesse of these foraine embellishings, and neglect carelessnesse of art: But I commend it more being employed in the course and forme of speech. All manner of affectation, namely in the livelinesse and libertie of France, is unseemely in a Courtier. And in a Monarchie every Gentleman ought to addresse himselfe unto a Courtiers carriage. Therefore do we well somewhat to incline to a native and carelesse behaviour. I like not a contexture, where the seames and pieces may be seen: As in a well compact bodie, what need a man distinguish and number all the bones and veines severally? *Quæ veritati operam datoratio, incomposita sit et simplex*.¹ *Quis accurate loquitur nisi qui vult putide loqui?*² "The speach that intendeth truth must be plaine and unpollisht: Who speaketh elaborately, but he that meanes to speake unfavourably?" That eloquence offereth injurie unto things, which altogether draws us to observe it. As in apparell, it is a signe of pusillanimitie for one to marke himselfe, in some particular and unusuall fashion: so likewise in common speech, for one to hunt after new phrases, and unaccustomed quaint words, proceedeth of a scholasticall and childish ambition. Let me use none other than are spoken in the hals of Paris. Aristophanes the Gramarian was somewhat out of the way, when he reproved Epicurus, for the simplicitie of his words, and the end of his art oratorie, which was onely perspicuitie in speech. The imitation of speech, by reason of the facilitie of it, followeth presently a whole nation. The imitation of judging and inventing, comes more slow. The greater number of Readers, because they have found one self-same kind of gowne, suppose most falsely to holde one like bodie. Outward garments and cloakes may be borrowed, but never the sinews and strength of the bodie. Most of those that converse with me, speake like unto these Essayes; but I know not whether they think alike. The Athenians (as Plato averreth) have for their part great care to be fluent and eloquent in their speech; The Lacedemonians endeavour to be short and compendious; and those of

¹ Cic. *Acad. Qu.* l. iv.

² Sen. *Epist.* liii.

³ *Epitaph on Lucan*, 6.

¹ Sen. *Epist.* xl.

² *Id.* *Epist.* lxxv.

Creet labour more to bee plentiful in conceits than in language. And these are the best. Zeno was wont to say, "That he had two sorts of disciples; the one he called φιλόλογους, curious to learne things, and those were his darlings, the other he termed λογοφίλους, who respected nothing more than the language. Yet can no man say, but that to speake well, is most gracious and commendable, but not so excellent as some make it: and I am grieved to see how we employ most part of our time about that onely. I would first know mine owne tongue perfectly, then my neighbours with whom I have most commerce. I must needs acknowledge, that the Greeke and Latine tongues are great ornaments in a gentleman, but they are purchased at over-high a rate. Use it who list, I will tell you how they may be gotten better, cheaper, and much sooner than is ordinarily used, which was tried in my selfe. My late father, having, by all the meanes and industrie that is possible for a man, sought amongst the wisest, and men of best understanding, to find a most exquisite and readie way of teaching, being advised of the inconveniences then in use; was given to understand that the lingring while, and best part of our youth, that we employ in learning the tongues, which cost them nothing, is the onely cause we can never attaine to that absolute perfection of skill and knowledge of the Greekes and Romanes. I doe not beleeve that to be the onely cause. But so it is, the expedient my father found out was this; that being yet at nurse, and before the first loosing of my tongue, I was delivered to a Germane (who died since, a most excellent Physitian in France) he being then altogether ignorant of the French tongue, but exquisitely readie and skilfull in the Latine. This man, whom my father had sent for of purpose, and to whom he gave verie great entertainment, had me continually in his armes, and was mine onely overseer. There were also joyned unto him two of his cuntrymen, but not so learned; whose charge was to attend, and now and then to play with me; and all these together did never entertaine me with other than the Latine tongue. As for others of his household, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himselfe, nor my mother, nor man, nor maid-servant, were suffered to speake one word in my companie, except such Latine words as every one had learned to chat and prattle with me. It were strange to tell how every one in the house profited therein. My Father and my Mother learned so much Latine, that for a need they could understand it, when they

heard it spoken, even so did all the household servants, namely such as were neereest and most about me. To be short, we were all so Latinized, that the townes round about us had their share of it; insomuch as even at this day, many Latine names both of workmen and of their tooles are yet in use amongst them. And as for my selfe, I was about six years old, and could understand no more French or Perigordine than Arabike; and that without art, without bookes, rules, or grammer, without whipping or whining, I had gotten as pure a Latine tongue as my Master could speake; the rather because I could neither mingle or confound the same with other tongues. If for an Essay they would give me a Theme, whereas the fashion in Colleges is, to give it in French, I had it in bad Latine, to reduce the same into good. And Nicholas Grouchy, who hath written *De comitiis Romanorum*, William Guereute, who hath commented Aristotele; George Buchanan, that famous Scottish Poet, and Marke Antonie Muret, whom (while he lived) both France and Italie to this day, acknowledge to have been the best orator; all which have bene my familiar tutors, have often told me, that in mine infancie I had the Latine tongue so readie and so perfect, that themselves feared to take me in hand. And Buchanan, who afterward I saw attending on the Marshall of Brissacke, told me, he was about to write a treatise of the institution of children, and that he tooke the model and patterne from mine: for at that time he had the charge and bringing up of the young Earle of Brissack, whom since we have seene prove so worthy and so valiant a Captaine. As for the Greeke, wherein I have but small understanding, my father purposed to make me learne it by art; But by new and uncustomed meanes, that is, by way of recreation and exercise. We did tosse our declinations and conjugations to and fro, as they doe, who by way of a certaine game at tables learne both Arithmetike and Geometrie. For, amongst other things he had especially bene perswaded to make me taste and apprehend the fruits of dutie and science by an unforced kinde of will, and of mine owne choice; and without any compulsion or rigor to bring me up in all mildnesse and libertie: yea with such kinde of superstition, that, whereas some are of opinion that suddenly to awaken young children, and as it were by violence to startle and fright them out of their dead sleepe in a morning (wherein they are more heavie and deeper plunged than we) doth greatly trouble and distemper their braines, he would every

morning cause me to be awakened by the sound of some instrument ; and I was never without a servant who to that purpose attended upon me. This example may serve to judge of the rest ; as also to commend the judgement and tender affection of so carefull and loving a father : who is not to be blamed, though hee reaped not the fruits answerable to his exquisite toyle and painefull manuring. Two things hindered the same ; first the barrennesse and unfit soyle : for howbeit I were of a sound and strong constitution, and of a tractable and yeelding condition, yet was I so heavie, so sluggish, and so dull, that I could not be rouzed (yea were it to goe to play) from out mine idle drowzinesse. What I saw, I saw it perfectly ; and under this heavy, and as it were Lethe-complexion did I breed hardie imaginations, and opinions farre above my yeares. My spirit was very slow, and would goe no further than it was led by others ; my apprehension blockish, my invention poore ; and besides, I had a marvelous defect in my weake memorie : it is therefore no wonder, if my father could never bring me to any perfection. Secondly, as those that in some dangerous sicknesse, moved with a kind of hope-full and greedie desire of perfect health againe, give eare to every Leach or Emperike, and follow all counsels, the good man being exceedingly fearefull to commit any oversight, in a matter he tooke so to heart, suffered himselfe at last to be led away by the common opinion, which like unto the Cranes, followeth over those that go before, and yeelded to custome : having those no longer about him, that had given him his first directions, and which they had brought out of Italie. Being but six yeares old I was sent to the College of Guienne, then most flourishing and reputed the best in France, where it is impossible to adde any thing to the great care he had, both to chuse the best and most sufficient masters that could be found, to reade unto me, as also for all other circumstances pertaining to my education ; wherein contrary to usuall customes of Colleges, he observed many particular rules. But so it is, it was ever a College. My Latin tongue was forthwith corrupted, whereof by reason of discontinuance, I afterward lost all manner of use : which new kind of institution stood me in no other stead, but that at my first admittance it made me to over-skip some of the lower formes, and to be placed in the highest. For at thirteene yeares of age, that I left the College, I had read over the whole course of Philosophie (as they call it) but with so small profit, that I can now make no account of it. The first taste or feeling I

had of bookes, was of the pleasure I tooke in reading the fables of Ovids Metamorphosies ; for, being but seven or eight yeares old, I would steale and sequester my selfe from all other delights, only to reade them : Forsomuch as the tongue wherein they were written was to me naturall ; and it was the easie-st booke I knew, and by reason of the matter therein contained most agreeing with my young age. For of King Arthur, of Lancelot du Lake, of Amadis, of Huon of Burdeaux, and such idle time consuming and wit-besotting trash of bookes wherein youth doth commonly amuse it selfe, I was not so much as acquainted with their names, and to this day know not their bodies, nor what they containe : So exact was my discipline. Whereby I became more carelesse to studie my other prescript lessons. And well did it fall out for my purpose, that I had to deale with a very discreet Master, who out of his judgement could with such dexterite winke at and second my untowardlinesse, and such other faults that were in me. For by that meanes I read over Virgils *Aeneados*, Terence, Plautus, and other Italian Comedies, allured thereunto by the pleasantnesse of their severall subjects : Had hee beene so foolishly-severe, or so severely froward as to crosse this course of mine, I thinke verily I had never brought any thing from the College, but the hate and contempt of Bookes, as doth the greatest part of our Nobilitie. Such was his discretion, and so warily did he behave himselfe, that he saw and would not see : hee would foster and increase my longing ; suffering me but by stealth and by snatches to glut my selfe with those Bookes, holding ever a gentle hand over me, concerning other regular studies. For, the chiefeest thing my father required at their hands (unto whose charge he had committed me) was a kinde of well conditioned mildnesse and facilitie of complexion. And, to say truth, mine had no other fault, but a certaine dull languishing and heavie slothfullnesse. The danger was not, I should doe ill, but that I should doe nothing.

No man did ever suspect I would prove a bad, but an unprofitable man : foreseeing in me rather a kind of idlenesse than a voluntary craftinesse. I am not so selfe-conceited but I perceive what hath followed. The complaints that are daily buzzed in mine eares are these ; that I am idle, cold, and negligent in offices of friendship, and dutie to my parents and kinsfolkes ; and touching publike offices, that I am over singular and disdainfull. And those that are most injurious cannot aske, wherefore I

have taken, and why I have not paid? but may rather demand, why I doe not quit, and wherefore I doe not give? I would take it as a favour, they should wish such effects of supererogation in me. But they are unjust and over partiall, that will goe about to exact that from me which I owe not, with more rigour than they will exact from themselves that which they owe; wherein if they condemne me, they utterly cancell both the gratifying of the action, and the gratitude, which thereby would be due to me. Whereas the active well doing should be of more consequence, proceeding from my hand, in regard I have no passive at all. Wherefore I may so much the more freely dispose of my fortune, by how much more it is mine, and of my selfe that am most mine owne. Notwithstanding, if I were a great blazoner of mine owne actions, I might peradventure barre such reproches, and justly upraid some, that they are not so much offended, because I doe not enough, as for that I may, and it lies in my power to doe much more than I doe. Yet my minde ceased not at the same time to have peculiar unto it selfe well settled motions, true and open judgements concerning the objects which it knew; which alone, and without any helpe or communication it would digest. And amongst other things, I verily beleve it would have proved altogether incapable and unfit to yeeld unto force, or stoope unto violence. Shall I account or relate this qualitie of my infancie, which was, a kinde of boldnesse in my lookes, and gentle softnesse in my voice, and affabilitie in my gestures, and a dexterite in conforming my selfe to the parts I undertooke? for before the age of the

Alter ab undecimo tum me vix ceperat annus:

Yeares had I (to make even)
Scarce two above eleven.

I have under-gone and represented the chiefeest parts in the Latin Tragedies of Buchanan, Guerente, and of Muret; which in great state were acted and plaid in our College of Guienne: wherein Andreas Goveanus our Rector principall; who as in all other parts belonging to his charge, was without comparison the chiefeest Rector of France, and my selfe (without ostentation be it spoken) was reputed, if not a chiefe-master, yet a principall Actor in them. It is an exercise I rather commend than disallow in young Gentlemen: and have seene some of our Princes (in imitation of some of former ages) both commendably and hon-

estly, in their proper persons act and play some parts in Tragedies. It hath heretofore been esteemed a lawfull exercise, and a tolerable profession in men of honor, namely in Greece. *Aristoni tragico actori rem aperit: huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant: nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos pudori est, ea deformabat.* 'He imparts the matter to Ariston a Player of tragedies, whose progenie and fortune were both honest; nor did his profession disgrace them, because no such matter is a disparagement amongst the Grecians.'

And I have ever accused them of impertinencie, that condemne and disallow such kinds of recreations, and blame those of injustice, that refuse good and honest Comedians, or (as we call them) Players, to enter our good townes, and grudge the common people such publike sports. Politike and wel ordered commonwealths endeavour rather carefully to unite and assemble their Citizens together; as in serious offices of devotion, so in honest exercises of recreation. Common societie and loving friendship is thereby cherished and increased. And besides, they cannot have more formal and regular pastimes allowed them, than such as are acted and represented in open view of all, and in the presence of the magistrates themselves: And if I might beare sway, I would thinke it reasonable, that Princes should sometimes, at their proper charges, gratifie the common people with them, as an argument of a fatherly affection, and loving goodnesse towards them: and that in populous and frequented cities, there should be Theatres and places appointed for such spectacles; as a diverting of worse inconveniences, and secret actions. But to come to my intended purpose, there is no better way to allure the affection, and to entice the appetite: otherwise a man shall breed but asses laden with Bookes. With jerks of rods they have their satchels full of learning given them to keepe. Which to doe well, one must not only harbor in himselfe, but wed and marry the same with his minde.

CHAPTER XXVI.

It is follie to referre Truth or Falsehood to our sufficiencie.

IT is not peradventure without reason that we ascribe the facilitie of beleeving and easines of perswasion unto simplicity and ignorance: For me seemeth to

have learnt heretofore, that belief was, as it were an impression conceived in our minde, and according as the same was found either more soft, or of lesse resistance, it was easier to imprint anything therein. *Ut necesse est lucem in libra ponderibus impositis deprimi: sic animum perspicuis cedere.*¹

"As it is necessarie a scale must goe downe the ballance when weights are put into it, so must a minde yeeld to things that are manifest." Forasmuch, therefore, as the minde being most emptie and without counterpoize, so much the more easily doth it yeeld under the burden of the first perswasion. And that's the reason why children, those of the common sort, women, and sickfolks, are so subject to be mis-led, and so easie to swallow gudgeons. On the other side it is a sottish presumption to disdaine and condemne that for false, which unto us seemeth to beare no shew of likelihood or truth: which is an ordinarie fault in those who perswade themselves to be of more sufficiency than the vulgar sort. So was I sometimes wont to doe, and if I heard any body speake, either of ghosts walking, of foretelling future things, of enchantments, of witchcrafts, or any other thing reported, which I could not well conceive, or that was beyond my reach—

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos leures, portentaque Thessala*²—
Dreames, magike terrors, witches, uncouth
wonders,
Night walking sprites, Thessalian conjur'd
thunders—

I could not but feele a kinde of compassion to see the poore and seely people abused with such follies. And now I perceive that I was as much to be moaned myselfe: Not that experience hath since made to discern any thing beyond my former opinions: yet was not my curiositie the cause of it, but reason hath taught me, that so resolutely to condemne a thing for false and impossible, is to assume unto himselfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature tied to his sleeve: And that there is no greater folly in the world than to reduce them to the measure of our capacitie and bounds of our sufficiency. If we terme those things monsters or miracles to which our reason cannot attaine, how many such doe daily present themselves unto our sight? Let us consider through what clouds, and how blinde-fold we are led to the knowledge of most things that pass our hands: verily we

shall finde, it is rather custome than science that removeth the strangenesse of them from us:

— *jani nemo fessus saturusque videndi,
Suspiciere in caeli dignatur lucida templa.*³

Now no man tir'd with glut of contemplation, Deignes to have heav'n's bright Church in admiration.

And that those things, were they newly presented unto us, wee should doubtlesse deeme them as much or more unlikely and incredible than any other.

— *si nunc primum mortalibus adsint
Ex improviso, ceu sint objecta repente,
Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici,
Aut minus autè quod auderent fore credere
gentes.*⁴

If now first on a sudden they were here Mongst mortall men, object to eie or eare, Nothing, than these things would more wondrous be,
Or that, men durst lesse thinke, ever to see.

He who had never seene a river before, the first he saw he thought it to be the Ocean: and things that are the greatest in our knowledge, we judge them to be the extremest that nature worketh in that kinde.

*Scilicet et fluvius qui non est maximus, ei est
Qui non autè aliquem majorem vidit, et ingens
Arbor homoque videtur, et omnia de genere
omni*

*Maxima quæ vidit quisque, hæc ingentia fingit.*⁵

A streame none of the greatest, may so seeme To him, that never saw a greater streame.
Trees, men, seeme huge, and all things of all sorts,

The greatest one hath seene, he huge reports.

*Consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi
neque admirantur, neque requirunt rationes earum rerum, quas semper vident.*⁶

"Mindes are acquainted by custome of their eies, nor do they admire or enquire the reason of those things which they continually behold." The novelty of things doth more incite us to search out the causes, than their greatnesse: we must judge of this infinite power of nature, with more reverence, and with more acknowledgement of our owne ignorance and weakness. How many things of small likelihood are there, witnessed by men, worthe of credit, whereof if we cannot be perswaded, we should at least leave them in suspence? For to deeme them impossible, is by rash presumption to presume and know how farre possibilitie reacheth. If a man did well understand, what difference there is between impossibility, and that which is unwonted, and between that which is against the course of

¹ Cic. *Acad. Qu.* I. iv.
² Hor. I. ii. *Ep.* ii. 208.

³ LUCRET. I. ii.
⁴ Id. vi. 671.

⁵ Ib. 1048.
⁶ Cic. *Nat. Deor.* I. ii.

nature and the common opinion of men, in not beleiving rashly, and in not disbeleiving easily; the rule of Nothing too-much, commanded by Chilon, should be observed. When we finde in Froisard, that the Earle of Foix (being in Bearne) had knowledge of the defeature at Iuberoth of King John of Castile, the morrow next it hapned, and the meanes he alleageth for it, a man may well laugh at it: And of that which our Annales report, that Pope Honorius, the very same day that King Philip Augustus died at Mantes, caused his publike funerals to be solemnized, and commanded them to be celebrated throughout all Italie. For, the authoritie of the witnesses hath peradventure no sufficient warrant to restraine us. But what if Plutarke, besides divers examples which he alleageth of antiquite, saith to have certainly knowne, that in Domitians time the newes of the battle lost by Antonius in Germany many daies journeies thence, was published in Rome, and divulged through the world the very same day it succeeded: And if Cesar holds that it hath many times happened, that report hath foregone the accident: Shall we not say that those simple people have suffered themselves to be cousened and seduced by the vulgar sort, because they were not as cleare-sighted as we? Is there any thing more daintie, more unspotted, and more lively than Plinies judgement, whensoever it pleaseth him to make shew of it? Is there any farther from vanitie? I omit the excellencie of his learning and knowledge, whereof I make but small reckoning: in which of those two parts doe we exceed him? Yet there is no scholler so meanelly learned but will convince him of lying, and read a lecture of contradiction against him upon the progresse of natures works. When wee read in Bouchet the myracles wrought by the reliques of Saint Hillarie, his credit is not sufficient to barre us the libertie of contradicting him: yet at random to condemne all such like histories, seemeth to me a notable impudencie. That famous man, Saint Augustine, witnesseth to have seene a blinde child to recover his sight, over the reliques of Saint Gervase and Protaise at Milane: and a woman at Carthage to have bene cured of a canker by the sign of the holy Crosse, which a woman newly baptized made unto her: and Hesperius a familiar friend of his, to have expelled certain spirits that molested his house, with a little of the earth of our Saviours sepulcher; which earth being afterwards transported into a Church, a Paralytike man was immediately therewith cured: and a woman going in procession, having as she past by with a nose-gaie toucht the case

wherein Saint Stevens bones were, and with the same afterward rubbed her eies, she recovered her sight, which long before she had utterly lost: and divers other examples, where he affirmeth to have bene an assistant himselfe. What shal we accuse him of, and two other holy Bishops, Aurelius and Maximinus, whom he calleth for his witenesses? Shal it be of ignorance, of simplicity, of malice, of facility, or of impoture? Is any man living so impudent, that thinks he may be compared to them, whether it be in vertue or piety, in knowledge or judgement, in wisdome or sufficiency? *Qui ut rationem nullam afferent, ipsa auctoritate me frangerent.* "Who though they alleaged no reason, yet might subdue me with their very authoritie." It is a dangerous fond hardnesse, and of consequence, besides the absurd temerity it drawes with it, to despise what we conceive not. For, after that according to your best understanding, you have established the limits of truth and bounds of falsehood, and that it is found you must necessarily beleve things wherein is more strangenesse, than in those you deny; you have alreadie bound your selfe to abandon them. Now that which me thinkes brings as much disorder in our consciences, namely in these troubles of religion wherein we are, is the dispensation Catholikes make of their Beliefe. They suppose to shew themselves very moderate and skilfull, when they yeld their adversaries any of those articles now in question. But besides that, they perceive not what an advantage it is for him that chargeth you, if you but once begin to yeeld and give them ground; and how much that encourageth him to pursue his point: those articles which they chuse for the lightest, are oftentimes most important. Either a man must wholly submit himselfe to the authoritie of our Ecclesiasticall policie, or altogether dispenche himselfe from it: It is not for us to determine what part of obedience we owe unto it. And moreover, I may say it, because I have made triall of it, having sometimes used this libertie of my choice, and particular election, not regarding certaine points of the observance of our Church, which seeme to beare a face either more vaine or more strange; comming to communicate them with wise men, I have found that those things have a most solid and steadie foundation, and that it is but foolishnesse and ignorance, makes us receive them with lesse respect and reverence than the rest. Why remember we not, what, and how many contradictions we finde and feeleeven in our own judgement? How many

things served us but yesterday as articles of faith, which to day we deeme but fables? Glory and curiositie are the scourges of our soules. The latter induceth us to have an oare in every ship, and the former forbids us to leave anything unresolved or undecided.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of Friendship.

CONSIDERING the proceeding of a Painters worke I have, a desire hath possessed mee to imitate him: He maketh choice of the most convenient place and middle of everie wall, there to place a picture, laboured with all his skill and sufficiencie; and all void places about it he filleth up with antike Boscage or Crotosko works; which are fantastick pictures, having no grace, but in the variety and strangenesse of them. And what are these my compositions in truth, other than antike workes, and monstrous bodies, patched and hudled up together of divers members, without any certaine or well ordered figure, having neither order, dependencie, or proportion, but casuall and framed by chance?

*Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne.*¹

A woman faire for parts superior,
Ends in a fish for parts inferior.

Touching this second point I goe as farre as my Painter, but for the other and better part I am farre behinde: for my sufficiency reacheth not so farre as that I dare undertake a rich, a polished, and, according to true skill, an art-like table. I have advised my selfe to borrow one of Steven de la Boetie, who with this kinde of worke shall honour all the w-rl'd. It is a discourse he entitled Voluntary Servitude, but those who have not knowne him, have since very properly re-baptized the same, The Against-one. In his first youth he writ, by way of Essaie, in honour of libertie against Tyrants. It hath long since bene dispersed amongst men of understanding, not without great and well deserved commendations: for it is full of wit, and containeth as much learning as may be: yet doth it differ much from the best he can do. And if in the age I knew him in, he would have undergone my designe to set his fantasies downe in writings, we should doubtlesse see many rare things, and which would very neerely approach the honour of antiquity: for especially touching

that part of natures gifts, I know none may be compared to him. But it was not long of him, that ever this Treatise came to mans view, and I beleeve he never saw it since it first escaped his hands: with certaine other notes concerning the edict of Januarie, famous by reason of our intestine warre, which haply may in other places finde their deserved praise. It is all I could ever recover of his reliques (whom when death seized, he by his last will and testament, left with so kinde remembrance, heire and executor of his librarie and writings) besides the little booke, I since caused to be published: To which his pamphlet I am particularly most bounden, for so much as it was the instrumentall meane of our first acquaintance. For it was shewed me long time before I saw him; and gave me the first knowledge of his name, addressing, and thus nourishing that unspotted friendship which we (so long as it pleased God) have so sincerely, so entire and inviolably maintained betwene us, that truly a man shall not commonly heare of the like; and amongst our moderne men no signe of any such is seene. So many parts are required to the erecting of such a one, that it may be counted a wonder if fortune once in three ages contract the like. There is nothing to which Nature hath more addressed us than to societie. And Aristotle saith that perfect Law-givers have had more regardfull care of friendship than of justice. And the utmost drift of its perfection is this. For generally, all those amities which are forged and nourished by voluptuousnesse or profit, publike or private need, are thereby so much the lesse faire and generous, and so much the lesse true amities, in that they intermeddle other causes, scope, and fruit with friendship, than it selfe alone: Nor doe those foure ancient kindes of friendships, Naturall, sociall, hospitable, and veneration, either particularly or conjointly beseme the same. That from children to parents may rather be termed respect: Friendship is nourished by communication, which by reason of the over-great disparitie cannot bee found in them, and would happily offend the duties of nature: for neither all the secret thoughts of parents can be communicated unto children, lest it might engender an unbecoming familiaritie betwene them, nor the admonitions and corrections (which are the chiefe offices of friendship) could be exercised from children to parents. There have nations bene found, where, by custome, children killed their parents, and others where parents slew their children, thereby to avoid the hindrance of entre-bearing one another in after-times: for

¹ Hor. Art. Poet. 4.

naturally one dependeth from the ruine of another. There have Philosophers bene found disdainig this naturall conjunction : witness Aristippus, who being urged with the affection he ought his children, as proceeding from his loyns, began to spit, saying, That also that excrement proceeded from him, and that also we engendered wormes and lice. And that other man, whom Plutarke would have perswaded to agreewith his brother, answered, "I care not a straw the more for him, though he came out of the same wombe I did." Verily the name of Brother is a glorious name, and full of loving kindnesse, and therefore did he and I terme one another sworne brother : but this commixture, dividence, and sharing of goods, this joyning wealth to wealth, and that the riches of one shall be the povertie of another, doth exceedingly dis-temper and distract all brotherly alliance, and lovely conjunction : If brothers should conduct the progresse of their advancement and thrift in one same path and course, they must necessarily oftentimes hinder and crosse one another. Moreover, the correspondencie and relation that begetteth these true and mutually perfect amities, why shall it be found in these ? The father and the sonne may very well be of a farre differing complexion, and so many brothers : He is my sonne, he is my kinsman ; but he may be a foole, a bad, or a peevish-minded man. And then according as they are friendships which the law and dutie of nature doth command us, so much the lesse of our owne voluntarie choice and libertie is there required unto it : And our genuine libertie hath no production more properly her owne, than that of affection and amitie. Sure I am, that concerning the same I have assaid all that might be, having had the best and most indulgent father that ever was, even to his extremest age, and who from father to sonne was descended of a famous house, and touching this rare-scene vertue of brotherly concord very exemplare :

— et ipse
*Notus in fratres animi paterni.*¹

To his brothers knowne so kinde,
As to beare a fathers minde.

To compare the affection toward women unto it, although it proceed from our owne free choice, a man cannot, nor may it be placed in this ranke : Her fire, I confesse it

(— *neque enim est dea nescia nostri
Quæ dulcem curis miscet amaritiei.*)²
(Nor is that Goddess ignorant of me,
Whose bitter-sweets with my cares mixed be.)

to be more active, more fervent, and more sharpe. But it is a rash and wavering fire, waving and divers : the fire of an ague subject to fits and stints, and that hath but slender hold-fast of us. In true friendship, it is a generall and universall heat, and equally tempered, a constant and settled heat, all pleasure and smoothnes, that hath no pricking or stinging in it, which the more it is in lustfull love, the more is it but a raging and mad desire in following that which flies us,

*Come segue la lepre il cacciatore
Al irredo, al caldo, alla montagna, al lito,
Ne più l'estima poi che presa vede,
E sol dietro a chi fugge affretta il piede.*¹

Ev'n as the huntsman doth the hare pursue,
In cold, in heat, on mountains, on the shore,
But cares no more, when he her ta'en espies,
Speeding his pace only at that which flies.

As soone as it creepeth into the termes of friendship, that is to say, in the agreement of wits, it languisheth and vanisheth away : enjoying doth lose it, as having a corporall end, and subject to satietie. On the other side, friendship is enjoyed according as it is desired, it is neither bred, nor nourished, nor increaseth but in jovissance, as being spirituall, and the minde being refined by use custome. Under this chiefe amitie, these fading affections have sometimes found place in me, lest I should speake of him, who in his verses speakes but too much of it. So are these two passions entered into me in knowledge one of another, but in comparison never : the first flying a high, and keeping a proud pitch, disdainfully beholding the other to passe her points farre under it. Concerning marriage, besides that it is a covenant which hath nothing free but the entrance, the continuance being forced and constrained, depending else-where than from our will, and a match ordinarily concluded to other ends : A thousand strange knots are therein commonly to be unknit, able to break the web, and trouble the whole course of a lively affection ; whereas in friendship there is no commerce or busines depending on the same, but it selfe. Seeing (to speake truly) that the ordinary sufficiency of women cannot answer this conference and communication, the nurse of this sacred bond : nor seeme their mindes strong enough to endure the pulling of a knot so hard, so fast, and durable. And truly, if without that, such a genuine and voluntarie acquaintance might be contracted, where not only mindes had this

¹ HOR. l. ii, Od. ii. 6. ² CATULL. *Epig.* lxxi.

¹ ARIOST. can. x. st. 7.

entire jovissance, but also bodies, a share of the alliance, and where a man might wholly be engaged : It is certain, that friendship would thereby be more compleat and full : But this sex could never yet by any example attaine unto it, and is by ancient schooles rejected thence. And this other Greeke licence is justly abhorred by our customes, which notwithstanding, because according to use it had so necessarie a disparitie of ages, and difference of offices betweene lovers, did no more sufficiently answer the perfect union and agreement, which here we require : *Quis est enim iste amor amicitia? cur neque deformem adolescentem quisquam amat, neque formosum senem?*¹

"For, what love is this of friendship? why doth no man love either a deformed young man, or a beautiful old man?" For even the picture the Academie makes of it, will not (as I suppose) disavowe mee, to say thus in her behalfe : That the first furie, enspired by the son of Venus in the lovers hart, upon the object of tender youthsflower, to which they allow all insolent and passionate violences, an immoderate heat may produce, was simply grounded upon an externall beauty; a false image of corporall generation : for in the spirit it had no power, the sight wherof was yet concealed, which was but in his infancie, and before the age of budding. For, if this furie did seize upon a base minded courage, the meanes of its pursuit were riches, gifts, favour to the advancement of dignities, and such like vile merchandice, which they reprove. If it fell into a more generous minde, the interpositions were likewise generous : Philosophicall instructions, documents to reverence religion, to obey the lawes, to die for the good of his countrie : examples of valor, wisdom and justice ; the lover endeavoring and studying to make himselfe acceptable by the good grace and beauty of his minde (that of his body being long since decayed) hoping by this mentall societie to establish a more firme and permanent bargain. When this pursuit attained the effect in due season (for by not requiring in a lover, he should bring leasure and discretion in his enterprise, they require it exactly in the beloved ; forasmuch as he was to judge of an internall beauty, of difficile knowledge, and abstruse discovery) then by the interposition of a spiritual beauty was the desire of a spiritual conception engendred in the beloved. The latter was here chiefest ; the corporall, accidental and second, altogether contrarie to the lover. And therefore doe they preferre

the beloved, and verifie that the gods likewise preferre the same : and greatly blame the Poet Æschylus, who in the love betweene Achilles and Patroclus ascribeth the lovers part unto Achilles, who was in the first and beardless youth of his adolescence, and the fairest of the Grecians. After this general communitie, the mistris and worthiest part of it, predominant and exercising her offices (they say the most availefull commodity did thereby redound both to the private and publike). That it was the force of countries received the use of it, and the principall defence of equitie and libertie : witness the comfortable loves of Hermodius and Aristogiton. Therefore name they it sacred and divine, and it concerns not them whether the violence of tyrants, or the demisnesse of the people be against them : To conclude, all that can be alleged in favour of the Academy, is to say, that it was a love ending in friendship, a thing which hath no bad reference unto the Stoical definition of love : *Amorem conatum esse amicitia faciendâ ex pulchritudinis specie* :¹ "That love is an endeavour of making friendship, by the shew of beautie."

I returne to my description in a more equitable and equall manner. *Omnino amicitie, corroboratas jam confirmatisque ingenii et ætatis, judicanda sunt* :² "Clearly friendships are to be judged by wits, and ages already strengthened and confirmed." As for the rest, those we ordinarily call friendes and amities, are but acquaintances and familiarities, tied together by some occasion or commodities, by meanes wherof our mindes are entertained. In the amitie I speake of, they entermixe and confound themselves one in the other, with so universall a commixture, that they weare out and can no more finde the seame that hath conjoined them together. If a man urge me to tell wherfore I loved him, I feele it cannot be expressed, but by answering ; Because it was he, because it was my selfe. There is beyond all my discourse, and besides what I can particularly report of it, I know not what inexplicable and fatall power, a meane and Mediatrix of this indissoluble union. We sought one another before we had seene one another, and by the reports we heard one of another ; which wrought a greater violence in us, than the reason of reports may well beare ; I thinke by some secret ordinance of the heavens, we embraced one another by our names. And at our first meeting, which was by chance at a great feast, and solemne meeting of a whole townshipp, we found our

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* iv. c. 33.¹ *Ibid.* c. 34.² Cic. *Amic.*

selves so surprized, so knowne, so acquainted, and so combinedly bound together, that from thence forward, nothing was so neer unto us as one unto anothers. He writ an excellent Latyne Satyre since published; by which he excuseth and expoundeth the precipitation of our acquaintance, so suddenly come to her perfection; Sithence it must continue so short a time, and begun so late (for we were both growne men, and he some yeares older than my selfe) there was no time to be lost. And it was not to bee modelled or directed by the paterne of regular and remisse friendship, wherein so many precautions of a long and preallable conversation are required. This hath no other Idea than of it selfe, and can have no reference but to it selfe. It is not one especiall consideration, nor two, nor three, nor foure, nor a thousand: It is I wot not what kinde of quintessence, of all this commixture, which having seized all my will, induced the same to plunge and lose it selfe in his, which likewise having seized all his will, brought it to lose and plunge it selfe in mine, with a mutuall greedinesse, and with a semblable concurrence. I may truly say, lose, reserving nothing unto us, that might properly be called our owne, nor that was either his or mine. When Lelius in the presence of the Romane Consuls, who after the condemnation of Tiberius Gracchus, pursued all those that had beene of his acquaintance, came to enquire of Caius Blossius (who was one of his chiefest friends) what he would have done for him, and that he answered, "All things." "What, all things?" replied he. "And what if he had willed thee to burne our Temples?" Blossius answered, "He would never have commanded such a thing." "But what if he had done it?" replied Lelius. The other answered, "I would have obeyed him." If hee were so perfect a friend to Gracchus as Histories report, he needed not offend the Consuls with this last and bold confession, and should not have departed from the assurance hee had of Gracchus his minde. But yet those who accuse this answer as seditious, understand not well this mysterie: and doe not presuppose in what termes he stood, and that he held Gracchus his will in his sleeve, both by power and knowledge. They were rather friends than Citizens, rather friends than enemies of their country, or friends of ambition and trouble. Having absolutely committed themselves one to another, they perfectly held the reines of one anothers inclination: and let this yoke be guided by vertue and conduct of reason (because without them it is altogether impossible to

combine and proportion the same). The answer of Blossius was such as it should be. If their affections miscarried, according to my meaning, they were neither friends one to other, nor friends to themselves. As for the rest, this answer sounds no more than mine would doe, to him that would in such sort enquire of me; if your will should command you to kill your daughter, would you doe it? and that I should consent unto it: for, that beareth no witness of consent to doe it: because I am not in doubt of my will, and as little of such a friends will. It is not in the power of the worlds discourse to remove me from the certaintie I have of his intentions and judgments of mine: no one of its actions might be presented unto me, under what shape soever, but I would presently finde the spring and motion of it. Our mindes have jumped so unitedly together, they have with so fervent an affection considered of each other, and with like affection so discovered and sounded, even to the very bottome of each others heart and entrails, that I did not only know his, as well as mine owne, but I would (verily) rather have trusted him concerning any matter of mine, than my selfe. Let no man compare any of the other common friendships to this. I have as much knowledge of them as another, yea of the perfectest of their kinde: yet will I not perswade any man to confound their rules, for so a man might be deceived. In these other strict friendships a man must march with the bridle of wisdome and precaution in his hand: the bond is not so strictly tied but a man may in some sort distrust the same. Love him (said Chilon) as if you should one day hate him againe. Hate him as if you should love him againe. This precept, so abominable in this soveraigne and mistris Amitie, is necessarie and wholesome in the use of vulgar and customarie friendships: toward which a man must employ the saying Aristotle was wont so often repeat, "Oh you my friends, there is no perfect friend."

In this noble commerce, offices and benefits (nurses of other amities) deserve not so much as to be accounted of: this confusion so full of our wills is cause of it: for even as the friendship I beare unto my selfe, admits no accrease, by any succour I give my selfe in any time of need, whatsoever the Stoickes allege; and as I acknowledge no thanks unto my selfe for any service I doe unto my selfe, so the union of such friends, being truly perfect, makes them lose the feeling of such duties, and hate, and expell from one another these words of division, and difference: benefit, good

deed, dutie, obligation, acknowledgement, prayer, thanks, and such their like. All things being by effect common betweene them; wils, thoughts, judgements, goods, wives, children, honour, and life; and their mutual agreement, being no other than one soule in two bodies, according to the fit definition of Aristotle, they can neither lend or give ought to each other. See here the reason why Lawmakers, to honour marriage with some imaginary resemblance of this divine bond, inhibit donations between husband and wife; meaning thereby to inferre, that all things should peculiarly bee proper to each of them, and that they have nothing to divide and share together. If in the friendship whereof I speake, one might give unto another, the receiver of the benefit should binde his fellow. For, each seeking more than any other thing to doe each other good, he who yeelds both matter and occasion, is the man sheweth himselfe liberall, giving his friend that contentment, to effect towards him what he desireth most. When the Philosopher Diogenes wanted money, he was wont to say that he redemanded the same of his friends, and not that he demanded it: And to show how that is practised by effect, I will relate an ancient singular example. Eudamidas the Corinthian had two friends: Charixenus a Sy-cionian, and Aretheus a Corinthian; being upon his death-bed, and very poore, and his two friends very rich, thus made his last will and testament: "To Aretheus, I bequeath the keeping of my mother, and to maintaine her when she shall be old: To Charixenus the marrying of my daughter, and to give her as great a dowry as he may: and in case one of them shall chance to die before, I appoint the survivor to substitute his charge, and supply his place." Those that first saw this testament laughed and mocked at the same; but his heires being advertised thereof, were very well pleased, and received it with singular contentment. And Charixenus, one of them, dying five daies after Eudamidas, the substitution being declared in favour of Aretheus, he carefully and very kindly kept and maintained his mother, and of five talents that he was worth he gave two and a halfe in marriage to one only daughter he had, and the other two and a halfe to the daughter of Eudamidas, whom he married both in one day. This example is very ample, if one thing were not, which is the multitude of friends: For, this perfect amity I speake of, is indivisible; each man doth so wholly give himselfe unto his friend, that he hath nothing left him to divide else-where: moreover he is grieved that he is not double, triple, or

quadruple, and hath not many soules, or sundry wils, that he might conferre them all upon this subject. Common friendships may bee divided; a man may love beauty in one, facility of behaviour in another, liberality in one, and wisdom in another, paternity in this, fraternity in that man, and so forth: but this amitie which possesseth the soule, and swaies it in all soveraigntie, it is impossible it should be double. If two at one instant should require helpe, to which would you run? Should they crave contrary offices of you, what order would you follow? Should one commit a matter to your silence, which if the other knew would greatly profit him, what course would you take? Or how would you discharge your selfe? A singular and principall friendship dissolveth all other duties, and freeth all other obligations. The secret I have sworne not to reveale to another, I may without perjurie impart it unto him, who is no other but my selfe. It is a great and strange wonder for a man to double himselfe; and those that talke of tripling know not, nor cannot reach into the height of it. "Nothing is extreme that hath his like." And he who shal presuppose that of two I love the one as wel as the other, and that they enter-love one another, and love me as much as I love them: he multiplieth in brother-hood, a thing most singular, and a lonely one, and than which one alone is also the rarest to be found in the world. The remainder of this history agreeth very wel with what I said; for, Eudamidas giveth us a grace and favor to his friends to employ them in his need: he leaveth them as his heires of his liberality, which consisteth in putting the means into their hands to doe him good. And doubtlesse the force of friendship is much more richly shewen in his deed than in Aretheus. To conclude, they are imaginable effects to him that hath not tasted them; and which makes me wonderfully to honor the answer of that young Souldier to Cyrus, who enquiring of him what he would take for a horse with which he had lately gained the prize of a race, and whether he would change him for a Kingdom? "No surely, my Liege (said he), yet would I willingly forgoe him to gaine a true friend, could I but finde a man worthy of so precious an alliance." He said not ill, in saying "could I but finde." For, a man shall easily finde men fit for a superficiall acquaintance; but in this, wherein men negotiate from the very centre of their hearts, and make no spare of any thing, it is most requisite all the wards and springs be sincerely wrought and perfectly true. In confederacies, which hold but by one end, men have nothing to pro-

vide for, but for the imperfections, which particularly doe interest and concerne that end and respect. It is no great matter what religion my Physician or Lawyer is of: this consideration hath nothing common with the offices of that friendship they owe mee. So doe I in the familiar acquaintances that those who serve me contract with me. I am nothing inquisitive whether a Lackey be chaste or no, but whether he be diligent: I feare not a gaming Muletier, so much as if he be weake; nor a hot swearing Cooke, as one that is ignorant and unskillfull; I never meddle with saying what a man should doe in the world; there are over many others that doe it; but what my selfe doe in the world.

*Mihi sic usus est: Tibi, ut opus est facto, face.*¹

So is it requisite for me;

Doe thou as needfull is for thee.

Concerning familiar table-talk, I rather acquaint my selfe with and follow a merry conceited humour, than a wise man: And in bed I rather prefer beauty than goodness; and in society or conversation of familiar discourse, I respect rather sufficiency, though without *Preud'homme*, and so of all things else. Even as he that was found riding upon an hobby-horse, playing with his children besought him who thus surprized him not to speake of it untill he were a father himselfe, supposing the tender fondnesse and fatherly passion which then would possesse his minde should make him an impartiall judge of such an action; so would I wish to speake to such as had tried what I speake of: but knowing how far such an amitie is from the common use, and how seld scene and rarely found, I looke not to finde a competent judge. For, even the discourses, which sterne antiquitie hath left us concerning this subject, seeme to me but faint and forcelesse in respect of the feeling I have of it: And in that point the effects exceed the very precepts of Philosophie.

*Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.*²

For me, be I well in my wit.

Nought, as a merry friend, so fit.

Ancient Menander accounted him happy that had but met the shadow of a true friend: verily he had reason to say so, especially if he had tasted of any: for truly, if I compare all the rest of my forepassed life, which although I have, by the meere mercy of God; past at rest and ease, and except the losse of so deare a friend, free from all

grievous affliction, with an ever-quietnesse of minde, as one that have taken my naturall and originall commodities in good payment, without searching any others: if, as I say, I compare it all unto the foure yeares I so happily enioyed the sweet company and deare-deare society of that worthy man, it is nought but a vapour, nought but a darke and yrkesome light. Since the time I lost him,

*quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum (sic Dii voluistis) habebam.*³

Which I shall ever hold a bitter day,
Yet ever honour'd (so my God t' obey).

I doe but languish, I doe but sorrow: and even those pleasures, all things present me with, in stead of yeelding me comfort, doe but redouble the griefe of his losse. We were copartners in all things. All things were with us at halfe; me thinkes I have stolne his part from him.

*— Nec fas esse ulla me voluptate hic frui
Decrevi, tantisper dum ille abest meus particeps.*⁴

I have set downe, no joy enjoy I may,
As long as he my partner is away.

I was so accustomed to be ever two, and so enured to be never single, that me thinkes I am but halfe my selfe.

*Illam mea si partem animæ tulit,
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec charus æque nec superstes,
Integer! Illic dies utramque
Duxit ruinam.*⁵

Since that part of my soule riper fate rest me,
Why stay I heere the other part he left me?
Nor so deere, nor entire, while heere I rest:
That day hath in one ruine both opprest.

There is no action can betide me, or imagination possesse me, but I heare him saying, as indeed he would have done to me: for even as he did excell me by an infinite distance in all other sufficiencies and vertues, so did he in all offices and duties of friendship.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus,
Tam chari capitis?*⁶

What modesty or measure may I beare,
In want and wish of him that was so deare?

*O misero frater adempte mihi!
Omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra.
Quæ tuus in vita dulcis aiebat amor.⁷
Tu mea, tu inorients fregisti commoda frater.*⁸

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* iii. 49.

² TER. *Heau.* act. i. sc. i. 97.

³ HOR. l. ii. *Od.* xvii. 7. ⁴ Id. l. i. *Od.* xxiv. 1.

⁵ CATUL. *Æleg.* iv. 20, 92, 28, 95.

⁶ Id. 21.

¹ TER. *Heau.* act. i. sc. i. 98.

² HOR. l. i. *Sat.* vii. 44.

*Tecum una tota est nostra sepulta anima,
Cujus ego interitu tota de mente fugavi
Hæc studia, atque omnes delicias animi.
Alloquar ? audiero nunquam tua verba loquen-
tem ?*

*Nunquam ego te vita frater amabilior,
Aspiciam posthac ? at certè semper amabo.*³

O brother rest from miserable me,
All our delights are perished with thee,
Which thy sweet love did nourish in my breath.
Thou all my good hast spoiled in thy death :
With thee my soule is all and whole enshrine,
At whose death I have cast out of my minde
All my mindes sweet-meats, studies of this
kinde ;

Never shall I, heare thee speake, speake with
thee ?

Thee brother, than life dearer, never see ?
Yet shalt thou ever be belov'd of mee.

But let us a little heare this yong man
speake, being but sixteene yeares of age.

Because I have found this worke to have
since beene published (and to an ill end) by
such as seeke to trouble and subvert the
state of our common-wealth, nor caring
whether they shall reforme it or no ; which
they have fondly inserted among other
writings of their invention, I have revoked
my intent, which was to place it here. And
lest the Authors memory should any way be
interested with those that could not
thoroughly know his opinions and actions,
they shall understand that this subject was
by him treated of in his infancie, only by
way of exercise, as a subject, common,
bare-worne, and wyer-drawne in a thousand
bookes. I will never doubt but he beleevd
what he writ, and writ as he thought : for
hee was so conscientious that no lie did
ever passe his lips, yea were it but in
matters of sport or play : and I know, that
had it beene in his choyce, he would rather
have beene borne at Venice than at Sarlac ;
and good reason why : But he had another
maxime deeply imprinted in his minde,
which was, carefully to obey, and religiously
to submit himselfe to the lawes, under
which he was borne. There was never a
better citizen, nor more affected to the wel-
fare and quietnesse of his cuntry, nor a
sharper enemy of the changes, innovations,
newfangles, and hurly-burles of his time :
He would more willingly have employed the
utmost of his endeavours to extinguish and
suppresse, than to favour or further them :
His minde was modelled to the patterne of
other best ages. But yet in exchange of his
serious treatise, I will here set you downe
another, more pithie, materiall, and of more
consequence, by him likewise produced at
that tender age.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

*Nine and twentie Sonnets of Steven de la
Boetie, to the Lady of Grammont, Coun-
tesse of Guisnes.*

MADAME, I present you with nothing
that is mine, either because it is
already yours, or because I finde
nothing therein worthy of you. But where-
soever these verses shall be scene, for the
honour which thereby shall redound to
them, by having this glorious Corisanda of
Andoins for their guide, I thought it good
to adorne them with your worthy name.
I have deemed this present fit for your
Ladiship, forsomuch as there are few Ladies
in France, that either can better judge of
Poesie, or fitter apply the use of it, than
your worthy selfe : and since in these her
drooping daies, none can give it more life,
or vigorous spirit, than you, by those rich
and high-tuned accords, wherewith amongst
a million of other rare beauties nature hath
richly graced you. Madame, these verses
deserve to be cherished by you ; and I am
perswaded you will be of mine opinion,
which is, that none have come out of Gas-
conie, that either had more wit or better
invention, and that witness to have pro-
ceeded from a richer veine. And let no
jealousie possesse you, inasmuch as you
have but the remainder of that which
whilome I caused to be printed under the
name of my Lord of Foix, your worthy,
noble and deare kinsman : For truly, these
have a kinde of lvelinesse, and more pier-
cing Emphasis than any other, and which
I cannot well expresse : as hee that made
them in his Aprils youth, and when he was
enflamed with a noble glorious flame, as I
will one day tell your honour in your eare.
The other were afterward made by him in
favour of his wife, at what time he wooed
and solicited her for marriage, and began
to feele I wot not what martiall chillesse
and husbands coldnesse. And I am one of
those whose opinion is, that divine Poesie
doth no where fadge so well, and so effec-
tually applaudeth, as in a youthfull, wanton,
and unbridled subject. The above men-
tioned nine and twentie Sonnets of Boetie,
and that in the former impressions of this
booke were here set downe, have since
beene printed with his other works.

¹ CATUL *EL.* iv. 94.² *Id.* 25.³ *Id.* i. 9.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of Moderation.

AS if our sense of feeling were infected, wee corrupt by our touching, things that in themselves are faire and good. We may so seize on vertue, that if we embrace it with an over greedy and violent desire, it may become vitious. Those who say, "There is never excess in vertue, because it is no longer vertue if any excesse be in it," doe but jest at words.

*Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
I'tra quàm satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.*¹

A wise man mad, just unjust, may I name,
More than is meet, e'en vertue if he claime.

Philosophy is a subtile consideration. A man may love vertue too much, and excessively demane himselfe in a good action. Gods holy word doth apply it selfe to this byase: Be not wiser than you should, and be soberly wise. I have seene some great men, blemish the reputation of their religion, by shewing themselves religious beyond the example of men of their qualitie. I love temperate and indifferent natures. Immoderation towards good, if it offend me not, it amazeth, and troubleth me how I should call it. Neither Pausanias his mother, who gave the first instruction, and for her sonnes death brought the first stone; Not Posthumius the Dictator, that brought his own sonne to his end, whom the heat and forwardnesse of youth, had haply before his ranke, made to charge his enemies, seeme so just as strange unto me. And I neither love to perswade or follow so savage and so deare a vertue. The Archer that overshoots his marke, doth no otherwise than he that shooteth short. Mine eies trouble me as much in climbing up toward a great light, as to goe downe into the darke. Callicles in Plato² saith, the extremitie of Philosophy to bee hurtfull; and perswades no man to wade further into it than the bounds of profit: And that taken with moderation, it is pleasant and commodious, but in the end it makes a man wilde and vicious, disdainfull of religion and of common lawes; an enemy of civill conversation; a foe to humane sensualitie and worldly pleasures: incapable of all politike administration; and unfit to assist others or to helpe himselfe: apt to be without revenge buffered, and baffed. He saith true; for in her excesse, she enthralleth our naturall libertie, and by an importunate wile, diverts

us from the faire and plaine path, which nature traceth out for us. The love we beare to women is very lawfull; yet doth Divinitie bridle and restraints the same. I remember to have read in Saint Thomas, in a place where he condemneth marriages of kinsfolkes in forbidden degrees, this one reason amongst others; that the love a man beareth to such a woman may be immoderate; for, if the wedlocke, or husband-like affection be sound and perfect, as it ought to be, and also surcharged with that a man oweth to alliance and kindred; there is no doubt but that surcease may easily transport a husband beyond the bounds of reason. Those Sciences that direct the manners of men, as Divinitie and Philosophy, meddleth with all things. There is no action so private and secret may be concealed from their knowledge and jurisdiction. Well doe they learne that search and censure their libertie. It is women who communicate their parts as much as a man list to wantonize with them: but to phisicke them bashfulness forbids them. I will then in their behalfe teach husbands this, if there be any too much flesht upon them: which is, that the verie pleasures they have by the familiaritie of their wives, except moderately used, they are reproved: and not only in that, but in any other unlawfull subjects, a man may trespasse in licentiousnesse, and offend in excesse. Those shamelesse endearings, which the first heat suggests unto us in that sportfull delight, are not only undecently, but hurtfully employed towards our wives. Let them at least learne impudence from another hand. They are ever broad-waking when we need them. I have used no meanes but naturall and simple instruction. Marriage is a religious and devout bond: and that is the reason the pleasure a man hath of it should be a moderate, staied and serious pleasure, and mixed with severitie, it ought to bee a voluptuousnesse somewhat circumspect and conscientious. And because it is the chiefe of generation, there are that make a question, whether it be lawfull to require them of copulation, as well when we have no hope of children, as when they are over-aged, or big with childe. It is an homicide, according to Plato. Certaine nations (and amongst others, the Mahometane) abhorre conjunction with women great with childe. Many also with those that have their monethly disease. Zenobia received her husband but for one charge; which done all the time of her conception she let him goe at random, and that past, she gave him leave to begin againe: a notable and generous example of marriage.

¹ HOR. l. i. EP. vi. 15.

² GORGIAS.

Plato borroweth the narration of some needy and hunger-starven Poet of this sport. That Jupiter one day gave his wife so hot a charge, impatient to stay till she came to bed, hee laid her along upon the floore, and by the vehemence of his pleasure forgot the urgent and weighty resolutions lately concluded upon with the other gods of his celestiall court; boasting he found it as sweet at that time as he had done when first he spoiled her of her virginity by stealth and unknowne to their parents. The Kings of Persia called for their wives when they went to any solemne feast, but when much drinking and wine began to heat them in good earnest, they sent them to their chambers, seeing they could no longer refrain, but must needs yeeld to sensuality, lest they should be partakers of their immoderate lust, and in their stead sent for other women, whom this duty of respect might not concerne. All pleasures and gratifications are not well placed in all sorts of people. Epaminondas had caused a dissolute young man to be imprisoned: Pelopidas intreated him, that for his sake he would set him at libertie, but he refused him, and yeilded to free him at the request of an harlot of his, which likewise sued for his enlargement; saying, it was a gratification due unto a Courtizan, and not to a Captaine. Sophocles being partner with Pericles in the Pretorship, seeing by chance a faire boy to passe by: "Oh what a beauteous boy goeth yonder!" saith he to Pericles: "That speech were more fitting another than a Pretor," answered Pericles, "who ought not only to have chaste hands, but also unpolluted eies." Ælius Verus the Emperour, his wife complaining that he followed the love of other women, answered, he "did it for conscience sake, for so much as marriage was a name of honour and dignity, and not of foolish and lascivious lust." And our Ecclesiasticall Historie hath with honour preserved the memorie of that wife which sued to be divorced from her husband, because she would not second and consent to his over-insolent and lowde embracements. To conclude, there is no voluptuousnesse so just, wherein excesse and intemperance is not reproachfull unto us. But to speake in good sooth, is not a man a miserable creature? He is scarce come to his owne strength by his naturall condition, to taste one only compleate, entire and pure pleasure, but he laboreth by discourse to cut it off: he is not wretched enough, except by art and study he augment his miserie.

*Fortune miseris auxilium arte vius.*¹

Fortunes unhappie ill,
We amplify by skill.

Humane wisdom doth foolishly seeke to be ingenious in exercising her selfe to abate the number and diminish the pleasure of sensualities that pertaine to us: as it doth favorably and industriously in employing her devises, to paint and set a luster on evils, before our eies, and therewith to recreate our sense. Had I beene chiefe of a faction, I would have followed a more naturall course, which to say true, is both commodious and sacred, and should per adventure have made my selfe strong enough to limite the same. Although our spirituall and corporall Physicians: as by covenant agreed upon betweene them, finde no way of recoverie, nor remedies for diseases of body and minde, but by torment, griefe and paine, watching, fasting, haire-shirts, farre and solitarie exile, perpetuall prison, rodde and other afflictions, have therefore beene invented: But so, that they be truly afflictions, and that there be some stinging sharpnesse in them: And that the successe be not as Gallio's was, who having beene confined to the ile of Lesbos, newes came to Rome that there he lived a merry life; and what the Senate had laid upon him for a punishment, redounded to his commodity: whereupon they agreed to revoke him home to his owne house and wife, strictly enjoying him to keepe the same, thereby to accommodate their punishment to his sense and feeling. For he to whom fasting should procure health and a merrie heart, or he to whom poison should be more healthy than meat, it would be no longer a wholesome receipt, no more than drugs in other medicines, are of no effect to him that takes them with appetite and pleasure. Bitternesse and difficultie are circumstances fitting their operation. That nature which should take Reubarbe as familiar, should no doubt corrupt the use of it; it must be a thing that hurts the stomacke, if it shal cure it: and here the common rule failes, that infirmities are cured by their contraries: for one ill cureth another. This impression hath some reference to this other so ancient, where some thinke they gratifie both heaven and earth by killing and massacring themselves, which was universally embraced in all religions. Even in our fathers age; Amurath at the taking of Isthmus, sacrificed six hundred young Græcians to his fathers soule; to the end their blood might serve as a propitia-

¹ PROPRIET. l. iii. EL. vii. 32.

tion to expiate the sinnes of the deceased. And in the new countries discovered in our daies yet uncorrupted, and virgins, in regard of ours, it is a custome well nigh received everie where. All their idoles are sprinkled with humane blood, not without divers examples of horrible crueltie. Some are burnt alive, and halfe roasted drawne from the fire, that so they may pull out their hearts and entrails; othersome, yea women, are fleade quicke, and with their yet-bleeding skins, they invest and cover others. And no lesse of examples of constant resolution. For these wretched sacrificable people, old men, women and children, some daies before, goe themselves begging their almes, for the offering of their sacrifice, and all of full glee, singing, and dancing with the rest, they present themselves to the slaughter. The Ambassadors of the Kings of Mexico, in declaring and magnifying the greatnesse of their Master to Fernando Cortez, after they had told him that he had thirtie vassals, whereof each one was able to levie a hundred thousand combatants, and that he had his residence in the fairest and strongest Citie under heaven, added, moreover, that he had fiftie thousand to sacrifice every yeare: verily some affirme that they maintaine continuall warres with certaine mightie neighbouring Nations, not so much for the exercise and training of their youth, as that they may have store of prisoners taken in warre to supply their sacrifices. In another province, to welcome the said Cortez, they sacrificed fiftie men at one clap. I will tell this one storie more: Some of those people having bene beaten by him, sent to know him, and to intreat him of friendship. The messengers presented him with three kinds of presents, in this manner: "Lord, if thou be a fierce God, that lovest to feed on flesh and blood, here are five slaves, eat them, and we will bring thee more: if thou be a gently mild God, here is incense and feathers; but if thou be a man, take these birds and fruits, that here we present and offer unto thee."

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the Cannibales.

AT what time King Pirrhus came into Italie, after he had survaied the marshalling of the Armie, which the Romans sent against him: "I wot not," said he, "what barbarous men these are"

[for so were the Græcians wont to call all strange nations] "but the disposition of this Armie, which I see, is nothing barbarous." So said the Græcians of that which Flaminius sent into their cuntry: And Philip viewing from a Tower the order and distribution of the Romaine camp, in his kingdom under Publius Sulpitius Galba. Loe how a man ought to take heed, lest he over-weeningly follow vulgar opinions, which should be measured by the rule of reason, and not by the common report. I have had long time dwelling with me a man, who for the space of ten or twelve yeares had dwelt in that other world, which in our age was lately discovered in those parts where Villegaignon first landed, and surnamed Antartike France. This discoverie of so infinit and vast a cuntry, seemeth worthy great consideration. I wot not whether I can warrant my selfe, that some other be not discovered hereafter, sithence so many worthy men, and better learned than we are, have so many ages bene deceived in this. I feare me our eyes be greater than our bellies, and that we have more curiositie than capacitie. We embrace all, but we fasten nothing but wind. Plato maketh Solon to report that he had learn't of the Priests of the Citie of Sais in Ægypt, that whilom, and before the generall Deluge, there was a great Iland called Atlantis, situated at the mouth of the strait of Gibraltar, which contained more firme land than Affrike and Asia together. And that the kings of that cuntry did not only possesse that Iland, but had so farre entred into the maine land, that of the bredth of Affrike, they held as farre as Ægypt; and of Europes length, as farre as Tuscanie: and that they undertooke to invade Asia, and to subdue all the nations that compass the Mediterranean Sea, to the gulfe of Mare-Maggiore [the Black Sea], and to that end they traversed all Spaine, France and Italie, so farre as Greece, where the Athenians made head against them; but that a while after, both the Athenians themselves, and that great Iland, were swallowed up by the Deluge. It is verie likely this extreme ruine of waters wrought strange alterations in the habitations of the earth: as some hold that the Sea hath divided Sicilie from Italie,

*Hæc loca vi quandam, et vasta convulsa ruina
Dissituisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
Vna foret.*¹

Men say, sometimes this land by that forsaken,
And that by this, were split, and ruine-shaken,
Whereas till then both lands as one were taken.

¹ PLAT. *Timeæ*. ² VIRG. *Æn.* l. iii. 414, 416.

Cypres from Suria, the Iland of Negroponte from the maine land of Beotia, and in other places joynd lands that were sundred by the Sea, filling with mud and sand the chanel betweene them.

*sterillaque diu palus aptaque remis
Vicinas urbes alit, et græve sentit aratrum.*¹

The fenne long barren, to be row'd in, now
Both feeds the neighbour townes, and feels the
plow.

But there is no great apparence the said Iland should be the new world we have lately discovered; for it well-nigh touched Spaine, and it were an incredible effect of inundation to have removed the same more than twelve hundred leagues, as we see it is. Besides, our moderne Navigations have now almost discovered that it is not an Iland, but rather firme land, and a continent, with the East Indias on one side, and the countries lying under the two Poles on the other; from which if it be divided, it is with so narrow a strait and intervall, that it no way deserveth to be named an Iland: For, it seemeth there are certaine motions in these vast bodies, some naturall, and other some febricitant, as well as in ours. When I consider the impression my river of Dor-doine worketh in my time, toward the right shoure of her descent, and how much it hath gained in twentie yeares, and how many foundations of divers houses it hath overwhelmed and violently carried away; I confesse it to be an extraordinarie agitation: for, should it alwaies keepe one course, or had it ever kept the same, the figure of the world had ere this beene overthrowne: But they are subject to changes and alterations. Sometimes they overflow and spread themselves on one side, sometimes on another; and other times they containe themselves in their naturall beds or chanel. I speak not of sudden inundations, whereof we now treat the causes. In Medoc amongst the Sea-coast, my brother the Lord of Arsacke, may see a towne of his buried under the sands, which the sea casteth up before it: The tops of some buildings are yet to be discerned. His Rents and Demaines have beene changed into barren pastures. The inhabitants thereabouts affirme, that some yeares since, the Sea encrocheth so much upon them, that they have lost foure leagues of firme land: These sands are her fore-runners. And we see great hillocks of gravell moving, which march halfe a league before it, and usurpe on the firme land. The other testimonie of

antiquitie, to which some will referre this discoverie, is in Aristotle (if at least that little booke of unheard of wonders be his) where he reporteth that certaine Carthaginians having sailed athwart the Atlantike Sea, without the strait of Gibraltar, after long time, they at last discovered a great fertill Iland, all replenished with goodly woods, and watred with great and deepe rivers, farre distant from al land, and that both they and others, allured by the goodnes and fertility of the soile, went thither with their wives, children, and household, and there began to inhabit and settle themselves. The Lords of Carthage seeing their cuntry by little and little to be dispeopled, made a law and expresse inhibition, that upon paine of death no more men should goe thither, and banished all that were gone thither to dwell, fearing (as they said) that in successe of time, they would so multiply as they might one day supplant them, and overthrow their owne estate. This narration of Aristotle hath no reference unto our new found countries. This servant I had, was a simple and rough-hewen fellow: a condition fit to yeeld a true testimonie. For, subtile people may indeed marke more curiously, and observe things more exactly, but they amplifie and glose them: and the better to perswade, and make their interpretations of more validitie, they cannot chuse but somewhat alter the storie. They never represent things truly, but fashion and maske them according to the visage they saw them in; and to purchase credit to their judgement, and draw you on to beleeeve them, they commonly adorne, enlarge, yea, and hyperbolize the matter. Wherein is required either a most sincere Reporter, or a man so simple, that he may have no invention to build upon, and to give a true likelihood unto false devices, and be not wedded to his owne will. Such a one was my man; who besides his owne report, hath many times shewed me divers Mariners and Merchants, whom hee had knowne in that voyage. So am I pleased with his information, that I never enquire what Cosmographers say of it. We had need of Topographers to make us particular narrations of the places they have beene in. For some of them, if they have the advantage of us, that they have scene Palestine, will challenge a privilege, to tell us newes of all the world besides. I would have every man write what he knowes, and no more: not only in that, but in all other subjects. For one may have particular knowledge of the nature of one river, and experience of the qualitie of one fountaine, that in other

¹ Hor. *Art. Poet.* lxx.

things knowes no more than another man : who nevertheless to publish this little scantling, will undertake to write of all the Physickes. From which vice proceed divers great inconveniences. Now (to returne to my purpose) I finde (as farre as I have beene informed) there is nothing in that nation that is either barbarous or savage, unless men call that barbarisme which is not common to them. As indeed, we have no other ayme of truth and reason, than the example and Idea of the opinions and customes of the countrie we live in. There is ever perfect religion, perfect policie, perfect and compleat use of all things. They are even savage, as we call those fruits wilde which nature of her selfe and of her ordinarie progresse hath produced : whereas indeed, they are those which our selves have altered by our artificiall devices, and diverted from their common order, we should rather terme savage. In those are the true and most profitable vertues, and naturall properties most lively and vigorous, which in these we have bastardized, applying them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And if notwithstanding, in divers fruits of those countries that were never tilled, we shall finde that in respect of ours they are most excellent, and as delicate unto our taste; there is no reason, art should gaine the point of honour of our great and puissant mother Nature. We have so much by our inventions surcharged the beauties and riches of her workes, that we have altogether overchoaked her : yet where ever her puritie shineth, she makes our vaine and frivolous enterprises wonderfully ashamed.

*Et veniunt hedera sponte sua melius,
Surgit et in solis formosior arbutus utris,
Et volucres nulla dulcius arte canunt.*¹

Ivies spring better of their owne accord,
Unhaunted spots much fairer trees afford.
Birds by no art much sweeter notes record.

All our endeavour or wit cannot so much as reach to represent the nest of the least birdlet, it's contexture, beaultie, profit and use, no nor the web of a seely spider. All things (saith Plato) are produced either by nature, by fortune, or by art. The greatest and fairest by one or other of the two first, the least and imperfect by the last. Those nations seeme therefore so barbarous unto me, because they have received very little fashion from humane wit, and are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature doe yet command them which are but little bastardized by ours, and that with such puritie, as I am sometimes grieved the

knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time there were men that better than we could have judged of it. I am sorie, Lycurgus and Plato had it not : for me seemeth that what in those nations we see by experience, doth not only exceed all the pictures wherewith licentious Poesie hath proudly imbellished the golden age, and all her quaint inventions to faine a happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of Philosophy. They could not imagine a genuitie so pure and simple as we see it by experience ; nor ever beleieve our societie might be maintained with so little art and humane combination. It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie ; no use of service, of riches or of povertie ; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle ; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulations, covetousnes, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would hee finde his imaginarie common-wealth from this perfection?

*Hos natura nudos primum dedit.*¹

Nature at first uprise,
These manners did devise.

Furthermore, they live in a country of so exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that as my testimonies have told me, it is verie rare to see a sickle body amongst them ; and they have further assured me, they never saw any man there either shaking with the palsie, toothlesse, with eies dropping, or crooked and stooping through age. They are seated amongst the sea-coast, encompassed toward the land with huge and steepe mountains, having betweene both, a hundred leagues or thereabout of open and champaigne ground. They have great abundance of fish and flesh, that have no resemblance at all with ours, and eat them without any sawces, or skill of Cookerie, but plaine boiled or broiled. The first man that brought a horse thither, although he had in many other voyages conversed with them, bred so great a horror in the land, that before they could take notice of him, they slew him with arrowes. Their buildings are very long, and able to containe two or three hundred soules, covered with barks of great trees, fastned in the ground at one end, entrelaced and joyned close together by the tops, after the

¹ PROPERT. l. i. EL. ii. 10.

¹ VIRG. Georg. ii. 30.

manner of some of our Granges ; the covering whereof hangs downe to the ground, and steadeth them as a flankce. They have a kinde of wood so hard, that ryving and cleaving the same, they make blades, swords, and grid-irons to broile their meat with. Their beds are of a kinde of cotten cloth, fastened to the house roofoe, as our ship-cabbanes : everie one hath his severall couch ; for the women lie from their husbands. They rise with the Sunne, and feed for all day, as soone as they are up ; and make no more meales after that. They drinke not at meat, as Suidas reporteth, of some other people of the East, which dranke after meales but drinke many times a day, and are much given to pledge carowses. Their drinke is made of a certaine root, and of the colour of our Claret wines, which lasteth but two or three daies ; they drinke it warme : It hath somewhat a sharpe taste, wholesome for the stomack, nothing heady, but laxative for such as are not used unto it, yet verie pleasing to such as are accustomed unto it. In stead of bread, they use a certaine white composition, like unto Corianders confected. I have eaten some, the taste whereof is somewhat sweet and wallowish. They spend the whole day in dancing. Their young men goe a hunting after wilde beasts with bowes and arrowes. Their women busie themselves therewith'st with warming of their drinke, which is their chiefeest office. Some of their old men, in the morning before they goe to eating, preach in common to all the household, walking from one end of the house to the other, repeating one selfe-same sentence many times, till he have ended his turne (for their buildings are a hundred paces in length) he commends but two things unto his auditorie, First, valour against their enemies, then lovingnesse unto their wives. They never misse (for their restraint) to put men in minde of this dutie, that it is their wives which keepe their drinke luke-warme and well-seasoned. The forme of their beds, cords, swords blades, and wooden bracelets, wherewith they cover their hand wrists, when they fight, and great Canes open at one end, by the sound of which they keepe time and cadence in their dancing, are in many places to be seene, and namely in mine owne house. They are shaven all over, much more close and cleaner than wee are, with no other Razors than of wood or stone. They beleve their soules to be eternall, and those that have deserved well of their Gods to be placed in that part of heaven where the Sunne riseth, and the cursed toward the West in opposition. They have certaine

Prophets and Priests which commonly abide in the mountaines, and very seldome shew themselves unto the people ; but when they come downe there is a great feast prepared, and a solemne assembly of manie towneships together (each Grange as I have described maketh a village, and they are about a French league one from another.) The Prophet speakes to the people in publike, exhorting them to embrace vertue, and follow their dutie. All their moral discipline containeth but these two articles ; first an undismayed resolution to warre, then an inviolable affection to their wives. Hee doth also Prognosticate of things to come, and what successe they shall hope for in their enterprises : hee either perswadeth or disswadeth them from warre ; but if he chance to misse of his divination, and that it succeed otherwise than hee foretold them, if hee be taken, he is hewen in a thousand peeces, and condemned for a false Prophet. And therefore he that hath once misreckoned himselfe is never seene againe. Divination is the gift of God ; the abusing whereof should be a punishable imposture. When the Divines amongst the Scythians had foretold an untruth, they were couched along upon hurdles full of heath or brushwood, drawne by oxen, and so maniced hand and foot, burned to death. Those which manage matters subject to the conduct of man's sufficiencie are excusable, although they shew the utmost of their skill. But those that gull and conicatch us with the assurance of an extraordinarie facultie, and which is beyond our knowledge, ought to be double punished ; first because they performe not the effect of their promise, then for the rashnesse of their imposture and unadvisednesse of their fraud. They warre against the nations that lie beyond their mountaines, to which they go naked, having no other weapons than bowes or wooden swords, sharpe at one end, as our broaches are. It is an admirable thing to see the constant resolution of their combats, which never end but by effusion of bloud and murther : for they know not what feare or rowts are. Every Victor brings home the head of the enemy he hath slaine as a Trophy of his victorie, and fasteneth the same at the entrance of his dwelling place. After they have long time used and entreated their prisoners well, and with all commodities they can devise, he that is the Master of them ; sommining a great assembly of his acquaintance ; tieth a corde to one of the prisoners armes, by the end whereof he holds him fast, with some distance from him, for feare he might

offend him, and giveth the other arme, bound in like manner, to the dearest friend he hath, and both in the presence of all the assembly kill him with swords : which done, they roast and then eat him in common, and send some slices of him to such of their friends as are absent. It is not, as some imagine, to nourish themselves with it (as anciently the Scythians wont to doe), but to represent an extreme and inextinguishable revenge. Which we prove thus ; some of them perceiving the Portugales, who had confederated themselves with their adversaries, to use another kinde of death when they tooke them prisoners ; which was, to burie them up to the middle, and against the upper part of the body to shoot arrowes, and then being almost dead, to hang them up ; they supposed, that these people of the other world (as they who had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours, and were much more cunning in all kinds of evils and mischief than they) under-tooke not this manner of revenge without cause, and that consequently it was more smartfull and cruell than theirs, and thereupon began to leave their old fashion to follow this. I am not sorie we note the barbarous horror of such an action, but grieved, that prying so narrowly into their faults we are so blinded in ours. I thinke there is more barbarisme in eating men alive, then to feed upon them being dead ; to mangle by tortures and torments a body full of lively sense, to roast him in peeces, to make dogges and swine to gnaw and teare him in mamockes (as wee have not only read, but seene very lately, yea and in our owne memorie, not amongst ancient enemies, but our neighbours and fellow-citizens ; and which is worse, under pretence of pietie and religion) than to roast and eat him after he is dead. Chrysippus and Zeno, arch-pillars of the Stoicke sect, have supposed that it was no hurt at all in time of need, and to what end soever, to make use of our carrion bodies, and to feed upon them, as did our forefathers, who being besieged by Cæsar in the Citie of Alexia, resolved to sustaine the famine of the siege, with the bodies of old men, women, and other persons unserviceable and unfit to fight.

*Vascones (fama est) alimentis talibus usi
Produxerunt animas.¹*

*Gascones (as fame reports)
Liv'd with meats of such sorts.*

And Physicians feare not, in all kinds of compositions availefull to our health, to

make use of it, be it for outward or inward applications. But there was never any opinion found so unnaturall and immodest, that would excuse treason, treacherie, disloyaltie, tyrannie, crueltie, and such like, which are our ordinarie faults. We may then well call them barbarous, in regard of reasons rules, but not in respect of us that exceed them in all kinde of barbarisme. Their warres are noble and generous, and have as much excuse and beautie as this humane infirmitie may admit : they ayme at nought so much, and have no other foundation amongst them, but the meere jealousie of vertue. They contend not for the gaining of new lands ; for to this day they yet enjoy that naturall ubertie and fruitfulness, which without labouring toyle, doth in such plenteous abundance furnish them with all necessary things, that they need not enlarge their limits. They are yet in that happy estate as they desire no more than what their naturall necessities direct them : whatsoever is beyond it, is to them superfluous. Those that are much about one age, doe generally enter-call one another brethren, and such as are younger they call children, and the aged are esteemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this full possession of goods in common, and without division to their heires, without other claim or title but that which nature doth plainly impart unto all creatures, even as shee brings them into the world. If their neighbours chance to come over the mountaines to assaile or invade them, and that they get the victorie over them, the Victors conquest is glorie, and the advantage to be and remaine superior in valour and vertue : else have they nothing to doe with the goods and spoyles of the vanquished, and so returne into their countrie, where they neither want any necessarie thing, nor lacke this great portion, to know how to enjoy their condition happily, and are contented with what nature affordeth them. So doe these when their turne cometh. They require no other ransom of their prisoners, but an acknowledgement and confession that they are vanquished. And in a whole age, a man shall not finde one that doth not rather embrace death, than either by word or countenance remissely to yeeld one jot of an invincible courage. There is none seeme that would not rather be slaine and devoured, than sue for life, or shew any feare : They use their prisoners with all libertie, that they may so much the more hold their lives deare and precious, and commonly entertaine them with threats of future death, with the torments they shall endure, with

¹ *Juv. Sat. xv. 93.*

the preparations intended for that purpose, with mangling and slicing of their members, and with the feast that shall be kept at their charge. All which is done, to wrest some remisse, and exact some faint-yeelding speech of submission from them, or to possesse them with a desire to escape or run away; that so they may have the advantage to have danted and made them afraid, and to have forced their constancie. For certainly true victorie consisteth in that only point.

Victoria nulla est
Quàm quæ confessos animo quoque subjugat
hostes.¹

No conquest such, as to suppress
Foes hearts, the conquest to confesse.

The Hungarians, a most warre-like nation, were whilome wont to pursue their prey no longer than they had forced their enemy to yeeld unto their mercie. For, having wrested this confession from him, they set him at libertie without offence or ransome, except it were to make him sweare never after to beare armes against them. Wee get many advantages of our enemies, that are but borrowed and not ours: It is the qualitie of portlerly-rascall, and not of vertue, to have stronger armes and sturdier legs: Disposition is a dead and corporall qualitie. It is a trick of fortune to make our enemy stoop, and to beare his eyes with the Sunnes-light: It is a prank of skill and knowledge to be cunning in the art of fencing, and which may happen unto a base and worthlesse man. The reputation and worth of a man consisteth in his heart and will: therein consists true honour: Constancie is valour, not of armes and legs, but of minde and courage; it consisteth not in the spirit and courage of our horse, nor of our armes, but in ours. He that obstinately faileth in his courage, *Si succiderit, de genu pugnabit*: "If hee slip or fall he fights upon his knee." He that in danger of imminent death is no whit danted in his assurednesse; he that in yeelding up his ghost beholding his enemy with a scornfull and fierce looke, he is vanquished, not by us, but by fortune: he is slaine, but not conquered. The most valiant are often the most unfortunate. So are there triumphant losses in envie of victories. Not those four sister victories, the fairest that ever the Sunne beheld with his all-seeing eye, of Salamis, of Plateæ, of Mycale, and of Sicilia, durst ever dare to oppose all their glorie together to the glorie of the King Leonidas

his discomfiture and of his men, at the passage of Thermopylæ: what man did ever run with so glorious an envie or more ambitious desire to the goale of a combat, than Captaine Ischolas to an evident losse and overthrow? who so ingeniously or more politickely did ever assure himselfe of his welfare than he of his ruine? He was appointed to defend a certaine passage of Peloponesus against the Arcadians, which finding himselfe altogether unable to performe, seeing the nature of the place and inequality of the forces, and resolving that whatsoever should present it selfe unto his enemy, must necessarily be utterly defeated: On the other side, deeming it unworthy both his vertue and magnanimitie, and the Lacedemonian name, to faile or faint in his charge, betwene these two extremities he resolved upon a meane and indifferent course, which was this. The youngest and best disposed of his troupe he reserved for the service and defence of their countrey, to which hee sent them backe; and with those whose losse was least, and who might best be spared, he determined to maintaine that passage, and by their death to force the enemy to purchase the entrance of it as deare as possibly he could; as indeed it followed. For being suddenly environed round by the Arcadians, after a great slaughter made of them, both himselfe and all his were put to the sword. Is any Trophey assigned for conquerours that is not more duly due unto these conquered? A true conquest respecteth rather an undanted resolution, an honourable end, than a faire escape, and the honour of vertue doth more consist in combating than in beating. But to returne to our historie, these prisoners, howsoever they are dealt withall, are so farre from yeelding, that contrariwise during two or three moneths that they are kept, they ever carry a cheerefull countenance, and urge their keepers to hasten their triall, they outrageously defie and injure them. They upbraid them with their cowardlinesse, and with the number of battells they have lost againe theirs. I have a song made by a prisoner, wherein is this clause, "Let them boldly come altogether, and flocke in multitudes, to feed on him; for with him they shall feed upon their fathers and grand-fathers, that heretofore have served his body for food and nourishment: These muscles," saith he, "this flesh, and these veines, are your owne; fond men as you are, know you not that the substance of your forefathers limbes is yet tied unto ours? Taste them well, for in them shall you finde the relish of your owne flesh:" An invention, that

¹ CLAUD. *De Sexto Consulatu Honorii Pancg.* v. 248, 9.

² SEN. *De Providentiâ*, c. ii.

bath no shew of barbarisme. Those that paint them dying, and that represent this action, when they are put to execution, delineate the prisoners spitting in their executioners faces, and making mowes at them. Verily, so long as breath is in their body they never cease to brave and defie them, both in speech and countenance. Surely, in respect of us these are very savage men : for either they must be so in good sooth, or we must be so indeed : There is a wondrous distance betwene their forme and ours. Their men have many wives, and by how much more they are reputed valiant so much the greater is their number. The manner and beautie of their marriages is wondrous strange and remarkable : For, the same jealousie our wives have to keepe us from the love and affection of other women, the same have theirs to procure it. Being more carefull for their husbands honour and content than of any thing else, they endeavour and apply all their industrie to have as many rivals as possibly they can, forasmuch as it is a testimonie of their husbands vertue. Our women would count it a wonder, but it is not so : It is vertue properly Matrimoniall, but of the highest kinde. And in the Bible, Lea, Rachell, Sara, and Iacobs wives brought their fairest maiden servants into their husbands beds. And Livia seconded the lustfull appetites of Augustus to her great prejudice. And Stratonica, the wife of King Dejotarus did not only bring the most beauteous chamber-maide that served her to her husbands bed, but very carefully brought up the children he begot on her, and by all possible meanes aided and furthered them to succeed in their fathers royaltie. And least a man should thinke that all this is done by a simple and servile or awfull dutie unto their custome, and by the impression of their ancient customes authoritie, without discourse or judgement, and because they are so blockish and dull-spirited, that they can take no other resolution, it is not amisse we alleage some evidence of their sufficiency. Besides what I have said of one of their warlike songs, I have another amorous canzonet, which beginneth in this sense : "Adder stay, stay good adder, that my sister may by the patterne of thy partie-coloured coat drawe the fashion and worke of a rich lace, for me to give unto my love ; so may thy beautie, thy nimblenesse or disposition be ever preferred before all other serpents." The first couplet is the burthen of the song. I am so conversant with Poesie that I may judge this invention hath no barbarisme at all in it, but is altogether Anacreontike,

Their language is a kinde of pleasant speech, and hath a pleasing sound, and some affinitie with the Greeke terminations. Three of that nation, ignorant how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceed from this commerce, which I imagine is already well advanced (miserable as they are to have suffered themselves to be so cosened by a desire of new-fangled novelties, and to have quit the calmenesse of their climate to come and see ours), were at Roane in the time of our late King Charles the ninth, who talked with them a great while. They were shewed our fashions, our pompe, and the forme of a faire citie ; afterward some demanded their advice, and would needs know of them what things of note and admirable they had observed amongst us : they answered three things, the last of which I have forgotten, and am very sorie for it, the other two I yet remember. They said, "First they found it very strange that so many tall men with long beards, strong and well armed, as it were about the Kings person [it is very likely they meant the Switzers of his guard] would submit themselves to obey a beardslesse childe, and that we did not rather chuse one amongst them to command the rest." Secondly (they have a manner of phrase whereby they call men but a moytie one of another.) "They had perceived there were men amongst us full gorged with all sortes of commodities, and others which, hunger-starved and bare with need and povertie, begged at their gates : and found it strange these moyties so needily could endure such an injustice, and that they tooke not the others by the throate, or set fire on their houses." I talked a good while with one of them, but I had so bad an interpreter, who did so ill apprehend my meaning, and who through his foolishnesse was so troubled to conceive my imaginations, that I could draw no great matter from him. Touching that point, wherein I demanded of him what good he received by the superiortie he had amongst his countrey-men (for he was a Captaine and our Marri-ners called him King), he told me it was to march foremost in any charge of warre : further, I asked him how many men did follow him, hee shewed me a distance of place, to signifie they were as many as might be contained in so much ground, which I guessed to be about 4 or 5 thousand men : moreover, I demanded if when warres were ended, all his authoritie expired ; he answered, that hee had only this left him, which was, that when he went on pro-

gresse, and visited the villages depending of him, the inhabitants prepared paths and high-waies athwart the hedges of their woods, for him to passe through at ease. All this is not verie ill; but what of that? They weare no kinde of breeches nor hosen.

CHAPTER XXXI.

*That a man ought soberly to meddle with
judging of Divine Lawes.*

THINGS unknowne are the true scope of imposture and subject of Leger-demaine: forasmuch as strangenesse it selfe doth first give credit unto matters, and not being subject to our ordinarie discourses, they deprive us of meanes to withstand them. To this purpose, said Plato, 'it is an easier matter to please, speaking of the nature of the Gods than of men. For the Auditors ignorance lends a faire and large carriere, and free libertie, to the handling of secret hidden matters. Whence it followeth that nothing is so firmly beleevd as that which a man knoweth least; nor are there people more assured in their reports than such as tell us fables, as Alchumists, Prognosticators, Fortune-tellers, Palmesters, Physitians, *id genus omne*, "and such like." To which, if I durst, I would joyne a rable of men that are ordinarie interpreters and controulers of Gods secret desseignes, presuming to finde out the causes of every accident, and to prie into the secrets of Gods divine will, the incomprehensible motives of his works. And howbeit the continuall varietie and discordance of events drive them from one corner to another, and from East to West, they will not leave to follow their bowle, and with onesmall pensill drawe both white and blacke. There is this commendable observance in a certaine Indian nation, who if they chance to be discomfited in any skirmish or battel, they publicly beg pardon of the Sunne, who is their God, as for an unjust action, referring their good or ill fortune to divine reason, submitting their judgement and discourses unto it. It suffiseth a Christian to beleve that all things come from God, to receive them from his divine and inscrutable wisdom with thanksgiving, and in what manner soever they are sent him, to take them in good part. But I utterly disalow a common custome amongst us, which is to ground and establish our religion upon the prosperitie of our interprises. Our beleefe hath other sufficient foundations, and need not be authorized by

events. For the people accustomed to these plausible arguments, and agreeing with his taste, when events sort contrarie and disadvantageous to their expectation, they are in hazard to waver in their faith: As in the civil warres, wherein we are now for religions sake, those which got the advantage at the conflict of Rochelabeille, making great joy and bone-fires for that accident, and using that fortune as an assured approbation of their faction: when afterward they come to excuse their disaster of Mont-contour and Iarnac, which are scourges and fatherly chastisements: if they have not a people wholly at their mercy, they will easily make him perceive what it is to take two kinds of come out of one sacke: and from one and the same mouth to blow both hot and cold. It were better to entertaine it with the true foundations of veritie. It was a notable Sea battel which was lately gained against the Turkes under the conduct of Don Iohn of Austria. But it hath pleased God to make us at other times both see and feele other such, to our no small losse and detriment. To conclude, it is no easie matter to reduce divine things unto our ballance, so they suffer no impeachment: And he that would yeeld a reason why Arrius and Leo his Pope, chiefe Principals and maine supporters of this heresie, died both at several times of so sensible and so strange deaths (for being forced through a violent belly-ach to goe from their disputations to their close-stoole, both suddenly yielded up their ghosts on them), and exaggerate that divine vengeance by the circumstance of the place, might also adde the death of Heliogabalus unto it, who likewise was slaine upon a privie. But what? Ireneus is found to be engaged in like fortune: Gods intent being to teach us that the good have some thing else to hope for, and the wicked somewhat else to feare, than the good or bad fortune of this world: He manageth and applieth them according to his secret disposition: and depriveth us of the meanes thereby foolishly to make our profit. And those that according to humane reason will thereby prevaile doe but mocke themselves. They never give one touch of it, that they receive not two for it. S. Augustine giveth a notable triall of it upon his adversaries. It is a conflict no more decided by the armes of memorie than by the weapons of reason. A man should be satisfied with the light which it pleaseth the Sunne to communicate unto us by vertue of his beames; and he that shall lift up his eies to take a greater within his body, let him not thinke it strange if for a reward of his over-weening and arrogancie

he loseth his sight. *Quis hominum potest scire consilium Dei? aut quis poterit cogitare, quid velit dominus?!* "Who amongst men can know Gods counsell, or who can thinke what God will doe?"

CHAPTER XXXII.

To avoid Voluptuousnesse in regard of Life.

I HAVE noted the greatest part of ancient opinions to agree in this: That when our life affords more evil than good, it is then time to die: and to preserve our life to our torment and incommoditie, is to spurre and shooke the very rules of nature: as say the old rules.

ἢ ζῆν ἀλύπως ἢ θανεῖν εὐδαιμόνως.²

Or live without distresse,
Or die with happinesse.

Καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν οἷς ὕβριν τὸ ζῆν φέρεται.³

'Tis good for them to die,
Whom life brings infamie.

Κρεῖσσον τὸ μὴ ζῆν ἐσθιν, ἢ ζῆν ἀδύως.⁴

'Tis better not to live,
Than wretchedly not thrive.

But to drive off the contempt of death to such a degree as to employ it to distract and remove himselfe from honours, riches, greatnesse, and other goods and favours, which wee call the goods of fortune: as if reason had not enough to doe to perswade us to forgoe and leave ~~men~~ without adding this new surcharge unto it, I had neither scene the same commanded nor practised untill such time as one place of Seneca came to my hands, wherein counselling Lucilius (a man mightie and in great authoritie about the Emperour) to change this voluptuous and pompous life, and to withdraw himselfe from this ambition of the world, to some solitary, quiet, and philosophical life: about which Lucilius alleaged some difficulties: "My advice is" (saith he) "that either thou leave and quit that life, or thy life altogether: But I perswade thee to follow the gentler way, and rather to untie than breake what thou hast so ill knit: alwaies provided thou breake it, if thou canst not otherwise untie the same." There is no man so base minded that loveth not rather to fall once than ever to remaine in feare of falling. I should have deemed this counsell agreeing with the Stoicks rudenes: But it is more strange it should be borrowed of Epicurus, who to that purpose writeth consonant to this unto Idomeneus.

¹ *Wisd.* ix. 13.

² *Id.*

³ *Gnom.* *Græc.* θ.

⁴ *Stobæus, Serm.* cxiii.

Yet thinke I to have noted some such like thing amongst our owne people, but with Christian moderation. Saint Hilarie, Bishop of Poitiers, a famous enemy of the Arrian heresie, being in Syria, was advertised that Abra, his only daughter, whom hee had left at home with her mother, was by the greatest Lords of the countie solicited and sued unto for marriage, as a damosell very well brought up, faire, rich, and in the prime of her age: he writ unto her (as we see) that she should remove her affections from all the pleasures and advantages might be presented her; for in his voyage he had found a greater and worthier match or husband of far higher power and magnificence, who should present and endow her with robes and jewels of unvaluable price. His purpose was to make her lose the appetite and use of worldly pleasures, and wholly to wed her unto God. To which, deeming his daughters death, the shortest and most assured way, he never ceased by vows, prayers, and orisons, humbly to beseech God to take her out of this world, and to call her to his mercie, as it came to passe; for shee deceased soone after his returne, whereof he shewed manifest tokens of singular gladnesse. This man seemeth to endere himselfe above others, in that at first sight he addresseth himselfe to this meane, which they never embrace but subsidiarily, and sithence it is towards his only daughter. But I will not omit the successe of this storie, although it be not to my purpose. Saint Hilarie's wife, having understood by him how her daughters death succeeded with his intent and will, and how much more happy it was for her to be dislodged from out this world than still to abide therein, conceived so lively an apprehension of the eternall and heavenly blessednesse, that with imfortunate instance she solicited her husband to doe as much for her. And God, at their earnest entreatie and joynt-common prayers, having soone after taken her unto himselfe, it was a death embraced with singular and mutuall contentment to both.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

That Fortune is oftentimes met withall in pursuit of Reason.

THE inconstancie of Fortunes diverse wavering is the cause shee should present us with all sorts of visages. Is there any action of justice more manifest than this? Cæsar Borgia, Duke of Valenti-

nois, having resolved to poison Adrian, Cardinal of Cornetto, with whom Pope Alexander the sixth, his father, and he were to sup that night in Vaticane, sent certaine bottles of empoysoned wine before, and gave his butler great charge to have a special care of it. The Pope comming thither before his sonne, and calling for some drinke, the butler supposing the wine had beene so carefully commended unto him for the goodnesse of it, immediately presented some unto the Pope, who whilest he was drinking his sonne came in, and never imagining his bottles had beene toucht, tooke the cup and pledged his father, so that the Pope died presently; and the sonne, after he had long time beene tormented with sicknesse, recovered to another worse fortune. It sometimes seemeth that when we least think on her, shee is pleased to sport with us. The Lord of Estrée, then guidon to the Lord of Vandosme, and the Lord of Liques, Lieutenant to the Duke of Ascot, both servants to the Lord of Fongueselles sister, albeit of contrarie factions (as it hapneth among neighbouring bordurers) the Lord of Liques got her to wife: But even upon his wedding day, and which is worse, before his going to bed, the bridegroome desiring to breake a staffe in favour of his new Bride and Mistris, went out to skirmish neere to Saint Omer, where the Lord of Estrée, being the stronger, tooke him prisoner, and to endear his advantage, the Lady her selfe was faine,

*Conjugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum,
Quam veniens una atque altera rursus hyems,
Noctibus in longis avidum saturasset anorem,¹*
Her new feeser necke forced was she to forgoe,
Ere winters one and two returning sloe,
In long nights had ful-fil'd
Her love so eager wil'd,

in courtesie, to sue unto him for the deliverie of his prisoner, which he granted; the French Nobilitie never refusing Ladies any kindnesse. Seemeth she not to be a right artist? Constantine, the sonne of Helen, founded the Empire of Constantinople, and so, many ages after, Constantine the sonne of Helen ended the same. She is sometimes pleased to envie our miracles: we hold an opinion, that King Clovis besieging Angoulesme, the wals by a divine favour fell of themselves. And Bouchet borroweth of some author, that King Robert beleagring a Citie, and having secretly stolne away from the siege to Orleans, there to solemnize the feasts of Saint Alguan, as he was in his earnest devotion, upon a certaine passage of the Masse, the walles of the

towne, besieged without any batterie, fell flat to the ground. She did altogether contrarie in our warres of Millane; for, Capitaine Rense, beleagring the Citie of Eronna for us, and having caused a forcible mine to be wrought under a great curtine of the walls, by force whereof, it being violently flowne up from out the ground, did notwithstanding, whole and unbroken, fall so right into his foundation againe, that the besieged found no inconvenience at all by it. She sometimes playeth the Physitian. Iason Phereus, being utterly forsaken of all Physitians, by reason of an impostume he had in his breast, and desirous to be rid of it, though it were by death, as one of the forlorne hope, rusht into a battel amongst the thickest throng of his enemies, where he was so rightly wounded across the body, that his impostume brake, and he was cured. Did shee not exceed the Painter Protopogenes in the skill of his trade? who having perfected the image of a wearie and panting dog, and in all parts over-tired, to his content, but being unable, as he desired, lively to represent the drivel or slaver of his mouth, vexed against his owne worke, took his sponge, and, moist as it was with divers colours, threw it at the picture, with purpose to blot and deface all hee had done, fortune did so fitly and rightly carrie the same towards the dogs chaps that there it perfectly finished what his art could never attaine unto. Doth she not sometimes addresse and correct our counsels? Isabell Queene of England, being to repasse from Zeland into her Kingdome with an armie, in favour of her sonne against her husband, had utterly beene cast away had she come unto the port intended, being there expected by her enemies; but fortune, against her will, brought her to another place, where shee safely landed. And that ancient fellow, who, hurling a stone at a dog, misst him, and there withall hit and slew his step-dame, had she not reason to pronounce this verse,

Ταυτόματον ἡμῶν καλλίω βουλευέται.
Chance of it selfe, than wee,
Doth better say and see?

Fortune hath better advice than wee. Ictes had practised and suborned two souldiers to kill Timoleon, then residing at Adrane in Sicily. They appointed a time to doe, as he should be assisting at some sacrifice; and scattering themselves amongst the multitude, as they were winking one upon another, to shew how they had a verie fit opportunitie to doe the deed, loe here a third man, that with a huge blow of a sword striketh one of them over the head, and fells

¹ CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 81.

him dead to the ground and so runs away. His fellow, supposing himselfe discovered and undone, runs to the altar, suing for sanctuary, with promise to confesse the truth; even as he was declaring the conspiracie, behold the third man, who had likewise beene taken, whom as a murderher the people tugged and haled through the throng toward Timoleon and the chiefest of the assembly, where he humbly calleth for mercy, alleging that he had justly murdered the murderher of his father, whom his good chance was to finde there, averring by good witnesses before them all, that in the Citie of the Leontines, his father had beene proditoriously slaine by him on whom he had now revenged himselfe. In meede whereof, because he had been so fortunate (in seeking to right his fathers untimely death) to save the common father of the Sicilians from so imminent a danger, he had ten Attike mines awarded him. This Fortune in her directions exceedeth all the rules of humane wisdom. But to conclude: is not an expresse application of her favour, goodness, and singular pietie manifestly discovered in this action? Ignatius, the Father and the Sonne, both banished by proscriptiō by the Triumvirs of Rome, resolved on this generous act, to yeeld their lives one into anothers hands, and thereby frustrate the Tyrants cruelty. They furiously, with their keene rapiers drawne, ran one against another: Fortune so directed their points that each received his mortall stroke; adding to the honour of self-seene an amity, that they had just so much strength left them to draw their armed and bloody hands from out their goared wounds, in that plight so fast to embrace and so hard to claspe one another, that the hangmen were forced, at one stroke and together, to cut off both their heads; leaving their bodies for ever tied in so honourable a knot, and their wounds so joyned, that they lovingly drew and suckt each others blood, breath, and life.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of a defect in our Policies.

MY whilome father, a man who had no helpe but from experience and his owne nature, yet of an unspotted judgement, hath heretofore told me, that he much desired to bring in this custome, which is, that in all cities there should be a certaine appointed place to which, whosoever should have need of any thing, might come and cause his business to be registered

by some officer appointed for that purpose: As, for example, if one have pearls to sell, he should say, I seeke to sell some pearls: and another, I seeke to buy some pearls. Such a man would faine have companie to travell to Paris; such a one enquireth for a servant of this or that qualitie; such a one seeketh for a master, another a workman; some this, some that; every man as he needed. And it seemeth that this meanes of enter-warning one another would bring no small commoditie into common commerce and societie; for there are ever conditions that enter-seeke one another, and because they understand not one another, they leave men in great necessities. I understand, to the infamous reproach of our age, that even in our sight two most excellent men in knowledge having miserably perished for want of food and other necessities: Lilius Gregorius Giralduſ in Italy, and Sebastianus Castalio in Germanie. And I verily beleeeve there are many thousands who, had they knowne or understood their wants, would either have sent for them, and with large stipends entertained them, or would have convaid them succour, where ever they had beene. The world is not so generally corrupted but I know some that would earnestly wish, and with hartie affections desire, the goods which their forefathers have left them, might, so long as it shall please fortune they may enjoy them, be employed for the reliefe of rare and supply of excellent mens necessities, and such as for any kind of worth and vertue are remarkable; many of which are daily seene to be pursued by ill fortune even to the utmost extremitie, and that would take such order for them, as, had they not their ease and content, it might only be imputed to their want of reason or lacke of discretion. In this economicke or household order, my father had this order, which I can commend, but no way follow: which was, that besides the day-booke of household affaires, wherein are registred at least expenses, payments, gifts, bargains and sales, that require not a Notaries hand to them, which booke a receiver had the keeping of: he appointed another journall-booke to one of his servants, who was his clerke, wherein he should insert and orderly set downe all accidents worthy of the noting, and day by day register the memories of the historie of his house: a thing very pleasant to read when time began to weare out the remembrance of them, and fit for us to passe the time withall, and to resolve some doubts: when such a worke was begun, when ended, what way or course was taken, what accidents hapned, how long it continued; all our voyages, where, and how long we were

from home; our marriages, who died, and when; the receiving of good or bad tidings, who came, who went, changing or removing of household officers, taking of new or discharging of old servants, and such like matters. An ancient custome, and which I would have all men use and bring into fashion againe in their severall homes: and I repent my selfe I have so foolishly neglected the same.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of the use of Apparell.

WHATSOEVER I ayme at, I must needs force some of customes contradictions, so carefully hath she barred all our entrances. I was devising in this chil-cold season whether the fashion of these late discovered nations to go naked, be a custome forced by the hot temperature of the ayre, as we say of the Indians and Moores, or whether it be an original manner of mankind. Men of understanding, forasmuch as whatsoever is contained under heaven (as saith the Holy Writ) is subject to the same lawes, are wont in such like considerations, where naturall lawes are to be distinguished from those invented by man, to have recourse to the generall policie of the world, where nothing that is counterfet can be admitted. Now, all things being exactly furnished else-whence with all necessities to maintaine this being, it is not to be imagined that we alone should be produced in a defective and indigent estate, yea, and in such a one as cannot be maintained without forrain helpe. My opinion is, that even as all plants, trees, living creatures, and whatsoever hath life, is naturally seene furnished with sufficient furniture to defend it selfe from the injurie of all wethers:

*Propterque ferè res omnes, aut corio sunt,
Aut seta, aut conchis, aut callo, aut cortice
tectæ.¹*

Therefore all things almost we cover'd make,
With hide, or haire, or shels, or brawne, or
barke.

Even so were we. But as those who by an artificiall light extinguish the brightness of the day, we have quenched our proper means by such as we have borrowed. And wee may easily discern that only custome makes that seeme impossible unto us which is not so: For of those nations that have no knowledge of

cloaths, some are found situated under the same heaven, and climate or parallel, that we are in, and more cold and sharper than ours. Moreover, the tenderest parts of us are ever bare and naked, as our eyes, face, mouth, nose, and eares; and our country swaines (as our forefathers wont) most of them at this day goe bare-breasted downe to the navill. Had we beene borne needing petti-coats and breeches, there is no doubt but Nature would have armed that which she hath left to the batteries of seasons and furie of wethers with some thicker skin or hide, as shee hath done our fingers ends and the soales of our feet. Why seemes this hard to be believed? Betweene my fashion of apparell and that of one of my countie-clovnnes, I find much more difference betweene him and me than betweene his fashion and that of a man who is clothed but with his bare skin. "How many men (especially in Turkie) go ever naked for devotions sake?" a certaine man demanded of one of our loytring rogues whom in the deep of frosty Winter he saw wandering up and downe with nothing but his shirt about him, and yet as blithe and lusty as another that keeps himselfe muffled and wrapt in warme furs up to the eares; how he could have patience to go so. "And have not you, good Sir" (answered he) "your face all bare? Imagine I am all face." The Italians report (as far as I remember) of the Duke of Florence his fool, who when his Lord asked him how, being so ill-clad, he could endure the cold, which he hardly was able to doe himselfe; to whom the foole replied: "Master, use but my receipt, and put all the cloaths you have upon you, as I doe all mine; you shall feele no more cold than I doe." King Massinissa, even in his eldest daies, were it never so cold, so frosty, so stormie, or sharpe wether, could never be induced to put something on his head, but went alwaies bareheaded. The like is reported of the Emperor Severus. In the battles that past betweene the Egyptians and the Persians, Herodotus saith, that both himselfe and divers others tooke speciall notice that of such as lay slaine on the ground the Egyptians sculs were without comparison much harder than the Persians: by reason that these go ever with their heads covered with coifs and turbants, and those from their infancie ever shaven and bare-headed. And King Agesilaus, even in his decrepit age, was ever wont to weare his cloaths both Winter and Summer alike. Suetonius affirmeth that Cæsar did ever march foremost before his troupes, and most commonly bare-headed,

¹ Luc. i. iv. 932.

and on foot, whether the sunne shone or it rained. The like is reported of Hanniball,

— *tum vertice nudo,
Excipere insanos imbres, calique ruinam.*¹
Bare-headed then he did endure,
Heav'n's ruine and mad-raging showre.

A Venetian that hath long dwelt amongst them, and who is but lately returned thence, writeth, that in the Kingdome of Pegu, both men and women, having all other parts clad, goe ever bare-footed, yea, and on horse-backe also. And Plato for the better health and preservation of the body doth earnestly perswade that no man should ever give the feet and the head other cover than Nature hath allotted them. He whom the Polonians chuse for their King, next to ours who may worthily be esteemed one of the greatest Princes of our age, doth never weare gloves, nor what wether soever it be, winter or summer, other bonnet abroad than in the warme house. As I cannot endure to goe unbottomed or untrussed, so the husband-men neighbouring about me would be and feele themselves as fettered or hand-bound with going so. Varro is of opinion, that when we were appointed to stand bare-headed before the gods or in presence of the Magistrates, it was rather done for our health, and to enure and arme us against injuries of the wether, than in respect of reverence. And since we are speaking of cold, and are French-men, accustomed so strangely to array our selves in party-coloured sutes (not I, because I seldome weare any other than blacke or white, in imitation of my father), let us adde this one thing more, which Captaine Martyn du Bellay relateth in the voyage of Luxemburg, where he saith to have seene so hard frosts, that their munition-wines were faine to be cut and broken with hatchets and wedges, and shared unto the souldiers by weight, which they carried away in baskets; and Ovid,

*Nudique consistunt formam servantia testa
Vina, nec hausta meri sed data frusta bibunt.*²
Bare wines, still keeping forme of caske, stand fast,
Not gulps, but gobbets of their wine they taste.

The frosts are so hard and sharpe in the emboguing of the Meotis fennes, that in the very place where Mithridates Lieutenant had delivered a battel to his enemies, on hard ground and drie-footed, and there defeated them, the next summer he there obtained another sea-battel against them.

The Romanes suffered a great disadvantage in the fight they had with the Carthaginians neere unto Placentia, for so much as they went to their charge with their blood congealed and limbes benumbed, through extreme cold: whereas Hanniball had caused many fires to be made through-out his campe, to warme his souldiers by, and a quantitie of oile to be distributed amongst them, that therewith annointing themselves, they might make their sinewes more supple and nimble, and harden their pores against the bitter blasts of cold wind which then blew, and nipping piercing of the ayre. The Graecians retreat from Babilon into their countrie is renowned by reason of the many difficulties and encombrances they encountered withall, and were to surmount: whereof this was one, that in the mountaines of Armenia, being surprised and encircled with so horrible and great quantitie of snow, that they lost both the knowledge of the countrie and the wayes: wherewith they were so straitly beset that they continued a day and a night without eating or drinking; and most of their horses and cattell died: of their men a great number also deceased; many with the glittering and whitenesse of the snow were stricken blinde; divers through the extremitie were lamed, and their limbes shrunk up; many starke stiffe and frozen with colde, although their senses were yet whole. Alexander saw a nation where in winter they burie their fruit-bearing trees under the ground, to defend them from the frost: a thing also used amongst some of our neighbours. Touching the subject of apparell, "the King of Mexico was wont to change and shift his clothes foure times a day, and never wore them againe, employing his leavings and cast-sutes for his continuall liberalities and rewards; as also neither pot nor dish, nor any implement of his kitchen or table were twice brought before him.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Of Cato the younger.

I AM not possessed with this common errour, to judge of others according to what I am my selfe. I am easie to beleeve things differing from my selfe. Though I be engaged to one forme, I doe not tie the world unto it, as every man doth? And I beleeve and conceive a thousand manners of life, contrarie to the

¹ SYL. ITAL. 250.

² OVID. Trist. l. iii. El. x. 23.

common sort: I more easily admit and receive difference than resemblance in us. I discharge, as much as a man will, another being of my conditions and principles, and simply consider of it in my selfe without relation, framing it upon its owne modell. Though my selfe be not continent, yet doe I sincerely commend and allow the continencie of the Capuchins and Theatines, and highly praise their course of life. I doe by imagination insinuate my selfe into their place: and by how much more they bee other than my selfe, so much the more doe I love and honour him. I would gladly have every man judged apart, and not be drawne my selfe in consequence of others examples. My weaknesse doth no way alter the opinions I should have of the force and vigor of those that deserve it. *Sunt, qui nihil suadent, quam quod se imitari posse confidunt*: "There be such as advise to nothing but what they trust themselves can imitate." Crawling on the face of the earth, I cease not to marke, even into the clouds, in the imitable height of some heroicke minds. It is much for me to have a formall and prescript judgement, if the effects bee not so, and at least to maintaine the chiefe part exempted from corruption. It is something to have a good minde, when my forces faile me. The age we live in (at least our climate) is so dull and barren, that not only the execution, but the very imagination of vertue is farre to seeke, and seemes to be no other thing than a Colledge supposition and a gibrish word.

— *virtutem verba putant, ut
Lucum ligna*:²

Vertue seemes words to these,
As trees are wood, or woods are trees.

Quam vereri debent, etiam si percipere non possent:³ "Which yet they should reverence, though they could not reach unto." It is an eare-ring or pendant to hang in a cabinet, or at the tongues end, as well as at an eare for an ornament. There are no more vertuous actions knowne, those that beare a shew of vertue have no essence of it: for profit, glorie, custome, feare, and other like strange causes direct us to produce them. Justice, valour, integritie, which we then exercise, may by others consideration, and by the countenance they publikely beare, be termed so: but with the true workman it is no vertue at all. There is another end proposed; another efficient cause. Vertue alloweth of nothing but what is done by her, and for her alone. In that great battell at Potidæa which the

Greeks under Pausanias gained of Mar-
donius and the Persians, the victors to low-
ing their custome, coming to share the
glorie and prize of the victorie betweene
them, ascribed the pre-excellencie of valor
in that conflict to the Spartane nation.
The Spartanes, impartiall Judges of vertue,
when they came to decide to what par-
ticular man of their countrie the honour to
have done best in that day should of right
belong, they found that Aristodemus had
most courageously engaged and hazarded
himselfe: Yet gave him not the prize of
honour of it, because his vertue had bene
therunto incited by an earnest desire to
purge himselfe from the reproch and
infamie which hee had incurred in the action
at Thermopyles, and from all daring ambi-
tion to die courageously, thereby to warrant
his former imputation. Our judgements
are yet sicke, and follow the depravations
of our customes. I see the greatest part of
our spirits to affect wit, and to shew them-
selves ingenious, by obscuring and detract-
ing from the glorie of famous and generall
ancient actions, giving them some base and
malicious interpretation, fondly and envi-
ously charging them with vaine causes and
frivolous occasions. A subtil invention no
doubt. Let any man present me with the
most excellent and blamelesse action, and
I will oppose it with fittie vicious and bad
intentions, all which shall carrie a face of
likeli-hood. God knows (to him that will
extend them) what diversitie of images our
internal will doth suffer: They doe not
so maliciously as grossely and rudely ende-
avour to be ingenious with all their railing
and detraction. The same paine a man
taketh to detract from these noble and
famous names, and the verie same libertie
would I as willingly take to lend them my
shoulders to extoll and magnifie them. I
would endeavour to charge these rare and
choise figures, selected by the consent of wise
men for the worlds example, as much and
as high as my invention would give me
leave with honour, in a plausible interpreta-
tion and favourable circumstance. And a
man must thinke that the diligent labours of
our invention are farre beyond their merit.
It is the part of honest minded men to
pourtray vertue as faire as possible faire
may be. A thing which would no whit be
mis-seeming or undecent, if passion should
transport us to the favour and pursuit of so
sacred formes, what these doe contrarie, they
either doe it through malice or knaverie, with
purpose to reduce and sute their beleefe to
their capacitie, whereof I lately spake: or
rather, as I thinke, because their sight is not
of sufficient power or clearnes, nor addressed

¹ Cic. Orat. ad Br. ² Hor. Epist. vi. l. i. 31.

³ Cic. Tusc. Qu. v. 2.

to conceive or apprehend the farre-shining brightnes of vertue in naturall and genuine puritie: as Plutarke saith, that in his time some imputed the cause of Cato the youngers death to the feare he had conceived of Cesar: whereat he hath some reason to be moved: by which a man may judge how much more he would have bene offended with those that have ascribed the same unto ambition. Oh foolish people! Hee would no doubt have performed a faire action, so generous and so just, rather with ignominie than for glorie. This man was truly a patterne, whom nature chose to shew how farre humane vertue may reach, and mans constancie attaine unto. But my purpose is not here to treat this rich argument: I will only confront together the sayings of five Latin Poets upon Catoes commendations, and for the interest of Cato, and by incidencie for theirs also. Now ought a gentleman, well-bred, in respect of others, finde the two former somewhat languishing; the third more vigorous, but suppressed by the extravagancie of force. He will judge there were yet place for one or two degrees of invention, to reach unto the fourth, in consideration of which he will through admiration joyne hands for the last (yet first in some degree and space, but which space he will sweare can by no humane spirit be filled up) he will be much amazed, he will be much amated. Loe here are wonders, we have more Poets than judges and interpreters of poesie. It is an easier matter to frame it than to know it: Being base and humble, it may be judged by the precepts and art of it: But the good and loftie, the supreme and divine, is beyond rules and above reason. Whosoever discerneth her beautie, with a constant, quicke-seeing, and settled looke, he can no more see and comprehend the same than the splendor of a lightning flash. It hath no communitie with our judgement; but ransacketh and ravisheth the same. The furie which pricketh and moves him that can penetrate her, doth also stricke and wound a third man, if he heare it either handled or recited, as the adamant stone draws not only a needle, but infuseth some of her facultie in the same to draw others: And it is more apparently seene in theaters, that the sacred inspiration of the Muses, having first stirred up the Poet with a kinde of agitation unto choler, unto griefe, unto hatred, yea and beyond himselfe, whither and howsoever they please, doth also by the Poet strike and enter into the Actor, and consequently by the Actor a whole auditorie or multitude. It is the ligament of our senses depending one of another. Even

from my infancie Poesie hath had the vertue to transpierce and transport me. But that lively and feeling-moving that is naturally in me have diversly bene handled, by the diversitie of formes, not so much higher or lower (for they were ever the highest in every kind) as different in colour. First a blithe and ingenious fluiditie, then a quaint-wittie and loftie conceit. To conclude, a ripe and constant force. Ovid, Lucan, and Virgil will better declare it. But here our Gallants are in their full carriere.

*Sit Cato dum vivit sane vel Cesare major.*¹

Let Cato Junior, while he
doth live, greater than Cæsar be.

Saith one.

*— et invictum devictâ morte Catonem:*²

Cato unconquered, death being vanquished.

Saith another: And the third, speaking of the civill warres betweene Cæsar and Pompey

*Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*³

The cause that overcame with Gods was greater;
But the cause overcome pleased Cato better.

And the fourth upon Cæsars commendations:

*Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.*⁴
Of all the earth all parts intrahled,
Catoes minde only unappalled.

And the harps-master, after he hath installed the names of the greatest Romans in his picture, endeth thus:

*— his dantem jura Catonem.*⁵

Chiefe justice Cato doe decree
Lawes that for righteous soules should be.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

How we weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing.

WHEN we read in Histories,⁶ that Antigonus was highly displeased with his sonne, at what time he presented unto him the head of King Pirrhus his enemy, slaine but a little before in fight against him; which he no sooner saw but he burst forth a weeping: And that Renate Duke of Loraine wept for the death of Charles Duke of Burgundie, whom

¹ MART. l. vi. *Epig.* xxxii. 5.

² MANIL. *Astr.* l. iv. 87.

³ LUCAN. *Bel. Civ.* l. i. 127.

⁴ HOR. l. ii. *Od.* i. 23.

⁵ VIRG. *Æn.* l. viii. 670.

⁶ PLUT. *Vit. Pyrrh.*

hee had eftsoones difcomfited, and was as an assistant mourner at his funeralls: And that in the battell of Auroy (which the Earl of Montfort had gained against the faction of Charles de Blois, for the Dutchy of Britanie) the victorious conqueror met with the bodie of his enemy deceased, mourned very grievously for him; a man must not suddenly exclaime.

*È così avven che l'animo ciascuno
Sua passion sotto 'l contrario manto
Ricopre, con la vista hor' chiara, hor' bruna.*

So happens it, the minde covers each passion Under a cloake of colours opposite, To fight now cleare, now darke, in divers fashion.

When Cæsar was presented with Pompeis head, Histories report that he turned his looks aside, as from a ghastly and unpleasant spectacle. There hath beene so long a correspondencie and societie in the managing of publike affaires, mutually betwene them, such a communitie of fortunes, so many reciprocal offices and bonds of alliance, that a man cannot thinke his countenance to have beene forced, false, and wily, as this other supposeth.

*— tutumque putavit
Iam bonus esse socer, lacrymas non sponte
cadentes*

Effudit, gemitusque expressit pectore lecto.¹

Now to be kinde indeed he did not doubt Father in law, teares, which came hardly out He shed, and grones exprest From inward pleased brest.

For certainly, howbeit the greatest number of our actions bee but masked and painted over with dissimulation, and that it may sometimes be true,

Heredis fletus sub persona risus est.²

The weeping of an heire is laughing under a visard or disguise.

Yet must a man consider, by judging of his accidents, how our mindes are often agitated by divers passions; For (as they say) there is a certaine assembly of divers humours in our bodies, whereof she is soveraigne mistris, who most ordinarily, according to our complexions, doth command us: so in our minde, although it containe severall motions that agitate the same, yet must one chiefly be predominant. But it is not with so full an advantage, but for the volubilitie and suppleness of our minde, the weakest may by occasion reobtaine the place againe, and when their turne cometh, make a new charge; whence we see not only children, who simply and naturally follow nature, often to weepe and laugh at

one selfe-same thing, but none of us all can vaunt himselfe, what wished for or pleasant voyage soever he undertake, but that taking leave of his family and friends, he shall feele a chilling and panting of the heart, and if he shed not teares, at least he puts his foot in the stirrup with a sad and heavie cheere. And what gentle flame soever doth warme the heart of young virgins, yet are they hardly drawne to leave and forgoe their mothers, to betake them to their husbands: whatsoever this good fellow say:

*Est ne novis nuptis odio Venus, anne parentum
Frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrymulis,
Vberum thalami quas intra limina fundunt?
Non, ita me Divi, vera gemunt, juverint.¹*

Doe young Birds have indeed fresh Venus toys, Or with false teares delude their parents joyes, Which in their chambers they powre out amaine? So helpe me God, they doe not true complaine.

So is it not strange to mourne for him dead, whom a man by no means would have alive againe. When I chide my boy, I doe it with the best heart I have: They are true and not fained imprecations: but that fit past over, let him have need of me, I will gladly doe him all the good I can, and by and by I turne over another lease. If I chance to call one knave or asse, my purpose is not for ever to enfeoffe him with those nick-names; nor doe I thinke to say, tong thou liest, if immediately after I call him an honest man. No qualitie doth embrace us purely and universally. If it were not the countenance of a foole to speake alone or to him selfe, there would scarce be day or houre wherein some body should not heare me mutter and grumble to my selfe, and against my self, A () in the fooles teeth! yet doe not I thinke it to be my definition. He that seeth me sometimes to cast a frowning looke upon my wife, or sometimes a loving countenance, and thinke that either of them is but fained, he is a foole. Nero taking leave of his mother, whom hee sent to be drowned, felt notwithstanding the emotion of that motherly farewell, and at one instant was stricken with horror and pitie. It is said that the Sunnes-light is not of one continued piece, but that it so necessantly and without intermission doth cast so thicke new raies, one in the necke of another, upon us, that wee cannot perceive the space betwene them.

*Largus enim liquidi-fons luminis, æthereus sol,
Inrigat assidue celum candore recenti,
Suppeditatque novo confestim lumine lumen:²*

¹ LUCAN. l. ix. 7040.

² AUL. GELL. Noct. Att. l. xvii. c. 14.

¹ CATUL. Eleg. ii. 15.

² LUCR. l. v. 281.

Heav'n's Sunne the plenteous spring of liquid
 light
 Still heav'n bedewes with splendor fresh and
 bright,
 Still light supplies with light of fresher sight.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of Solitarinesse.

So doth our minde cast her points diversly and imperceptibly. Artabanus surprised Xerxes his nephew, and chid him for the sudden changing of his countenance. He was to consider the unmeasurable greatnesse of his forces at the passage of Hellespont, for the enterprise of Greece. First he was suddenly assailed by an excessive joy, to see so many thousands of men at his service, and witnessed the same by the alacritie and cheerefulness of his countenance: And immediately at that verie moment, his thoughts suggesting how so many lives were to be consumed, and should come to nothing (at the furthest, within one age), he gan to frowne his browes, and grew so pensive that he wept. We have with a resolute and inexorable minde pursued the revenge of an injurie, and felt a singular content for the victorie; yet upon better advice doe we weep: it is not that we weep for: the thing is as it was, there is nothing changed: But that our minde beholds the thing with another eie, and under another shape, it presents it self unto us. For every thing hath divers faces, sundry byases, and severall lustres. Alliance, kinred, old acquaintances, and long friendship seize on our imagination, and at that instant passionate the same according to their qualitie, but the turne or change of it is so violent that it escapes us.

*Nil adeo fieri celeri ratione videtur,
 Quàm si mens fieri proponit et inchoat ipsa.
 Cuius ergo animus quàm res se percipit illa,
 Ante oculos quarum in promptu natura videtur.*¹
 Nothing in so quicke sort seemes to be done,
 As minde set on a thing, and once begun,
 The minde that swifter stirres before our eies,
 Than any thing, whose forme we soone comprize.

And therefore, intending to continue one body of all this pursuit, we deceive our selves. When Timoleon weepeth the murder he hath perpetrated with so mature and generous a determination, he weepeth not for the libertie restored to his countrie, nor the tyrant, but he weepeth for his brother. One part of his dutie is acted, let us permit him to play the other.

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 183.

LET us leave apart this outworne comparison, betweene a solitarie and an active life: And touching that goodly saying under which ambition and avarice shroud themselves, that we are not borne for our particular, but for the publike good: Let us boldly refer ourselves to those that are engaged; and let them beat their conscience, if on the contrarie the states, the charges, and this trash of the world are not rather sought and sued for to draw a private commoditie from the publike. The bad and indirect meanes wherethrough in our age men canvase and toyle to attaine the same, doe manifestly declare the end thereof to be of no great consequence. Let us answer ambition, that herselfe gives us the taste of solitarinesse. For what doth she shun so much as company? What seeketh shee more than elbow-roume? There is no place but there are meanes and waies to doe well or ill. Neverthelesse if the saying of Bias be true, "That the worst part is the greatest:" Or that which Ecclesiastes saith, "That of a thousand there is not one good:"

*Rari quippe boni: numero vix sunt totidem, quot
 Thebarum porte, vel divitis ostia Nil:*¹

Good men are rare, so many scarce (I feare)
 As gates of Thebes, mouths of rich Nilus were:

Contagion is very dangerous in a throng. A man must imitate the vicious or hate them: both are dangerous: for to resemble them is perilous, because they are many, and to hate many is hazardous, because they are dissemblable, and Merchants that travell by sea have reason to take heed that those which goe in the same ship be not dissolute, blasphemers, and wicked, judging such company unfortunate. Therefore Bias said pleasantly to those that together with him passed the danger of a great storme, and called to the Gods for helpe: "Peace, my masters, lest they should heare that you are here with me." And of a more militarie example, Albuquerque, Viceroy in India for Emanuel King of Portugall, in an extreme danger of a sea-tempest, tooke a young boy upon his shoulders, for this only end, that in the common perill his innocence might be his warrant and recommending to Gods favour to set him on shore: yet may a wise man live every where contented, yea and alone, in the throng of a Pallace: but if he

¹ JUV. Sat. xiii. 26.

may chuse, he will (saith he) avoid the sight of it. If need require, he will endure the first : but if he may have his choice, he will chuse the latter. He thinks he hath not sufficiently rid himselfe from vices if he must also contest with other mens faults. Charondas punished those for wicked that were convicted to have frequented lewd companies. There is nothing so dis-sociable and sociable as man, the one for his vice, the other for his nature. And I think Antisthenes did not satisfie him that upbraided him with his conversation with the wicked, saying, "That Physicians live amongst the sicke : " Who if they stead sicke-mens healths, they empaire their owne by the infection, continuall visiting, touching, and frequenting of diseases. Now (as I suppose) the end is both one, thereby to live more at leasure and better at ease. But man doth not alwaies seeke the best way to come unto it, who often supposeth to have quit affaires when he hath but changed them. There is not much less vexation in the government of a private family than in the managing of an entire state : wheresoever the minde is busied, there it is all. And though domestical occupations be lesse important, they are as importunate. Moreover, though we have freed ourselves from the court and from the market, we are not free from the principall torments of our life.

*ratio et prudentia curas,
Non locus effusi latè maris arbor aufert.*¹

Reason and wisdom may set cares aside,
Not place the Arbitrer of seas so wide.

Shift we or change we places never so often,
ambition, avarice, irresolution, feare, and
concupiscences never leave us.

*Et post equitem sedet atra cura.*²

Care, looking grim and blacke, doth sit
Behind his backe that rides from it.

They often follow us, even into immured
cloisters, and into schooles of philosophy;
nor doe hollow rocks, nor wearing of haire-
shirts, nor continuall fastings, rid us from
them.

*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*³

The shaft that death implide
Sticks by the flying side.

It was told Socrates that one was no whit
amended by his travell : " I believe it wel
(saith he) for he carried himselfe with him."

*Quid terras alio calentes
Sole mutamus? patriâ quis exul
Se quoque fugit?*⁴

Why change we soyles warm'd with another
Sunne?
Who from home banisht hath himselfe out-
runne?

If a man doe not first discharge both him-
selfe and his minde from the burthen that
presseth her, removing from place to place
will stirre and presse her the more ; as in a
ship, wares well stowed and closely piled
take up least roome, you doe a sicke-man
more hurt than good to make him change
place, you settle an evill in removing the
same ; as stakes or poles, the more they
are stirr'd and shaken, the faster they sticke,
and sinke deeper into the ground. There-
fore is it not enough for a man to have
sequestered himselfe from the concourse of
people : is it not sufficient to shift place, a
man must also sever himselfe from the
popular conditions that are in us. A man
must sequester and recover himselfe from
himselfe.

*rupi jam vincula, dicas,
Nam luctata canis nodum arripit, attamen
illa
Cum fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa
catenæ.*¹

You will say haply I my bonds have quit,
Why so the striving dog the knot hath bit ;
Yet when he flies, much chaine doth follow it,

We carry our fetters with us : is it not an
absolute libertie ; we still cast backe our
lookes towards that we have left behinde :
our minde doth still run on it ; our fancie is
full of it.

*nisi purgatum est pectus, quæ prælia
nobis*

*Atque pericula tunc ingratis insinuandum?
Quantæ conscindunt hominem cupidinis acres
Solicitem cura, quantique perinde timores?
Quidæe superbia, spurcilia, ac petulantia,
quantas*

*Efficiunt clades, quid luxus, desidiesque?*²
Unless our breast be purg'd, what warres must
we

What perils then, though much displeased, see?
How great feares, how great cares of sharpe de-
sire

Doe carefull man distract, torment, ensire?
Uncleanesse, wantonnesse, sloth, riot, pride,
How great calamities have these implide?

Our evill is rooted in our minde : and it
cannot scape from it selfe.

*In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam,*³

The minde in greatest fault must lie
Which from itselfe can never flie,

Therefore must it be reduced and brought
into it selfe : It is the true solitarinesse, and

¹ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* xi. 25. ² HOR. l. iii. *Od.* i. 39.
³ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iv. 72. ⁴ HOR. l. ii. *Od.* xvi. 18.

¹ PERS. *Sat.* v. 138.

² LUCR. l. v. 44.

³ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* xiv. 13.

which may be enjoyed even in the frequencie of peopled Cities and Kings courts; but it is more commodiously enjoyed apart. Now sithence wee undertake to live solitarie, and without companie, let us cause our contentment to depend of our selves: Let us shake off all bonds that tie us unto others: Gaine we that victorie over us, that in good earnest we may live solitarie, and therein live at our ease. Stilpon having escaped the combustion of his Citie, wherein he had lost both wife and children, and all his goods; Demetrius Poliorcetes seeing him in so great a ruine of his Countrie with an unaffrighted countenance, demanded of him, whether he had received any losse: He answered, No: and that (thanks given to God) he had lost nothing of his owne. It is that which Antisthenes the Philosopher said very pleasantly, "That man ought to provide himself with munitions that might float upon the water, and by swimming escape the danger of shipwracke with him." Verily, "a man of understanding hath lost nothing if he yet have himselfe." When the Citie of Nola was over-run by the Barbarians, Paulinus, bishop thereof, having lost all he had there, and being their prisoner, prayed thus unto God: "O Lord, deliver me from feeling of this losse: for thou knowest as yet they have toucht nothing that is mine." The riches that made him rich, and the goods which made him good, were yet absolutely whole. Behold what it is to chuse treasures well, that may be freed from injurie; and to hide them in a place where no man may enter, and which cannot be betrayed but by our selves. A man that is able may have wives, children, goods, and chiefly health, but not so tie himselfe unto them that his felicitie depend on them. We should reserve a store-house for our selves, what need soever change; altogether ours, and wholly free, wherein we may hoard up and establish our true libertie, and principall retreat and solitarinesse, wherein we must go alone to our selves, take out ordinarie entertainment, and so privately that no acquaintance or communication of any strange thing may therein find place: there to discourse, to meditate and laugh, as, without wife, without children, and goods, without traine or servants; that if by any occasion they be lost, it seeme not strange to us to passe it over; we have a minde moving and turning in it selfe; it may keep it selfe companie; it hath wherewith to offend and defend, wherewith to receive, and wherewith to give. Let us not feare that we shall faint and droop through tedious and mind-trying illnesse in this solitarinesse.

In solis sis tibi turba locis.

Be thou, when with thee is not any,
As good unto thy selfe as many.

Vertue is contented with it selfe, without discipline, without words, and without effects. In our accustomed actions, of a thousand there is not one found that regards us: he whom thou seest so furiously, and as it were besides himselfe, to clamber or crawl up the citie wals or breach, as a point-blank to a whole voly of shot, and another all wounded and skarred, crazed and faint, and wel-nie hunger-starven, resolved rather to die than to open his enemies the gate and give him entrance; doest thou think he is there for himselfe? No verily. It is peradventure for such a one whom neither he nor so many of his fellows ever saw, and who haply takes no care at all for them; but is there-whilst wallowing up to the eares in sensuality, slouth, and all manner of carnal delights. 'This man, whom about mid-night, when others take their rest, thou seest come out of his study, meagre looking, with eyes trilling, flegmatick, squalide, and spauling, doest thou thinke that plodding on his books he doth seek how he shall become an honest man, or more wise, or more content? There is no such matter. He wil either die in his pursuit, or teach posteritie the measure of Plautus verses and the true orthography of a Latine word. Who doth not willingly chop and counter-change his health, his ease, yea and his life, for glorie and for reputation? The most unprofitable, vaine, and counterfet coine, that is in use with us. Our death is not sufficient to make us afraid; let us also charge ourselves with that of our wives, of our children, and of our friends and people. Our owne affaires doe not sufficiently trouble and vex us: Let us also drudge, toile, vex, and torment ourselves with our neighbours and friends matters.

*Vah quemquāvis hominem in animum insti-
tuere, aut*

*Parare, quod sit charius, quàm ipse est sibi?*¹

Fie, that a man should cast, that ought, than he Himselfe of himselfe more belov'd should be.

Solitarinesse, mee seemeth, hath more apparence and reason in those which have given their most active and flourishing age into the world, in imitation of Thales. We have lived long enough for others, live we the remainder of our life unto our selves: let us bring home our cogitations and inventions unto our selves and unto our ease. It is no easie matter to make a safe retreat: it doth over-much trouble us with joyning

¹ *Trin. Adel. act i. sc. 1. 13.*

other enterprises unto it ; since God gives us leisure to dispose of our dislodging. Let us prepare ourselves unto it, packe wee up our baggage. Let us betimes bid our companie farewell. Shake we off these violent hold-fasts which else-where engage us, and estrange us from our selves. These so strong bonds must be untied, and a man must eiesoones love this or that, but wed nothing but himselfe ; That is to say, let the rest be our owne : yet not so combined and glued together that it may not be sundred without fleaing us, and therewithall pull away some peece of our owne. The greatest thing of the world is for a man to know how to be his owne. It is high time to shake off societie, since we can bring nothing to it. And he that cannot lend, let him take heed of borrowing. Our forces faile us : retire we them, and shut them up into our selves. He that can suppress and confound in himselfe the offices of so many amities, and of the company, let him doe it. In this fall, which makes us inutile, irkesome, and importunate to others, let him take heed he be not importunate, irkesome, and unprofitable to himselfe. Let him flatter, court, and cherish himselfe, and above all let him governe himselfe, respecting his reason and fearing his conscience, so that he may not without shame stumble or trip in their presence. *Rarum est enim, ut satis se quisque vereatur :* " For it is a rare matter that every man sufficiently should stand in awe and reverence of himselfe." Socrates saith, " That young men oughr to be instructed, and men exercised in well doing ; and old men withdraw themselves from all civil and military negotiations, living at their owne discretion, without obligation to any certaine office." There are some complexions more proper for these precepts of retreat than others. Those which have a tender and demisse apprehension, a squeemish affection, a delicate will, and which cannot easily subject or employ it selfe (of which both by naturall condition and propense discourse I am one) wil better apply themselves unto this counsell than active minds and busie spirits ; which imbrace all, every where engage, and in all things passionate themselves ; that offer, that present and yeeld themselves to all occasions. A man must make use of all these accidentall commodities, and which are without us, so long as they be pleasing to us ; but not make them our principall foundation : It is not so ; nor reason, nor nature permit it. Why should we against their lawes subject our contentment to the power of others? Moreover, to anticipate the accidents of fortune ; for a man to deprive himselfe of

the commodities he hath in possession, as many have done for devotion, and some Philosophers by discourse ; to serve themselves, to lie upon the hard ground, to pull out their own eyes, to cast their riches into the sea, to seeke for paine and smart (some by tormenting this life for the happinesse of another ; othersome placing themselves on the lowest step, thereby to warrant themselves from a new fall) is the action of an excessive vertue. Let sterner and more vigorous complexions make their lurking glorious and exemplar.

- *tuta et parvula laudo,
Cum res deficient, satis inter vilia fortis :
Verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius,
idem*

*Ilos sapere, et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.*¹

When riches faile, I praise the safe estate,
Though small ; base things do not high thoughts abate.

But when tis better, finer with me, I
They only live well, and are wise, doe crie,
Whose coine in faire farmes doth well-grounded lie.

There is worke enough for me to doe without going so far. It sufficeth me, under fortunes favour, to prepare my selfe for her disfavour ; and being at ease, as far as imagination may attaine unto, so represent the evill to come unto my selfe : Even as we enure our selves to Tilts and Tourneyes, and counterfeit warre in time of peace. I esteeme not Arcesilaus the Philosopher lesse reformed because I know him to have used household implements of gold and silver, according as the condition of his fortune gave him leave. I rather value him the more than if he had not done it, forasmuch as he both moderately and liberally made use of them. I know unto what limits naturall necessitie goeth ; and I consider a poore almesman begging at my doore to be often more plump-cheekt, in better health and liking, than I am : Then doe I enter into his estate, and essay to frame and sute my mind unto his byase. And so over-running other examples, albeit I imagine death, povertie, contempt, and sicknesse to be at my heeles, I easily resolve my selfe not to apprehend any feare of that which one of lesse worth than my selfe doth tolerate and undergoe with such patience : And I cannot beleeve that the basenesse or shallownesse of understanding can doe more than vigor and far-seeing, or that the effects and reason of discretion cannot reach to the effects of custome and use. And knowing what slender hold-fast these accessorie commodities have, I omit not in full joyvissance of

them, humbly to beseech God of his mercie (as a soveraigne request) to make me contented with my selfe, and with the goods proceeding from me. I see some gallantly-disposed young men, who notwithstanding their faire-seeming shew, have many boxes full of pills in their coffers at home, to take when the rhume shall assaile them; which so much the lesse they feare, when they thinke the remedy to be at hand. So must a man doe: as also if he feeles himselfe subject to some greater infirmitie, to store himselfe with medicaments that may assuage, supple, and stupifie the part grieved. The occupation a man should chuse for such a life must neither be painfull nor tedious, otherwise in vaine should we accompt to have sought our abiding there, which depends from the particular taste of every man. Mine doth no way accommodate itselfe to husbandrie. Those that love it, must with moderation apply themselves unto it.

*Conentur sibi res, non se submittere rebus.*¹

Endevour they things to them to submit,
Not them to things (if they have Horace wit)

Husbandrie is otherwise a servile office, as Salust termeth it: It hath more excusable parts, as the care of gardening, which Xenophon ascribeth to Cyrus: A meane or mediocrity may be found betweene this base and vile carking care, extended and full of toiling labor, which we see in men that wholly plunge themselves therein, and that profound and extreme retchlesnesse to let all things goe at six and seven, which is seen in others.

Democriti pecus edit agellos

*Cullaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore
velox.*²

Cattle destroyd Democritus his sets,
While his mind bodilesse vagaries sets.

But let us heare the counsell which Plinie the younger giveth to his friend Cornelius Rufus, touching this point of Solitarinesse: "I perswade thee in this full-gorged and fat retreat wherein thou art, to remit this base and abject care of husbandrie unto thy servants, and give thy selfe to the study of letters, whence thou maist gather something that may altogether be thine owne." He meaneth reputation: like unto Ciceroes humor, who saith, That he will employ his solitarinesse and residence from publike affairs to purchase unto himselfe by his writings an immortal life.

—usque adeone

*Sapere tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?*³

¹ *HOR. Epist. i. 19.*

² *Id. Epist. xii. 12.*

³ *PERS. Sat. i. 27.*

Is it then nothing worth that thou doost know,
Unless what thou doost know, thou others
show?

It seemth to be reason, when a man speaketh to withdraw himselfe from the world, that one should looke beyond him. These doe it but by halves. Indeed they set their match against the time they shall be no more: but pretend to reap the fruit of their designes, when they shall be absent from the world, by a ridiculous contradiction. The imagination of those who through devotion seeke solitarinesse, filling their minds with the certaintie of heavenly promises, in the other life, is much more soundly consorted. They propose God as an object infinit in goodnesse and incomprehensible in power, unto themselves. The soule hath therein, in all free libertie, wherewith to glut her selfe. Afflictions and sorrowes redound to their profit, being employed for the purchase and attaining of health and eternal gladnesse. Death, according to ones wish, is a passage to so perfect an estate. The sharpnesse of their rules is presently made smooth and easie by custome; and carnall concupiscences rejected, abated, and lulled asleep by refusing them: for nothing entertaineth them but use and exercise. This only end of another life, blessedly immortal, doth rightly merit we should abandon the pleasures and commodities of this our life. And he that can enlighten his soule with the flame of a lively faith and hope, really and constantly, in his solitarinesse doth build unto himselfe a voluptuous and delicious life, far surmounting all other lives. Therefore doth neither the end nor middle of this counsell please me. We are ever falling into a relaps from an ague to a burning fever. This plodding occupation of bookes is as painfull as any other, and as great an enemy unto health, which ought principally to be considered. And a man should not suffer himselfe to be inveigled by the pleasure he takes in them: It is the same pleasure that loseth the thriving husband-man, the greedy-covetous, the sinning-voluptuous, and the puffed-up ambitious. The wisest men teach us sufficiently to beware and shield us from the treasons of our appetites, and to discern true and perfect pleasures from delights blended and entermingled with more paine. For most pleasures (say they) tickle, fawne upon, and embrace us, with purpose to strangle us, as did the thieves whom the Egyptians termed Philistas: And if the head-ach would seize upon us before drunkennesse, we would then beware of too much drinking: but sensualitie, the better

to entrap us, marcheth before, and hideth her tracke from us. Bookes are delightfull; but if by continuall frequenting them, we in the end lose both health and cheerefulness (our best parts) let us leave them. I am one of those who thinke their fruit can no way countervail this losse. As men that have long time felt themselves enfeebled through some indisposition, doe in the end yeeld to the mercie of Physicke, and by art have certaine rules of life prescribed

tooth and naile retainne the use of this lives pleasures, which our yeares snatch from us one after another :

Carpathus dulcia, nostrum est,

Quid vivis : cinis et manes et fabula fies.¹

Plucke we sweet pleasures : we thy life give thee. Thou shalt a tale, a ghost, and ashes be.

Now concerning the end of glorie, which Plinie and Cicero propose unto us, it is far from my discourse : The most opposite humour to solitarie retiring is ambition.

likewise to frame and prescribe this unto the rules of reason ; direct and range the same by premeditation and discourse. He must bid all manner of travell farewell, what shew soever it beare ; and in generall shun all passions that any way empeach the tranquillitie of mind and body, and follow the course best agreeing with his humour.

Vnusquisque sua noverit ire via.¹

His owne way every man
Tread-out directly can.

A man must give to thriving husbandrie, to laborious study, to toilesome hunting, and to every other exercise, the utmost bounds of pleasure ; and beware he engage himselfe no further, if once paine begin to intermeddle it selfe with her ; we should reserve businesse and negotiations only for so much as is behoovefull to keepe us in breath, and to warrant us from the inconveniences which the other extremitie of a base, faint-hearted idlenesse drawes after it. There are certaine barren and thornie sciences, which for the most part are forged for the multitude : they should be left for those who are for the service of the world. As for my selfe, I love no books but such as are pleasant and easie, and which tickle me, or such as comfort and counsell me, to direct my life and death.

*— tacitum sylvas inter reptare salubres
Curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque
est.²*

Silently creeping midst the wholesome wood
With care what's for a wise man and a good.

The wiser sort of men, having a strong and vigorous mind, may frame unto themselves an altogether spirituall life. But mine being common, I must help to uphold my selfe by corporall commodities : And age having estoones spoiled me of those that were most sutable to my fantasie, I instruct and sharpen my appetite to those remaining most sortable this other season. We must

nought | legs
out of the throng, their mind and intent is
further and more engaged in them than ever
it was.

Tui, vetule, auriculis alienis colligis escas?³

Gatherst thou dotard at these yeares,
Fresh baits, fine food, for others eares ?

They have gone backe that they might leap the better, and with a stronger motion make a nimble offer amidst the multitude. Will you see how they shoot-short by a cornes breadth ? let us but counterpoise the advice of two Philosophers, and of two most different sects : The one writing to Idomeneus, the other to Lucilius, their friends, to divert them from the managing of affaires and greatnesse, unto a solitarie kind of life. " You have," say they, " lived hitherto swimming and floating adrift, come and die in the haven ; you have given the past of your life unto light, give the remainder unto darkness. It is impossible to give over occupations if you doe not also give over the fruits of them : Therefore cleare your selfe from all care and glorie. There is great danger lest the glittering of your forepassed actions should over much dazle you, yea, and follow you even to your den. Together with other concupiscences, shake off that which commeth from the approbation of others. And touching your knowledge and sufficiencie, take you no care of them, they will lose no whit of their effect ; if your selfe be any thing the better for them. Remember but him, who being demanded to what purpose he toyed so much about an art, which could by no means come to the knowledge of many : " Few are enow for me ; one will suffice, yea, lesse than one will content me," answered he. He said true : you and another are a sufficient theatre one for another ; or you to your selfe alone. Let the people be one unto you, and one be all the people to you : It is a base ambition to goe about to draw glorie from ones idlenesse, and from ones lurking

¹ PROPERT. l. ii. *El. xxv.* :

² HOR. l. i. *Epist. iv.*

³ PERS. *Sat. v.* 155.

⁴ *Id. Sat. i.* 22.

hole. A man must doe as some wilde beasts, which at the entrance of their caves will have no manner of footing seene. You must no longer seeke what the world saith of you, but how you must speake unto your selfe: withdraw your selfe into your selfe; but first prepare your selfe to receive your selfe: it were folly to trust to your selfe if you cannot governe your selfe. A man may as well faile in solitariness as in companie, there are waies for it, untill such time as you have framed your selfe such that you dare not halt before your selfe, and that you shall be ashamed of and beare a kind of respect unto your selfe, *Obversentur species honestæ animo*:¹ "Let honest *Ideas* still represent themselves before your mind:"² Ever present Cato, Phocion, and Aristides unto your imagination, in whose presence even fooles would hide their faults, and establish them as controulers of all your intentions. If they be disordered and untuned, their reverence will order and tune them againe: they will containe you in a way to be contented with your selfe; to borrow nothing but from your selfe, to settle and stay your mind in assured and limited cogitations, wherein it may best please it selfe, and having gotten knowledge of true felicities, which according to the measure a man understands them, he shall accordingly enjoy, and with them rest satisfied, without wishing a further continuance either of life or name. Loe here the counsell of truly-pure and purely-true philosophie, not of a vaine-glorious, boasting, and prating philosophie, as is that of the two first.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

A consideration upon Cicero.

ONE word more in comparison of these two: There are gathered out of Ciceroes writings and from Plinies (in mine opinion little agreeing with his uncle) infinite testimonies of a nature beyond measure ambitious. Amongst others, that they openly solicit the Historians of their times not to forget them in their writings; and fortune, as it were in spight, hath made the vanitie of their request to continue even to our daies, and long since the histories were lost. But this exceedeth all hearts-basenesse in persons of that stampe, to have gone about to draw

some principall glorie from prating and speaking, even to imploy their private Epistles written to their friends; in such sort, as some missing the opportunitie to be sent, they notwithstanding cause them to be published, with this worthy excuse, that they would not lose their travell and lucubrations. Is it not a seemly thing in two Romane Consuls, chiefe magistrates of the common-wealth, Emperesse of the world, to spend their time in wittily devising and closely huddling up of a quaint missive or wittie epistle, thereby to attaine the reputation that they perfectly understand their mother tongue? What could a seely School-master, who gets his living by such trash, doe worse? If the acts of Xenophon, or of Cæsar, had not by much exceeded their eloquence, I cannot beleevce they would ever have written them. They have endeavored to recommend unto posterity, not their sayings, but their doings. And if the perfection of well-speaking might bring any glorie suitable unto a great personage, Scipio and Lelius would never have resigned the honour of their comedies, and the elegancies and smooth-sportfull conceits of the Latine tongue, unto an Affrican servant: For, to prove this labour to be theirs, the exquisite eloquence and excellent invention thereof doth sufficiently declare it; and Terence himselfe doth avouch it: And I could hardly be removed from this opinion. It is a kind of mockerie and injurie to raise a man to worth by qualities mis-seeming his place and unfitting his calling, although for some other respects praise-worthy; and also by qualities that ought not to be his principall object. As he that would commend a King to be a cunning Painter, or a skilfull architect, or an excellent Harquibuzier, or a never-missing runner at the Ring. These commendations acquire a man no honour, if they be not presented altogether with those that are proper and convenient unto him, that is to say, justice, and the skill to governe, and knowledge to direct his people both in peace and warre. In this sort doth Agriculture honour Cyrus, and Eloquence Charlemaine, together with his knowledge in good letters. I have in my time seen some who by writing did earnestly get both their titles and living, to disavow their apprentissage, mar their pen, and affect the ignorance of so vulgar a qualitie; and which our people holds to be seldome found amongst wise men, endeavouring to commend for better qualities. Demosthenes his companions in their ambassage to Philip, praised their Prince to be faire, eloquent, and a good quaffer. Demosthenes said, they were commendations rather fitting a

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* l. ii.² SEN. *Epist.* xi.

woman, an advocate, and a sponge, than a King.

*Imperet bellante prior, jacentem
Lenis in hostem.¹*

Better he rule, who mercifull will rue
His foe subdued, than he that can subdue.

It is not his profession to know either how to hunt cunningly or to dance nimbly.

*Orabunt causas alii, cælique meatus
Describent radio, et fulgentia sidera dicent;
Hic regere imperio populos sciat.²*

Others shall causes plead, describe the skies'
Motion by instrument, say how stars rise :
But let him know to rule (just, valliant, wise).

Plutarke saith, moreover, That to appear so absolutely excellent in these lesse-necessarie parts, is to produce a witness against himselfe, to have ill spent his houres and fondly bestowed his study, which might better have been employed to more behoovefull and profitable use. So that Philip, King of Macedon, having heard great Alexander, his sonne, sing at a feast and vie with the best musitians : " Art thou not ashamed (said he unto him) to sing so well?" And to the same Philip said a musitian, gainst whom he contended about his Art, " God forbid, my Sovereigne, that ever so much hurt should befall you, that you should understand these things better than my selfe." A King ought to be able to answer, as Iphicrates did the Orator who in his invective urged him in this manner : " And what art thou, thou shouldst so brave it? Art thou a man at Armes? Art thou an Archer? Art thou a Pike-man?" " I am none of all those, but I am he who command all those." And Antisthenes made it as an argument of little value in Ismenias, when some commended him to be an excellent Flutist. Well I wot, that when I heare some give themselves to dwell on the phrase of my Essayes, I would rather have them hold their peace : They doe not so much raise the words as deprese the sense ; so much the more sharply by how much more obliquely. Yet am I deceived if some others take not more hold on the matter ; and how well or ill soever, if any writer hath scattered the same, either more materiall, or at least thicker on his paper : That I may collect the more, I doe but huddle up the arguments or chiefe heads. Let me but adde what followes them, I shall daily increase this volume. And how many stories have I glanced at therein, that speake not a word, which whosoever shall unfold may from them draw infinite

Essayes? Nor they, nor my allegations doe ever serve simply for examples, authoritie, or ornament. I doe not only respect them for the use I draw from them. They often (beyond my purpose) produce the seed of a richer subject and bolder matter, and often, collaterally, a more harmonious tune, both for me, that will expresse no more in this place, and for them that shall hit upon my tune.

But returning to virtue. I find no great choice between him that can speake nothing but evill, and one that can talke nothing but to talke well. *Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas* :¹ " Finenesse is no great grace for a man." Wise men say, that in respect of knowledge, there is nothing but Philosophy, and in regard of effects, but Vertue ; which is generally fit for all degrees and for all orders. Something there is alike in these two other Philosophers ; for they also promise eternitie to the Epistles they write to their friends. But after another fashion, and to a good purpose, accommodating themselves to others vanitie : For they send them word, that if care to make themselves known unto future ages, and respect of renowne, doth yett retain them in the managing of affaires, and makes them feare solitarinesse and a retired life, to which they would call them, that they take no more paines for it : for as much as they have sufficient credit with posteritie, by answering them ; and were it but by the Epistles they write unto them, they will make their name as famous and as farre known, as all their publike actions might doe. Besides this difference, they are not frivolous, idle, and triviall Epistles, and only compact and held together with exquisite choise words, huddled-up and ranged to a just smoothe cadence, but stufft and full of notable sayings and wise sentences ; by which a man doth not only become more eloquent, but more wise, and that teach us not to say well, but to doe well. Pie on that cloquence which leaves us with a desire of it, and not of things ; unlesse a man will say that Ciceroes being so exceedingly perfect doth frame it selfe a body of perfection. I will further alleage a storie, which to this purpose we reade of him, to make us palpably feeble his naturall condition. He was to make an Oration in publike, and being urged betimes to prepare himselfe for it, Eros, one of his servants, came to tel him the Auditorio was deferred till the morrow next ; he was so glad of it, that for so good newes he gave him his libertie. Touching this sub-

¹ HOR. *Carm. Secul.* 37.

² VIRG. *Æn.* l. vi. 856.

¹ SEN. *Epist.* cxv.

ject of Epistles, thus much I will say: It is a worke wherein my friends are of opinion I can doe something; and should more willingly have undertaken to publish my gifts had I had who to speake unto. It had beene requisite (as I have had other times) to have had a certaine commerce to draw me on, to encourage me, and to uphold me. For, to goe about to catch the winde in a net, as others doe, I cannot; and it is but a dreame. I am a sworne enemie to all falsifications. I should have beene more attentive and more assured, having a friendly and strong direction, than to behold the divers images of a whole multitude: and I am deceived if it had not better succeeded with me. I have naturally a comical and familiar stile: But after a maner peculiar unto my self, inept to all publike Negotiations, answering my speech, which is altogether close, broken, and particular: I have no skill in ceremonious letters, which have no other substance but a faire contexture of complemental phrases and curteous words. I have no taste nor faculty of these tedious offers of service or affection. I believe not so much as is said, and am nothing pleased to say more than I believe. It is farre from that which is used nowadays: For, there was never so abject and servile a prostitution of presentations; life, soule, devotion, adoration, servant, slave; all these words are so generally used, that when they would expresse a more emphaticall intent and respective will, they have no meanes left them to expresse it. I deadly hate to heare a flatterer: which is the cause I naturally affect a pithy, signowic, drie, round, and harsh kind of speach; which of such as have no further acquaintance with me, is judged to incline to disdecine. I honor them most whom I sceme to regard least: And where my mind marcheth most cheerefully, I often forget the steps of gravitie: And I offer my selfe but faintly and rudely to those whose I am indeed, and present my selfe least to such as I have most given my selfe. Me thinkes they should read it in my heart, and that the expression of my words wrongeth my conception. To welcome, to take leave, to bid farewell, to give thanks, to salute, to present my service, and such verball complements of the ceremoniall lawes of our civillitie, I know no man so sottishly-barren of speeche as my selfe. And I was never employed to indite letters of favour or commendatorie, but he for whom they were, judged them drie, barren, and faint. The Italians are great Printers of Epistles, whereof I thinke I have a hundred severall volumes. I deeme those of Hanniball

Caro to be the best. If all the paper I have heretofore scribled for ladies were extant, at what time my hand was truly transported by my passion, a man should haply find some page worthy to be communicated unto idle and fond-doting youth, embabuinized with this furie. I ever write my letters in post-hast, and so rashly headlong, that howbeit I write intolerably ill, I had rather write with mine owne hand than employ another: for I finde none that can follow me, and I never copy them over againe. I have accustomed those great persons that know me to endure blots, blurs, dashes, and botches, in my letters, and a sheete without folding or margine. Those that cost me either most labour or studie are they that are least worth. When I once begin to traile them, it is a signe my mind is not upon them. I commonly begin without project: the first word begets the second. Our moderne letters are more fraught with borders and prefaces than with matters, as I had rather write two than fold and make up one, which charge I commonly resigne to others: So likewise when the matter is ended, I would willingly give another the charge to adde these long orations, offers, prayers, and imprecations, which we place at the end of them, and wish hartly some new fashion would discharge us of them. As also to superscribe them with a legend of qualities, titles, and callings, wherein, lest I might have tripped, I have often times omitted writing, especially to men of Justice, Lawyers, and Financiers. So many innovations of offices, so difficult a dispensation and ordinance of divers names and titles of honour, which being so dearly bought, can neither be exchanged or forgotten without offence. I likewise find it gracelesse and idly-fond to charge the front and inscription of the many bookes and pamphlets which we daily cause to be imprinted with them.

CHAPTER XL.

That the taste of Goods or Evils doth greatly depend on the opinion we have of them.

MEN (saith an ancient Greeke sentence) are tormented by the opinions they have of things, and not by things themselves. It were a great conquest for the case of our miserable humane condition, if any man could establish every where this true proposition. For if evils have no

entrance into us but by our judgement, it seemeth that it lieth in our power either to contemne or turne them to our good. If things yeeld themselves unto our mercie, why should we not have the fruition of them, or apply them to our advantage? If that which we call evill and torment, be neither torment nor evill, but that our fancie only gives it that qualitie, it is in us to change it: and having the choice of it, if none compell us, we are very fooles to bandy for that partie which is irkesome unto us: and to give infirmities, indigence, and contempt, a sharpe and ill taste, if we may give them a good: And if fortune simply afford us the matter, it lieth in us to give it the forme. Now that that which we terme evill is not so of it selfe, or at least such as it is that it depends of us to give it another taste and another countenance (for all comes to one), let us see whether it can be maintained. If the original being of those things we feare, had the credit of its owne authoritie to lodge it selfe in us, alike and semblable would it lodge in all: For men be all of one kind, and except the most or least, they are furnished with like meanes to judge and instruments to conceive. But the diversitie of opinions which we have of those things, doth evidently shew that but by composition they never enter into us. Some one peradventure doth lodge them in himselfe, as they are in essence, but a thousand others give them a new being, and a contrarie. We accompt of death, of povertie, and of sorrow, as of our chiefest parts. Now death, which some of all horrible things call the most horrible, who knows not how others call it the only haven of this lives torments? the soveraigne good of nature? the only staie of our libertie? and the readie and common receipt of our evils? And as some doe, fearefully-trembling and senselessly-affrighted, expect her comming, others endure it more easily than life: And one complaineth of her facilitie:

*Mors utinam pavidos vitæ subducere nolles,
Sed virtus te sola daret!*¹

O death! I would thou would'st let cowards live,
That resoly'd valour might thee only give!

But let us leave these glorious minds: Theodorus answered Lysimachus, who threatened to kill him: "Thou shalt doe a great exploit to come to the strength of a Cantharides." The greatest number of Philosophers are found to have either by designe prevented, or hastned and furthered their deaths. How many popular persons

are seene brought unto death, and not to a simple death, but entermixt with shame and sometimes with grievous torments, to embrace it with such an undaunted assurance, some through stubborne wilfulness, other some through a naturall simplicitie, in whom is nothing seene changed from their ordinarie condition; setting their domestical affaires, recommending themselves unto their friends, preaching, singing, and entertaining the people: yea, and sometimes uttering words of jesting and laughter, and drinking to their acquaintance, as well as Socrates? One who was led to the gallows, desired it might not be thorow such a street, for feare a Merchant should set a Serjant on his backe for an old debt. Another wished the hang-man not to touch his throat, lest hee should make him swowe with laughing, because hee was so ticklish. Another answered his confessor, who promised him he should sup that night with our Saviour in heaven, "Go thither yourselfe to supper, for I use to fast a nights." Another upon the gibbet calling for drinke, and the hang-man drinking first, said hee would not drinke after him, for feare hee should take the pox of him. Everie man hath heard the tale of the Piccard, who being upon the ladder readie to be thrown downe, there was a wench presented unto him, with this offer (as in some cases our law doth sometimes tolerate) that if hee would marrie her, his life should be saved, who after he had a while beheld her, and perceiving that she halted, said hastily, "Away, away, good hang-man, make an end of thy business, she limps." The like is reported of a man in Denmarke, who being adjudged to have his head cut off, and being upon the scaffold, had the like condition offered him, but refused it, because the wench offered him was jaw-falne, long cheekt, and sharpe-nosed. A young lad at Tholous, being accused of heresie in all points touching his beleefe, referred himselfe wholly to his Masters faith (a young skollar that was in prison with him), and rather chose to die than hee would be perswaded his Master could erre. We read of those of the Towne of Arras, at what time King Lewis the eleventh tooke it, that amongst the common people many were found who rather than they would say "God save the King," suffered themselves to be hanged. And of those base-minded jesters or buffons, some have beene seene, that even at the point of death would never leave their jesting and scoffing. He whom the heads-man threw off from the Gallows cried out, "Row the Gally," which was his ordinarie by-word. Another, who being at

his last gaspe, his friends had lain him upon a pallet amongst the fire-side, there to breathe his last, the Physitian demanding where his griefe pained him? answered, "Betweene the bench and the fire." And the Priest to give him the last unction, seeking for his feet, which by reason of his sicknesse were shrunken up, he told him, "My good friend you shal find them at my legges ends, if you looke well." To another that exhorted him to recommend himselfe to God, he asked, "Who is going to him?" And the fellow answering, "Yourselfe shortly:" "If it be his good pleasure, I would to God it might be to morrow night," replied he. "Recommend but your selfe to him," said the other, "and you shall quickly be there." "It is best then," answered he, "that my selfe carry mine owne commendations to him." In the kingdome of Narsinga, even at this day their Priests wives are buried alive with the bodies of their dead husbands. All other wives are burnt at their husbands funerals, not only constantly, but cheerfully. When their King dieth, his wives, his concubines, his minions, together with all his officers and servants, which make a whole people, present themselves so merrily under the fire wherein his body is burnt, that they manifestly seeme to esteeme it as a great honour to accompanie their deceased master to his ashes. During our last warres of Millaine, and so many takings, losses, miseries, and calamities of that Citie, the people, impatient of so many changes of fortune, took such a resolution unto death, that I have heard my father say he kept accompt of five and twentie chiefe householders that in one weeke made themselves away: An accident which hath some affinity with that of the Xanthians, who being besieged by Brutus, did pell-mell headlong, men, women, and children, precipitate them selves into so furious a desire of death, that nothing can be performed to avoid death which these did not accomplish to avoid life: So that Brutus had much ado to save a verie small number of them. Every opinion is of sufficient power to take hold of a man in respect of life. The first article of that courageous oath which the cuntry of Greece did sweare and keepe in the Median warre, was that every particular man should rather change his life unto death, than the Persian lawes for theirs. What a world of people are daily seene in the Turkish warres, and the Græcians, more willing to embrace a sharpe, a bitter, and violent death, than to be uncircumcized and baptized? An example whereof no religion is incapable. The Kings of Castile having banished the Jewes out of their cuntry,

King John of Portugall, for eight crownes a man, sold them a retraits in his dominion for a certaine time, upon condition (the time expired) they should avoid, and he find them ships to transport them into Affrike. The day of their departure come, which past, it was expressed that such as had not obeyed should for ever remain bond-slaves, ships were provided them, but very scarce and sparingly: And those which were embarked were so rudely, churlishly, and villainously used by the passengers and mariners, who besides infinite other indignities, loitred so long on the seas, now forward, now backward, that in the end they had consumed all their victuals, and were forced, if they would keepe themselves alive, to purchase some of them, at so excessive a rate and so long, that they were never set ashore till they had brought them so bare that they had nothing left them but their shirts. The newes of this barbarous inhumanitie being reported to those that were yet on land, most of them resolved to yeeld and continue bond-slaves: whereof some made a semblance to change their religion. Emanuel that immediately succeeded Iohn, being come to the Crowne, first set them at libertie, then changing his minde, commanded them to depart out of his dominions, and for their passage assigned them three ports. He hoped, as Bishop Osorius reporteth (a Latine historian of our ages, not to be despised), that the favor of the libertie to which he had restored them, having failed to convert them unto Christianitie, the difficultie to commit themselves unto marriners and pyrates robberies, to leave a COUNTRY where they were settled with great riches, for to goe seeke unknown and strange regions, would bring them into Portugall againe. But seeing all his hopes frustrate, and that they purposed to passe away, hee cut off two of the three ports he had promised them, that so the tedious distance and incommodie of the passage might retaine some, or rather that he might have the meane to assemble them altogether in one place, for a fitter opportunitie of the execution he intended, which was this. Hee appointed that all their children under fourteene yeares of age, should be taken from out the hands of their parents, and removed from their sight and conversation, to some place where they might be brought up and instructed in our religion. He saith that this effect caused an horrible spectacle: the naturall affection betwene the fathers and the children, moreover the zeale unto their ancient faith, striving against this violent ordinance. Divers

fathers and mothers were ordinarily seene to kill themselves, and with a more cruell example, through compassion and love, to throw their young children into pitts and wells, thereby to shun the Law. The terme which he had prefixed them being expired, for want of other meanes they yielded unto thralldome. Some became Christians, from whose faith and race, even at this day (for it is an hundred yeares since) few Portugalls assure themselves; although custome and length of time be much more forcible counsellors unto such mutations than any other compulsion. In the towne of Castelnaw Darry, more than fifty Albigeois, all heretikes, at one time, with a determined courage, suffred themselves to be burned alive, all in one same fire, before they would recant and disavow their opinions. *Quoties non modo ductores nostri sed universi etiam exercitus ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt?*¹ "How often have not only our Leaders (saith Tully), but also our whole armies, run roundly together to an undoubted death?" I have seene one of my familiar friends runne furiously on death, with such and so deeply in his heart rooted affection, by divers visages of discourse, which I could never suppress in him, and to the first that offered it selfe masked with a lustre of honour, without apprehending any sharpe or violent end, therein to precipitate himselfe. We have many examples in our daies, yea in very children, of such as for feare of some slight incommoditie have yielded unto death. And to this purpose, saith an ancient Writer, what shall we not feare, if we feare that which cowardice it selfe hath chosen for her retrait? Heere to huddle up a long bead-rowle of those of all sexes, conditions, sects, in most happy ages, which either have expected death most constantly, or sought for it voluntarily, and not only sought to avoid the evils of this life, but some, only to shun the satiety of living any longer: and some, for the hope of a better condition elsewhere, I should never have done. The number is so infinite, that verily it would be an easier matter for me to reckon up those that have feared the same. Only this more. Pirro the Philosopher, finding himselfe upon a very tempestuous day in a boat, shewed them whom he perceived to be most affrighted through feare, and encouraged them by the example of an hog that was amongst them, and seemed to take no care at all for the storme: Shall wee then dare to say that the advantage of reason, whereat we seeme

so much to rejoyce, and for whose respect we account our selves Lords and Emperours of all other creatures, hath beene infused into us for our torment? What availeth the knowledge of things, if through them we become more demisse? If thereby wee lose the rest and tranquillitie wherein we should be without them? and if it makes us of worse condition than was Pirrhos hog? Shall we employ the intelligence Heaven hath bestowed upon us for our greatest good, to our ruine? repugning natures desseign and the universal order and vicissitude of things, which implieth that every man should use his instruments and meanes for his owne commoditie? Wel (will some tell me) let your rule fit you against death, but what will you say of indigence and necessitie? what will you also say of mindegrieving sorrow, which Aristippus, Hieronymus, and most of the wisest have judged the last evil? and those which denied the same in words confessed the same in effect? Possidonius being extremely tormented with a sharpe and painfull sicknesse, Pompey came to see him, and excused himselfe he had chosen so unfit an houre to heare him discourse of Philosophy: "God forbid (answered Possidonius) that ever paine should so farre usurpe upon me as to hinder me from discoursing of so worthy a subject. And thereupon began to speake of the contempt of paine. But there whilst she played her part, and uncessantly pinched and urged him, gainst whom hee exclaimed: "Paine doe what thou list, I shall never be drawne to say that thou art an evil." That saying, which they would make of such consequence, what doth it inferre against the contempt of paine? it contends but for the word. And if the pangs thereof move him not therewith, why breakes he off his discourse for it? Why thinks he to worke a great exploit, not to call it an evil? All doth not consist in imagination. Heere we judge of the rest. It is assured learning that here doth play her part, our owne senses are judges of it.

*Qui nisi sunt veri; ratio quoque falsa sit omnis.*¹

Which senses if they be not true,
All reason's false, it must easue.

Shall we make our skin beleewe the stripes of a whip doe tickle it? and perswade our taste that Aloes be wine of Graves? Pirrhos hog is here in our predicament. He is nothing danted at death, but if you beat him he will grunt, crie, and torment himselfe. Shall wee force the general law of nature, which in all living

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu. l. i.*

¹ LUCAN. l. iv. 487.

creatures under heaven is seene to tremble at paine? The very trees seeme to groane at offences. Death is but felt by discourse, because it is the motion of an instant.

Aut fuit, aut veniet, nihil est presentis in illa
Death hath come, or it will not misse;
But in it nothing present is.

*Morsque minus pœna, quàm mora mortis habet.*¹
Deaths pain's lesse, roundly acted,
Than when death is protracted.

A thousand beasts, a thousand men, are sooner dead than threatned. Besides, what wee principally call feare in death, it is paine, her customarie fore-runner. Neverthelesse if we must give credit to an ancient father, *Malam mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem.* "Nothing but what follows death makes death to be evill." And I might more truly say, that neither that which goeth before, nor that which commeth after, is no appurtenance of death, we falsely excuse our selves. And I find by experience that it is rather the impatience of the imagination of death that makes us impatient of the paine, and that we feele it two-fold grievous, forasmuch as it threatens us to die. But reason accusing our weaknesse, to feare so sudden a thing, so unavoidable, so insensible; we take this other more excusable pretence. All evils that have no other danger but of the evill, we count them dangerlesse. The tooth-ach, the paine of the govt, how grievous soever, because they kill not, who reckoneth them in the number of maladies? Well, suppose that in death wee especially regard the pain: As also povertie hath nothing to be feared for but what she casteth upon us through famine, thirst, cold, heat, and other miseries, it makes us feele and endure. So have we nothing to doe but with paine. I will willingly grant them that it is the worst accident of our being. For I am the man that hate and shun it as much as possible may be; because hitherto (thanks be unto God) I have no commerce or dealing with her: But it is in our power, if not to dissanull, at least to diminish the same, through patience: and though the body should be moved thereto, yet to keepe the minde and reason in good temper. And if it were not so, who then hath brought vertue, valour, force, magnanimitie, and resolution into credit? Where shall they play their part if there be no more paine defied? *Avida est periculi virtus:* "Vertue is desirous of danger," If a man must not

lie on the hard ground, armed at all assaies, to endure the heat of the scorching Sunne, to feed hungrily upon a horse or an asse, to see himselfe mangled and cut in peeces, to have a bullet pluckt out of his bones, to suffer incisions, his flesh to be stitche up, cauterized, and searched, all incident to a martiall man; how shall we purchase the advantage and preheminence which we so greedily seek after, over the vulgar sort? It is far from avoiding the evill and paines of it, as wise men say, that of actions equally good, one should most be wished to be done wherein is most paine and griefe. *Non enim hilaritate nec lascivia, nec risu aut joco comite levitatis, sed sæpe etiam tristes firmitate et constantia sunt beati:*² "For men are not happy by mirthfulness, or wantonnesse, or laughing, or jesting, which is the companion of lightnesse; but often, even those that are sorrowfull, through their strong heart and constancie." And therefore was it impossible to perswade our fathers that conquests achieved by maine force, in the hazard of warre, were not more available and advantageous than those obtained in all securitie by practices and stratagems.

*Latius est, quoties magno sibi constat honestum.*³
Honesty makes chiefeest cheare
When it doth cost it selfe most deare.

Moreover, this ought to comfort us, that naturally, if paine be violent, it is also short; if long, it is easie: *Si gravis, brevis; si longus, levis.*⁴ "If it be grievous, it is short; if it be long, it is light." Thou shalt not feele it over long; if thou feele it over much, it will either end it selfe or end thee: All comes to one: If thou beare not it, it will beare thee away. *Memineris maximum morte finiri, parvos multa habere intervalla requietis; mediocrium nos esse dominos: ut si tolerabiles sint feramus; sin minus, e vita, quum ea non placeat, tanquam a theatro evexamus:* "Remember the greatest are ended with death, the lesser have many pauses of rest; we are masters of the meane ones: so as if they be tolerable, we may beare them; if not, we may make an exit from our life, which doth not please, as from a stage." That which makes us endure paine with such impatience is, that we are not accustomed to take our chiefe contentment in the soule, and that we doe not sufficiently rely on her, who is the only and soveraigne mistress of our condition. The body hath (except the least or most) but one

¹ OVID. *Epist. Ariad.* 82.

² SEN. *Quar. l'on.* cap. iv.

³ CIC. *De Fin.* l. ii.

⁴ CIC. *De Fin.* l. ii.

⁵ LUCAN. l. ix. 404.

⁶ *Ib.* l. i.

course, and one byase. The soule is variable in all manner of formes, and rangeth to her selfe, and to her estate, whatsoever it be, the senses of the body, and all other accidents. Therefore must she be studied, enquired and sought after: and her powerful springs and wards should be rowzed up. There is neither reason, nor prescription, nor force can avale against her inclination and choice. Of so infinit byases that she hath in her disposition, let us allow her one suitable and fit to our rest and preservation: Then shall we not only be sheltered from all offence, but if it please her, also gratified and flattered of all grievances and evils. She indifferently makes profit of all, even errors and dreames, doe profitably bestead her, as a loyall matter, to bring us unto safety and contentment. It may easily be seen, that the point of our spirit is that which sharpeneth both paine and pleasure in us. Beasts wanting the same leave their free and naturall senses unto their bodies: and by consequence, single well-nigh in every kind, as they shew by the semblable application of their movings. If in our members we did not trouble the jurisdiction which in that belongs unto them, it may be thought we should be the better for it, and that nature hath given them a just and moderate temperature toward pleasure and toward paine; And it cannot chuse but be good and just, being equall and common. But since we have freed and alienated our selves from her rules, to abandon ourselves unto the vagabond libertie of our fantasies, let us at least help to bend them to the most agreeing side. Plato feareth our sharp engaging unto paine and voluptuousnesse, forsomuch as he over-strictly tieth and bindeth the soule unto the body: I am rather opposit unto him, because it is sundred and loosed from it. Even as an enimie becometh more furious when we flie from him, so doth paine grow more proud if it see us tremble under it. It will stoope and yield upon better compositions to him that shall make head against it. A man must oppose and bandy against it. In recoyling and giving ground, we call and draw on the ruine threatening us. Even as the body is more steady and strong to a charge if it stand stiffly to it, so is the soule. But let us come to examples properly belonging unto weak-backt men, as I am, where we shall find that it is with paine as with stones, which take either a higher or deeper colour according to the soyle that is laid under them, and holdeth no other place in us than we give it. *Tantum doluerunt, quantum doloribus se inscruerunt:*¹

"So much they grieved, as they interested themselves in griefes." We feelee a dash of a chirurgions razor more than ten blows with a sword in the heat of fight. The painefull throwes of childbearing, deemed both by Physitians and by the word of God to be verie great, and which our women passe with so many ceremonies, there are whole Nations that make no reckoning of them. I omit to speake of the Lacedemonian women; but come we to the Swizzers of our Infanterie, what change doe you perceive in them? But that trudging and trotting after their husbands, to day you see them carrie the child about their necke which but yesterday they bare in their wombe. And those counterfeit roguing Gyptians, whereof so many are daily scene amongst us, doe they not wash their children so soone as they are borne, and in the next river that comes to hand? Besides so many harlots, which daily steale their children in the delivery as in the conception. The beauteous and noble Lady of Sabinus, a Roman Patritian, for the interest of others, did alone, without any bodies helpe or assistance, and without noise or groning, endure the bearing and deliverie of two twins. A simple lad of Lacedemon, having stolne a fox (for they more feared the shame of their foolishnesse in stealing than we feare the paine or punishment of mis-deeds) and hiding the same under his cloake, endured rather to have his guts gnawne out by her, than to discover himselfe. Another, while offering incense at a sacrifice, suffered his flesh to burne to the bone by a coale salne into his sleeve, rather than he would trouble that sacred mysterie. And a great number have bene scene, for the only essay of vertue, following their institution, that at the age of seven years, without so much as changing their countenance, have indured to be whipped to death. And Cicero hath scene whole troupes to beat one another so long with their fists, with their feet, and with their teeth, till they have fainted and fallen downe halfe dead, before ever they would confesse to be overcome. *Nunquam naturam mos vinceret, est enim ea semper invicta: sed nos umbris, delitiis, otio, languore, desidia, animum inficimus: opinionibus maloque more delinitum molivimus:* "Customs should never overcome nature, for she is still invincible: but we have infected our minde with shadowes, daintinesse, idlenesse, faint-heartednesse, slothfulnessse, and have effeminated it, inveagled with opinions and evil customes." Every man knows the story of Scævola, who

¹ AUGUSTIN. *De Civ. Dei.* l. i. cap. 10.¹ CIC. *Tusc. Qu.* l. iii.

being entred the enemies campe, with a full resolution to kill their Chieftaine, and having missed of his purpose, to checke his effect with a stranger invention, and to cleare his country, confessed unto Porsenna (who was the King he intended to kill) not only his desaigne, but added, moreover, that in his campe there were a great many Romanes, who had undertaken and sworne the verie same enterprise, and were confederates with him. And to make shew of his dread-lesse magnanimitie, having caused a pan of burning coales to be brought, he saw and suffred his right arm (in penance that it had not effected his project) to be parched and well-nigh roasted-off: untill such time as his enemy himselfe, feeling a kind of remorsefull horror, commanded the fire to be carried away. What shall we say of him that would not vouchsafe to leave, or so much as to interrupt the reading of his booke, whilst he had an incision made into him? And of him who resolved to skoffe and laugh, even in spight and contempt of the tortures which were inflicted upon him, so that the raging crueltie of the hangmen that held him, and all the inventions of torments that could be devised, being redoubled upon him, one in the necke of another, gave him over? But he was a Philosopher. What of one of Cæsars gladiators, who with a cheerefull and smiling countenance endured his wounds to be slit and sounded? *Quis mediocris gladiator ingenui? Quis cultum mutavit unquam? Quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter? Quis cum decubisset, ferrum recipere jussus, colulum contraxit.*¹ "What meane Fencer hath once groned? Which of them hath once changed his countenance? Which of them not only hath stood up, but even falne with shame? Which of them when he was downe, and was willing to take his death, did once shrinke in his necke?" But let us joyne some women unto them. Who hath not heard of her at l'aris, which only to get a fresher hew of a new skin, endured to have her face flead all over? There are some, who being sound and in perfitt health, have had some teeth puld-out, thereby to frame a daintier and more pleasing voyce, or to set them in better order. How many examples of contempt of paine or smart have we of that kind and sex? What can they not doe? What will they not doe? What feare they to doe? So they may but hope for some amendment of their beautie?

*Vellere quis cura est albos à stirpe capillos,
Et faciem dempta pelle referre novam.*²

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* l. ii.

² TIBUL. l. i. *EL.* viii. 43.

Who take great care to root out their gray haire, And skin flead-off a new face to repaire.

I have seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coales, dust, tallow, candles, and for the nonce labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, only to get a pale-bleake colour. To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what girding, what cingling will they not indure? Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whale-bones, and other such trash, that their very skin and quicke flesh is eaten in and consumed to the bones; whereby they sometimes worke their owne death. It is common to divers nations of our times, to hurt and gash themselves in good earnest, to give credit to their words. And our King reporteth sundrie examples of what himselfe saw in Polonia, and towards himselfe. But besides what I know to have by some beene imitated in France; when I came from the famous Parliament of Blois, I had a little before seene a wench in Picardie to witnes the vehemencie of her promises, and also her constancie, with the bodkin she wore in her haire to give her selfe foure or five thrusts in her arme, which made her skin to crack and gush out bloud. The Turkes are wont to wound and scarre themselves for their Ladies sakes, and that the marke may the better appeare, and continue the longer, they will presently lay fire upon their cuttes; and to stanch the bloud, and better to forme the cicatrice, they will keepe it on an incredible while. Honest men that have seene it, have written the same, and sworne it unto me. And for ten Aspers you shall daily finde some amongst them that will give themselves a deepe gash with a Scimitarie, either in their armes or thighes. I am very glad witnesses are so ready at hand where we have most need of them: For Christendome affordeth many. And after the example of our holy guide, there have beene divers who for devotion would needs beare the crosse. We learne by a worthy testimonie of religion, that Saint Lewes the King wore a haire-shirt, untill such time as he was so aged that his confessor gave him a dispensation for it; and that every Friday he caused his priests to beat his shoulders with five little yron-chaines, which to that purpose were ever caried with his nightgare. William our last Duke of Guienne, father to that Eleonore who transferred that Dutchy unto the houses of France and England, the last ten or twelve yeares of his life, for penance-sake, wore continually a corselet under a religious habit. Foulkes Earle of Aniou went to Jerusalem, there with a rope about his necke to be whipped by two of his

servants, before our Saviours sepulchre. Doe we not upon every Good-Friday, in sundrie places, see a great number of men and women scourge and beat themselves so long, till they bruse and teare their flesh, even to the bones? I have often seene it my selfe, and that without enchantment; And some say (for they are masked) there were some amongst them, who for monie would undertake thereby to warrant other mens religion, by a contempt of smart-full paine, so much the greater by how much the stings of devotion are of more force than those of covetousnes. Q. Maximus buried his son who had bene Consul; Marcus Cato his, being elected Pretor; and L. Paulus both his, within few daies, with so cheerefull and settled a countenance, and without any shew of sorrow. I have sometimes by way of jesting told one that he had confronted divine justice: For, the violent death of three tall children of his, cumming unto his eares all upon one day, and sent him, as it may be imagined, as a great scourge: he was so farre from mourning, that he rather tooke it as a favour and singular gratification at Gods hand. I doe not follow these monstrous humours. Yet have I lost two or three my selfe, whilst they were young and at nurce, if not without apprehension of sorrow, yet without continuance of griefe. And "there is no accident woundeth men deeper, or goeth so neere the heart as the losse of children." I see divers other common occasions of affliction which, were I assailed by them, I should scarcely feelee. And I have contemned and neglected some, when it hath pleased God to visit me with them, on which the world setteth so ugly and balefull a countenance, that I hardly dare boast of them without blushing. *Ex quo intelligitur, non in natura, sed in opinione esse agretudinem*.¹ "Whereby it is understood that griefe consisteth not in nature, but opinion." Opinion is a powerful, bould, and unmeasurable party. Who doth ever so greedily search after rest-full ease and quietnes as Alexander and Cæsar have done after difficulties and unquietnesse? Terez, the father of Sitalce, was wont to say, that when he had no warres, hee thought there was no difference betweene him and his horse-keeper. Cato the Consul, to assure himselfe of certaine townes in Spaine, having only interdicted some of their inhabitants to wear armes, many of them killed themselves: *Ferox gens nullam vitam rati sine armis esse*.² "A fierce kinde of people, that thought there was no life with-

out armes." How many know wee who have abandoned and forsaken the pleasure of an ease-full and quiet life in their houses, and to live with their friends and acquaintance, to follow the toying-horror of unfrequented deserts, and that yielded and cast themselves unto the abjectnesse, contempt and vilifying of the world, wherwith they have so pleased themselves, as nothing more; Cardinall Boromeus, who died lately at Milane, in the midst of the pleasures and debawches to which his nobilitie, and the great riches he possessed enticed him, and the ayre of Italy afforded him, and his youth allured him, did ever keep himselfe in so an austere forme of life, that the same gowne which served him in summer he wore in winter. He never lay but upon straw; the houres which he might conveniently spare from his charge, he bestowed in continual study, ever kneeling, and having a smal quantitie of bread and water by his bookes side, which was all the provision for his repast, and time he employed in study. I know some who wittingly have drawne both profit and preferment from cuckoldrie, the only name whereof is so yrkesome and bail-ful to so many men. If sight be not the most necessarie of our senses, at least is it the most pleasing: the most plausible and profitable of our members, seeme those that serve to beget us: notwithstanding divers have mortally hated them, only because they were over much amiable, and for their worths-sake have rejected them. So thought he of his cies, that voluntarily put them out. The most common and soundest part of men holdeth multitude of children to be a signe of great happinesse and comfort; So do I, and many others, the want of them. And when Thales was demanded wherefore he did not marrie, he answered, because he would leave no issue or line of himselfe behinde him. That our opinion endeareth and increaseth the price of things, it is seene in a great number of them, which we do not regard to esteeme them, but for our use. As we neither consider their qualities nor utilities, but only our cost to recover and attaine them; as if it were a part of their substance; and we call that worth in them, not what they bring us, but what we bring to them. According as it weigheth and is of consequence, so it serveth. Whereupon I perceive we are thrifitie husbands of what we lay out. Our opinion never suffers it to run a false gallop. "The price giveth a Diamond his title, difficultie to vertue, paine unto devotion, and sharpnesse unto physicke." Such a one to come unto povertie, cast those fewe crownes he had into the

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* l. iii. ² Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 17.

same sea, wherein so many others, with such carke, danger, and care, on all parts seeke to fish for riches. Epicurus saith, that "to be rich is no ease, but a change of affaires." Verily, it is not want, but rather plentie that causeth avarice. I will speake of mine owne experience concerning this subject. I have lived in three kinds of condition since I came out of my infancie. The first time, which continued well-nigh twentie yeares, I have past it over as one who had no other means but casual, and depending from the direction and helpe of others, without any certaine maintenance or regular prescription. My expences were so much the more carelessly layed out and lavishly employed, by how much more they wholly depended on fortunes rashnesse and exhibition. I never lived so well at ease: my fortune was never to finde my friends purse shut: besides which, I was to frame my selfe to all necessities: the care I tooke to pay every man at his prefixed day, which a thousand times they have prolonged, seeing the care I tooke to satisfie them. So that I had gotten unto my selfe the credit of a thrifte kind of good husbandrie, though it were something shifting and deceitful. I do naturally feele a kind of pleasing contentment in paying of my debts, as if I rid my selfe of a burthenous weight, and free my selfe from the yooke of bondage and ingratitude. Besides, me thinks I feele a kinde of delight that tickleth me to the quick, in performing a lawfully just action, and contenting of others. I except payments that require delays, covenants, and after reckonings: for, if I finde any body that will undertake them, I blushingely and injuriously deferre them as long as I can, for feare of that altercation or wrangling to which my humor and manner of speech is altogether incompatible. There is nothing I hate more than driving of bargaines: It is a meere commerce of dodging and impudencing. After an houres debating and paltring, both parties will goe from their words and oaths for the getting or saving of a shilling: yet did I borrow with great disadvantage. For, having no heart to borrow before others, or by word of mouth, I would adventure it upon a peece of paper, which with some hath no great power to move or force to perswade, and which greatly helps to refuse, I was wont to commit the successe of my wants more freely and more carelessly unto fortune than I have done since unto my wit and providence. Most good husbands thinke it strange and horrible to live on such uncertainties, but they remember not that most men in the world live so. How many good and well-borne men have

heretofore, and are daily seene to neglect and leave at six and seven their patrimonies and certaine goods, to follow and seeke after court-holy water and wavering-favours of Princes and of fortune; Cæsar engaged and ended himselfe above a million of gold more than he was worth to become Cæsar. And how many merchants and poore beginners set up and begin their traffike by the sale of their farmes or cottages which they ventur to the Indias?

Tot per impotentia freta; 1

In so great scarcitie of devotion we have thousands of Colleges, which passe the time very conveniently, daily gaping and expecting from the liberalitie of the heavens what they must dine withall to morrow. Secondly, they consider not that this certaintie on which they ground themselves, is not much lesse uncertaine and hazardous than hazard it selfe. I see miserie as neere beyond two thousand crownes rent, as if it were hard at hand. For, besides that fortune hath many many meanes to open a hundred gaps for povertie to enter at, even through the thickest of our riches, and that often there is no meane betweene the highest and lowest fortune.

Fortuna vitrea est: tum, quum splendet, frangitur. 2

Fortune is glasse-like, brittle as 'tis bright: light-gon, light-broken, when it lends best light.

And to turne all our defences and raisings of high walls topsie-turvie: I find that want and necessitie is by diverse or different causes, as ordinarily seene to accompanie and follow those that are rich in goods, as those that have none at all: and that peradventure it is somewhat lesse incommodious when it is alone, than when it meeteth with riches: They rather come from order than from receipt: *Faber est suæ quisque fortuna: 3* "Every man is the forger of his owne fortune." And methinkes that a rich man who is needy, full of businesse, carke and toyle, and troubled in minde, is more miserable than he that is simply poore. *In divitiis inopes quod genus egestatis gravissimum est: 4* "In their abundance indigent, which is the most grievous kinde of indigence." The richest and greatest princes are ordinarily urged by povertie and need unto extreme necessities. For, can any be more extreme than thereby to become Tyrants, and unjust usurpers of their subiects goods. My second manner of life

¹ CATUL. *Epic.* iv. 18. ² PUBLIUS SYRUS.

³ SALLUST. *Orat.* i. ad Cat.

⁴ SEN. *Epiet.* lxxiv.

hath beene to have monie : which when I had once fingred, according to my condition I sought to hoord up some against a rainie day ; esteeming that it was no having unlesse a man had ever somewhat besides his ordinarie expenses in possession : and that a man should not trust that good which he must live in hope to receive ; and that, be his hopes never so likely, hee may many wayes be prevented. For, I would say unto my selfe ; what if I should be surprised by this chance or that accident ? What should I doe then ? And in pursuit of these vaine and vicious imaginations, I endeavour by hooke or crooke, and by wile or wit, to provide by this superfluous sparing for all inconveniences that might happen : And I could answer him that would allage the number of inconveniences to be over infinit ; which if they followed not all men, they accompanied some, and haply the greatest number. An apprehension which I did not passe without some painfull care. I kept the matter secret, and I (that dare say so much of myself) would never speake of my money but falsely ; as others doe, who being rich, would seeme to be poore, or being poore, would appeare rich : and dispense with their conscience, never to witnesse sincerely what they are worth. Oh ridiculous and shamefull prudence. Did I travell any where ? me thought I was never sufficiently provided ; and the more I had laden my selfe with coine, the more I had also burdened my selfe with feare : sometimes of my wayes-safetie, othertimes of their trust that had the charge of my sumpters and baggage, whereof as some others that I know, me thought I was never thoroughly assured, except it were still in my sight. Left I my keyes or my purse behind me ? how many suspitions and thornie imaginations, and which is worse, incommunicable, did uncessantly haunt me ? My mind was ever on my halfe-penny ; my thoughts ever that way. The summe being rightly cast, there is ever more paine in keeping than in getting of monie. If I did not altogether so much as I say, I at the least endeavoured to doe it. Of commodities I had little or nothing. To have more meanes of expences, is ever to have increase of sorrow. For (as said Bion) "The hairie man doth grieve as much as the bald, if he have his haire pulled out." And after you are once accustomed, and have fixed your thoughts upon a heape of monie, it is no longer at your service ; you dare not diminish it ; it is a building which, if you touch or take any part from it, you will thinke it will all fall. Necessitie must first pinch you by the throat, and touch you

neere, before you will lay hands on it. And I should sooner pawne my clothes, or sell my horse, with lesse care and compulsion, than make a breach into that beloved purse which I kept in store. But the danger was that a man can hardly prefix any certaine limits unto his desire (they are hard to be found in things a man deemeth good) and continue at one stay in sparing : A man shall ever encrease this heape, and augment it from one number to another ; yea so long till he basely and niggardly deprive himselfe of the enjoying of his owne goods, and wholly fix on the safe keeping of them, and never use them. According to this kinde of usage, those are the richest people of the world that have the charge of keeping the gates and walles of a rich Citie. Every monied man is covetous, according to mine opinion. Plato marshalleth this humane or corporall goods ; health, beautie, strength, riches : And riches (saith he) are not blind, but cleere-seeing, if they be illuminated by wisdom. Dionysius the younger plaid a notable part ; who being advertised that one of his Siracusans had hidden a certaine treasure under the ground, commanded him to bring it unto him, which he did, reserving secretly one part of it unto himselfe, with which he removed his dwelling unto another Citie, where having lost the humor of hoarding up of treasure, began to live a spending and riotous kinde of life : which Dionysius hearing, commanded the remainder of his treasure, and which he had taken from him, to be restored unto him ; saying, that "since he had learned how to make use of it, hee did most willingly redeliver the same unto him." I was some yeares of the same humour : I wot not what good Demon did most profitably remove me from it, like to the Siracusan, and made me to neglect my sparing. The pleasure I apprehended of a farre and chargeable journey, having overthrowne this foolish imagination in me ; From which I am false into a third kinde of life (I speake what I thinke of it) assuredly much more pleasing and formall : which is, that I measure my garment according to my cloth, and let my expenses goe together with my coming in ; sometimes the one, otherwhilst the other exceeds : But they are never farre asunder. I live from hand to mouth, from day to day, and have I but to supply my present and ordinarie needs, I am satisfied : As for extraordinarie wants, all the provisions of the world will not suffice them. And it is folly to expect that fortune will ever sufficiently arme us against herselfe. It is with our owne weapons that we must combat her. Casuall

armes will betray us, when we shall have most need of them. If I lay up anything, it is for the hope of some employment at hand, and not to purchase lands, whereof I have no need, but pleasure and delight. *Non esse cupidum, pecunia est: non esse emacem, vectigal est.*¹ "It is currant coine not to be covetous: it is a thriftee income not to be still buying." I am neither possessed with feare that my goods shall faile me, nor with desire that they should encrease and multiply. *Divitiarum fructus est in copia: Copiam declarat satietas.*² "The fruit of riches is in plentie: satietie content with enough, approves that plentie." And I singularly gratifie my selfe this correction came upon me in an age naturally inclined to covetousnesse, and that I am free from that folly so common and peculiar to old men, and the most ridiculous of all humane follies. Feraulez who had passed through both fortunes, and found that encrease of goods was no acrease of appetite to drinke, to eat, to sleepe, or to embrace his wife; and who on the other side felt heavily on his shoulders the importunitie of ordering and directing his Oeconomically affaires, as it doth on mine, determined with himselfe to content a poore young man, his faithfull friend, greedily gaping after riches, and frankly made him a present donation of all his great and excessive riches; as also of those he was likely everie day to get by the liberalitie and bounty of his good master Cyrus and by warre: always provided he should undertake to entertaine and finde him, honestly and in good sort, as his guest and friend. In which estate they lived afterward most happily, and mutually content with the change of their condition.

Loe heare a part I could willingly find in my heart to imitate. And I much commend the fortune of an old prelate, whom I see to have so clearly given over his purse, his receipts, and his expenses, now to one of his chosen servants, and now to another, that he hath lived many yeares as ignorant of his household affaires as any stranger. The confidence in others honesty is no light testimonie of ones owne integritie: therefore doth God willingly favour it. And for his regard, I see no household order, neither more worthily directed, nor more constantly managed than his. Happy is that man that hath so proportionably directed his estate, as his riches may discharge and supply the same, without care or encombrance to himselfe; and that neither their consultation or meetings may

in any sort interrupt other affaires, or disturb other occupations, which followeth, more convenient, more quiet, and better agreeing with his heart. Therefore doth ease and indigencie depend from every mans owne opinion: and wealth and riches, no more than glorie or health, have either more preeminence or pleasure, than he who possesseth them, lendeth them. Every man is either well or ill, according as he findes himselfe. Not he whom another thinks content, but he is content indeed that thinks he is so himselfe: And only in that, opinion giveth it selfe essence and veritie. Fortune doth us neither good nor ill: She only offereth us the seed and matter of it, which our minde, more powerfull than she, turneth and applieth as best it pleaseth: as the efficient cause and mistress of condition, whether happy or unhappy. External accessions take both favor and colour from the internal constitution: As garments doe not warme us by their heat, but by ours, which they are fit to cover and nourish: he that with clothes should cover a cold body, should draw the very same service from them by cold. So is snow and yce kept in summer. Verily as unto an idle and lazie body, study is but a torment; abstinence from wine to a drunkard is a vexation; frugalitie is a harts sorrow to the luxurious; and exercise molesth an effeminate body: so is it of all things else. Things are not of themselves so irksome nor so hard, but our basenes and weaknesse maketh them such. To judge of high and great matters, a high and great minde is required; otherwise we attribute that vice unto them which indeed is ours. A straight oare, being under water seemeth to be crooked. It is no matter to see a thing, but the matter is how a man doth see the same. Well, of so many discourses, which diversly perswade men to contemne death and patiently to endure paine, why shall we not finde some one to make for our purpose; And of so severall and many kinds of imaginations, that have perswaded the same unto others, why doth not every man apply one unto himselfe, that is most agreeing with his humor; If he cannot digest a strong and abstersive drug, for to remove his evill, let him at least take a lenitive pill to ease the same. *Opinio est quædam effeminata ac levis: nec in dolore magis, quam cadem in voluptate; quam, quum liquescimus flumusque mollitia, apis aculeum sine clamore ferre non possumus.*—Totum in eo est, ut tibi imperes.¹ "There is a certaine effeminate and light opinion, and that no more in sorrow than it

¹ Cic. *Paradox.* vi. c. 3.² *Ibid.* c. 2.¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* i. ii. c. 22.

is in pleasure, whereby when we melt and run over in daintie tendernes, we cannot abide to be stung of a bee, but must rore and erie out. This is the total summe of all, that you be master of your selfe. "Moreover, a man doth not escape from Philosophy by making the sharpnes of paines and humane weaknesse to prevaile so far beyond meaur: for she is compelled to cast her selfe over againe unto these invincible replications, If it be bad to live in necessitie, at least there is no necessitie to live in necessitie. No man is long time ill but by his owne fault. He that hath not the heart to endure neither life nor death, and that will neither resist nor run away, what shall a man doe to him ?

CHAPTER XLI.

That a Man should not communicate his Glorie,

OF all the follies of the world, the most universall, and of most men received, is the care of reputation and study of glorie, to which we are so wedded that we neglect and cast-off riches, friends, repose, life and health (goods effectuall and substantiall), to follow that vaine image, and idlle-simple voice, which hath neither body nor hold-fast.

*La fama, ch'invaghisce a un dolce suono
Gli superbi mortali, et par sì bella,
E un echo, un sogno, anzi d'un sogno un ombra,
Ch'ad ogni vento sì diletta e sgombrà.¹*

Fame that enveag's high aspiring men
With her harmonious sound, and seemes so faire,
An Echo is, a dreame, dreames shadow rather,
Which flies and fleets as any winde doth gather.

And of mens unreasonable humours, it seemeth that the best philosophers doe most slowly and more unwillingly cleare themselves of this than of another: it is the most peevish, the most froward, and the most opinative. *Quia etiam bene proficentes animos tentare non cessat:* "Because it ceaseth not to tempt even those Mindes that profit best." There are not many whereof reason doth so evidently condemne the vanitie, but it is so deeply rooted in us, as I wot not whether any man could ever clearly discharge himselfe of it. When you have alleaged all the reasons you can, and beleaved all to disavow and reject her, she produceth, contrarie to your discourses, so intestine inclination; that you

have small hold against her. For (as Cicero saith), "Even those that appugne her, will neverthesse have the bookes they write against her to beare their names upon their fronts, endeavoring to make themselves glorious by despising of glorie." All other things fall within the compasse of commerce: we lend our goods, we employ our lives, if our friends stand in need of us: But seldome shall we see a man communicate his honour, share his reputation, and impart his glorie unto others. Catulus Luctatius in the warres against the Cymbres, having done the utmost of his endeavours to stay his souldiers that fled before their enemies, put himselfe amongst the run-awaies, and dissembled to bee a coward, that so they might rather seeme to follow their Captaine than fle from the enemy: This was a neglecting and leaving off his reputation, to conceale the shame and reproach of other. When Charles the fifth passed into Provence, the yeare a thousand five hundred thirtie seven, some are of opinion that Anthony de Leva, seeing the Emperor his master resolutely obstinate to undertake that voyage, and deeming it wonderfully glorious, maintained neverthesse the contrarie, and discounsell'd him from it, to the end all the honour and glorie of this counsell might be attributed unto his Master; and that it might be said, his good advice and foresight to have beene such, that contrarie to all mens opinions, he had achieved so glorious an enterprise: Which was, to honour and magnifie him at his owne charges. The Thracian Ambassadors comforting Archileonida, the mother of Brasidas, for the death of her son, and highly extolling and commending him, said he had not left his equall behind him. She refused this private commendation and particular praise, assigning it to the publike state. "Doe not tell me that (quoth she), for I knowe the Cittie of Sparta hath many greater and more valiant Citizens than he was. "At the battell of Crecy, Edward the blacke Prince of Wales, being yet very young, had the leading of the vant-gard: The greatest and chiefe violence of the fight was in his quarter: The Lords and Captains that accompanied him, perceiving the great danger, sent unto King Edward, the Princes Father, to come and help them: which when he heard, he enquired what plight his sonne was in, and how he did, and hearing that he was living and on horse-backe, "I should (quoth he) offer him great wrong to goe now, and deprive him of the honour of this combats victorie, which he already hath so long sustained; what danger soever there

¹ Tass. *Gier. can.* xiv. st. 63.

² AUGUSTIN. *De Civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 14.

be in it, it shall wholly be his : " and would neither go nor send unto him : knowing that if he had gone or sent, it would have beene said that without his ayd all had beene lost, and that the advantage of this exploit would have beene ascribed unto him. *Semper enim quod postremum adjectum est, id rem totam videtur traxisse.*¹

" For evermore that which was last added, seemes to have drawne on the whole matter." In Rome many thought, and it was commonly spoken, that the chiefest glorious deeds of Scipio were partly due unto Lælius, who notwithstanding did ever advance the greatnesse, further the glorie, and second the renowne of Scipio, without any respect of his owne. And Theopompus King of Sparta, to one who told him that the common-wealth should subsist and continue still, forsomuch as he could command so well : " No," said he, " it is rather because the people know so well how to obey." As the women who succeeded in the Peeredomes of France had (notwithstanding their sex) right to assist and privilege to plead in cases appertaining to the jurisdictions of Peeres : so the Ecclesiasticall Peeres, notwithstanding their profession and function, were bound to assist our Kings in their warres, not only with their friends, servants, and tenants, but in their owne person. The Bishop of Beauvais, being with Philip Augustus in the battell of Bovines, did very courageously take part with him in the effect : but thought hee should not be partaker of the fruit and glorie of that bloody and violent exercise. He overcame and forced that day many of the enemies to yeeld whom he delivered unto the first gentleman hee met withall to rifle, to take them prisoners, or at their pleasure to dispose of them. Which he also did with William Earle of Salisbury, whom he delivered unto the Lord John of Nesle with a semblable subtiltie of conscience unto this other. He desired to fell and strike downe a man, but not to wound or hurt him, and therefore never fought but with a great club. A man in my time being accused to the King to have laid violent hands upon a priest, denied it very stoutly, forsomuch as he had only thumped and trampled him with his feet.

¹ TIT. LIV. l. xxvii. c. 45.

CHAPTER XLII.

Of the Inequalitie that is betweene us.

PLUTARKE saith in some place, that " he findes no such great difference betweene beast and beast, as he findeth diversitie betweene man and man." He speaketh of the sufficiency of the minde and of internall qualities. Verily I find Epaminondas so farre (taking him as I suppose him) from some that I know (I meane capable of common sense) as I could finde in my heart to endear upon Plutarke, and say there is more difference betweene such and such a man than there is diversitie betweene such a man and such a beast.

Hem vir viro quid præstat !¹

O Sir, how much hath one,
Another man out-gone ?

And that there be so many degrees of spirits as there are steps betweene heaven and earth and as innumerable. But concerning the estimation of men, it is marvell that, except our selves, no one thing is esteemed but for its proper qualities. We commend a horse because he is strong and nimble,

- volucrum

*Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
Fervet, et exultat rauco victoria circo,²*

We praise the horse, that beares most bells with flying,

And triumphs most in races hoarse with crying,

and not for his furniture : a greyhound for his swiftnesse, not for his collar : a hawke for her wing, not for her cranes or bells. Why do we not likewise esteeme a man for that which is his owne? He hath a goodly traine of men following him, a statly pallace to dwell in, so great credit amongst men, and so much rent comming in. Alas, all that is about him and not in him. No man will buy a pig in a poke. If you cheapen a horse, you will take his saddle and clothes from him, you will see him bare and abroad : or if he be covered as in old times they wont to present them unto Princes to be sold, it is only his least necessarie parts, lest you should amuse your selfe to consider his colour or breadth of his crupper ; but chiefly to view his legs, his head, his eyes, and his foot, which are the most remarkable parts, and above all to be considered and required in him.

¹ TER. PHO. act v. sc. 3.

² JUVEN. Sat. viii. 57.

*Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur,
 obertos
 Inspiciunt, ne sifucies, ut sape, decora
 Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat
 hiantem,
 Quod pulchre clunes, breve quod caput, ardua
 cervix.¹*

This is Kings manner, when they horses buy,
 They see them bare, lest if, as oft we try,
 Faire face have soft hooftes, gull'd the buyer be,
 They buttockes round, short head, high crest
 may see.

When you will esteeme a man, why
 should you survey him all wrapt and en-
 velloped? He then but sheweth us those
 parts which are no whit his owne, and
 hideth those from us by which alone his
 worth is to be judged. It is the goodnesse
 of the sword you seeke after, and not the
 worth of the scabbard; for which per-
 adventure you would not give a farthing if
 it want his lynning. A man should be
 judged by himselfe, and not by his comple-
 ments. And as an Ancient saith very
 pleasantly: Doe you know wherefore you
 esteeme him tall? You account the height
 of his pattens. The base is no part of his
 stature: measure him without his stilts.
 Let him lay aside his riches and externall
 honours, and shew himselfe in his shirt.
 Hath he a body proper to his functions,
 sound and cheerefull? What minde hath
 he? Is it faire, capable and unpolluted,
 and happily provided with all her neces-
 sary parts? Is shee rich of her owne or of
 others goods? Hath fortune nothing of
 hers to survey therein? If broad-waking
 she wil looke upon a naked sword: if shee
 are not which way her life goeth from her,
 whether by the mouth or by the throat,
 whether it be settled, equable, and con-
 tented. It is that a man must see and
 consider, and thereby judge the extreme
 differences that are betweene us. Is he

— sapiens, sibiue imperiosus,
*Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque
 vincula terrent,*

*Responsare cupidinis, contemnere honores
 Fortis, et in seipso totus teres aque rotundus,
 Externi ne quid valeat per laxe morari,
 In quem manca ruit semper fortuna?²*

A wise man, of himselfe commander high,
 Whom want, nor death, nor bands can terrifie,
 Resolv'd t'affront desires, honors to scorne,
 All in himselfe, close, round and neatly-borne,
 As nothing outward on his smooth can stay,
 Against whom still fortune makes a lame assay.

Such a man is five hundred degrees beyond
 kingdomes and principalities: himselfe is a
 kingdome unto himselfe.

Sapiens pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi.¹

Trust me, who beares a wise mans name,
 His fortune to himselfe may frame.

What is there else for him to wish for?

— nonne videmus

*Nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut quoi
 Corpore se junctus dolor absit, mente fruatur
 Incundo sensu, cura semotus metueque!²*

See we not nature nothing else doth bark'd
 Unto her-selfe, but he, whose bodies barke
 Is free from paines-touch, should his minde
 enjoy,
 Remov'd from care and feare, with sense of joy?

Compare unto him the vulgar troupes of
 our men, stupid, base, servile, wavering,
 and continually floting on the tempestuous
 ocean of divers passions which tosse and
 retosse the same, wholly depending of
 others. There is more difference than is
 betweene heaven and earth, and yet such is
 the blindness of our custome that we make
 little or no account of it. Whereas, if we
 consider a cottager and a king, a noble and
 a handy-crafts man, a magistrate and a
 private man, a rich man and a poore, an
 extreme dispartie doth immediately present
 it selfe unto our eies, which, as a man may
 say, differ in nothing but in their clothes.
 In Thrace, the King was after a pleasant
 manner distinguished from his people, and
 which was much endeared. He had a
 religion apart: a God severall unto himselfe,
 whom his subjects might no waies adore.
 It was Mercurie: and he disdain'd their
 gods, which were Mars, Bacchus, and
 Diana; yet are they but pictures which
 make no essentiall dissemblance. For, as
 enterlude-plaiers, you shal now see them on
 the stage play a King, an Emperor, or a
 Duke, but they are no sooner off the stage
 but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects,
 and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall
 and originall condition. Even so the Em-
 peror whose glorious pomp doth so dazzle
 you in publike:

*Sicilicet et grandes viridi cum luce smaragdi
 Auro includuntur, teriturque Thalassina vestis
 Assidue, et Veneris sudorem exersita potat.³*

Great emeralds with their grass-greene light in
 gold
 Are clos'd, nor long can marriage linnen hold,
 But worne with use and heat
 of Venerie drinks the sweat:

View him behinde the curtaine, and you
 see but an ordinarie man, and peradventure
 more vile and more seely than the least
 of his subjects. *Ille beatus introrsum est;
 istius bracteata felicitas est.⁴* "One is in-
 wardly happy: anothers felicitie is plated

¹ HOR. l. i. Sat. ii. 86.

² *Ib.* l. ii. Sat. vii. 83.

¹ PLAU. *Trin.* act ii. sc. 2.

² LUCR. l. iv.

³ LUCK. l. ii. 16.

⁴ SEN. *Epist.* cxv

and guilt-over." Cowardise, irresolution, ambition, spight, anger, and envie, move and worke in him as in another :

*Non enim gaza, neque consularis
Summovet victor miseris tumultus
Mentis, et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes :¹*

Nor treasures, nor Maires officers remove
The miserable tumults of the minde,
Or cares that lie about, or flie above
Their high roof't houses with huge beames
combinde.

And feare, and care, and suspect haunt
and follow him, even in the middest of his
armed troupes.

*Re veraque metus hominum, curaque sequaces,
Nec metuum sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,
Audacterque inter reges, reverentur potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.²*

Indeed mens still-attending cares and feare,
Nor armor's clashing, nor fierce weapons feare,
With Kings converse they boldly, and Kings
peeres,
Fearing no lightning that from gold appears.

Doth the ague, the megrim, or the gout
spare him more than us? When age shall
once seize on his shoulders, can then the
tall yeomen of his guard discharge him of
it? When the terror of ruthless-balefull
death shall assaile him, can he be comforted
by the assistance of the gentlemen of his
chamber? If he chance to be jealous or
capricious, will our lowling curties, or
putting off of hatts, bring him in tune
again? His bedstead enched all with
gold and pearles hath no vertue to allay the
pinching pangues of the cholicke.

*Nec calidæ citius decedunt corpore febres,
Textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti
lacteris, quam si plebeia in veste cubandum est.³*

Feavers no sooner from thy body flie
If thou on arras or red scarlet lie
Tossing, than if thou rest
On coverlets home-drest.

The flatterers of Alexander the great
made him beleve that he was the sonne
of Iupiter; but being one day fore-hurt,
and seeing the bloud gush out of his
wounds : "And what thinke you of this?
(said he unto them). Is not this bloud of a
lively red hew, and meerly humane? Me-
thinks it is not of that temper which
Homer faineth to trill from the gods
wounds." Hermodorus the Poet made
certaine verses in honour of Antigonus,
in which he called him the sonne of
Phobus; to whom he replied : "My
friend, he that emptieth my close-stoolle
knoweth well there is no such matter."

He is but a man at all assaies : And if of
himselfe he be a man ill-borne, the Empire
of the whole world cannot restore him.

—puella
Hunc rapiant, quicquid calcaverit, hic rosa fiat.¹
Wenches inust ravish him, what ever he
Shall tread upon, estoones a rose must be.

What of that? If he be of a grosse, stupide,
and senseles minde : voluptuousnesse and
good fortune it selfe, are not perceived
without vigor, wit and livenessse.

*Hæc perinde sunt, ut illius animus qui
ea possidet,
Qui uti scit, et bona, illi qui non utitur
recte, mala.²*

These things are such, as the possessors minde,
Good, if well us'd ; if ill, them ill we finde.

Whatsoever the goods of fortune are, a
man must have a proper sense to favour
them : It is the enjoying, and not the
possessing of them, that makes us happy.

*Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri,
Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas; valeat possessor oportet,
Qui comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
Qui cupit, aut metuit, juvat illum sic domus
aut res,
Ut lippum pictæ tabulæ, fomenta podagram.³*

Not house and land, and heapes of coine and
gold

Rid agues, which their sicke Lords body hold,
Or cares from minde : th' owner must be in
health,

That well doth thinke to use his hoarded wealth.
Him that desires or feares, house, goods delight
As foment do the gout, pictures sore-sight.

He is a foole, his taste is wallowish and
distracted, he enjoyeth it no more than one
that hath a great cold doth the sweetnesse
of Greeke wine, or a horse the riches of a
costly faired furniture, wherewith he is
trapped. Even as Plato saith, "That
health, beautie, strength, riches, and all
things else he calleth good, are equally as
ill to the unjust as good to the just; and
the evil contrariwise." And then, where
the body and the soule are in ill plight,
what need these externall commodities?
seeing the least pricke of a needle and
passion of the mind is able to deprive us of
the pleasure of the worlds Monarchy. The
first fit of an ague, or the first gird that the
gout gave him, what avails his goodly titles
of Majesty?

Totus et argento conflatus, totus et auro : 4
All made of silver fine,
All gold pure from the mine :

¹ PERS. Sat. ii. l. 39.

² TER. Heaut. act. i. sc. 2.

³ HOR. l. i. Epist. ii. 47.

⁴ TIBUL. l. El. vii. 71.

¹ HOR. l. ii. Od. xvi. 9.

² LUCRET. l. ii. 45.

³ Id. 26.

Doth he not forthwith lose the remembrance of his pallaces and states? If he be angry or vexed, can his principallitie keepe him from blushing, from growing pale, from gnashing his teeth like a Bedlam? Now if it be a man of worth, and well borne, his royaltie and his glorious titles will add but little unto his good fortune.

*Si ventri bene, si lateri est, pedibusque tuis, nil
Dolitia poterunt regales addere majus.*¹

If it be well with belly, feet, and sides,
A Kings estate no greater good provides.

He seeth they are but illusions and vain deceits. He may haply be of King Seleucus his advice: "That he who fore-knew the weight of a sceptre, should he finde it lying on the ground, he would not daigne to take it up." This he said by reason of the weightie, irksome and painful charges that are incident unto a good King. Truly, it is no small matter to govern others, since so many crosses and difficulties offer themselves, if we will govern ourselves well. Touching commanding of others, which in shew seemeth to be so sweet, considering the imbecillitie of mans judgement, and the difficultie of choice in new and doubtful things: I am confidently of this opinion, that it is much more easie and plausible to follow than to guide: and that it is a great setting of the minde to be tied but to one beaten-path, and to answer but for himselfe.

*Vt satius multo jam sit, parere quietum,
Quam regere imperio res velle.*²

Much better 'tis in quiet to obey,
Than to desire with Kings-power all to sway.

Seeing Cyrus said, "That it belongs not to a man to command that is not of more worth than those whom he commandeth." But King Hieron in Xenophon addeth moreover, "That in truly enjoying of carnall sensualities, they are of much worse condition than private men; forasmuch as ease and facilitie depriveth them of that sowre-sweet tickling which we finde in them.

*Pinguis amor nil, neque potens, in tardis nobis
Veritur, et stomacho dulcis ut esca nocet.*³

Fat over-powerfull love doth loathsome grow,
As fulsome sweet-meats stomackes overthrow.

Thinke wee that high-minded men take great pleasure in musicke? The satietie thereof makes it rather tedious unto them. Feasts, banquets, revels, dancings, masks and turneys, rejoyce them that but seldome see them, and that have much desired to see them: the taste of which becommeth cloy-

some and displeasing to those that daily see and ordinarily have them: Nor doe ladies tickle those that at pleasure and without suspect may be glutted with them. He that cannot stay till he be thirsty, can take no pleasure in drinking. Enterludes and comedies rejoyce and make us merry, but to players they are tedious and tastelesse. Which to prove, we see it is a delight for Princes, and a recreation for them, sometimes to disguise themselves, and to take upon them a base and popular kinde of life.

*Plerunque grata principibus vices,
Mundeque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cena sine aularis et ostro,
Solicitam explicare frontem.*⁴

Princes doe commonly like entercourage,
And cleanly meales where poore-men poorly house,
Without all tapistrie or carpets strange,
Unwrinkled have their care-knit, thought-bent browes.

Nothing doth sooner breed a distaste or satietie than plentie. What longing lust would not bee alaid to see three hundred women at his dispose and pleasure, as hath the Grand Turke in his Seraille? And what a desire and shew of hawking had he reserved to himselfe from his ancestors, that never went abroad without seven thousand falckners at least? Besides which, I thinke, the luster of greatnesse brings no small incommodities to the enjoying of sweeter pleasures; they lie too open and are too much in sight. And I wot not why a man should longer desire them to conceale or hide their fault; for what in us is indiscretion the people judgeth to be tyrannie, contempt, and disdain of the laws in them: And besides the ready inclination unto vice, it seemeth they also adde unto it the pleasure of gourmandizing, and to prostrate publicke observances under their feet. Verily Plato in his Gorgias defineth him to be a tyrant that in a Citie hath leave and power to do whatever he list. And therefore often the shew and publication of their vice hurteth more than the sinne it selfe. Every man feareth to be spied and controlled; which they are even in their countenances and thoughts: all the people esteeming to have right and interest to judge of them. And wee see that blemishes grow either lesser or bigger according to the eminence and light of the place where they are set, and that a mole or a wart in ones forehead is more apparently perceived than a scarre in another place. And that is the reason why Poets faine Jupiters loves to

¹ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* xii. 5. ² LUC. l. v. 1137.

³ OVID. *Amor.* l. ii. *El.* xix. 25.

⁴ HOR. l. iii. *Od.* xxix. 13.

have been effected under other countenances than his owne; and of so many amorous shifts and love practices they impute to him, there is but one (as farre as I remember) where he is to be seene in his greatnesse and majestie. But returne we to Hieron: he also relateth how many incommodities he findeth in his royaltie, being so barred that he cannot at his libertie travell to goe whether he please, being as it were a prisoner within the limits of his country; and that in all his actions he is encircled and hemd-in with an importunate and tedious multitude. Truly, to see our Princes all alone, sitting at their meat, beleagred round with so many talkers, whisperers, and gazing beholders, unknowne what they are or whence they come, I have often rather pittied than envied them. King Alphonsus was wont to say, that "burthen-bearing asses were in that in farre better condition than Kings; for their masters suffer them to feed at their ease, whereas Kings cannot obtaine that privilege of their servants." And it could never fall into my minde that it might be any speciall commoditie to the life of a man of understanding to have a score of find-faults, picke-thanks, and controulers about his close-stoolle, nor that the service of a man that hath a thousand pound rent a yeare, or that hath taken Casal, or defended Sienna, is more commodious or acceptable to him than that of a sufficient and well-experienced groom. Princelike advantages are in a manner but imaginarie preeminences. Every degree of fortune hath some image of Principallitie. Cæsar termeth all the Lords, which in his time had justice in France, to be Kinglets, or pettie Kings. And truly, except the name of Sire, we goe very farre with our Kings. Looke but in the Provinces remote and farre from the court: As for example, in Britanie, the attending traine, the flocking subjects, the number of officers, the many affaires, the diligent service, the obsequious ceremonies of a Lord, that liveth retired, and in his own house, brought up amongst his own servants, tenants, and followers: And note also the high pitch of his imaginations and humours, there is no greater royaltie can be seene: He heareth no more talke of his master than of the Persian King, and hapily but once a year: And knowes but some farre-stretcht and old kindred or pedigree, which his Secretarie findes or keeps upon some ancient record or evidence. Verily our lawes are very free, and the burthen of soveraigntie doth scarcely concerne a gentleman of France twice in his whole life. Essentiall and effectuell subjection amongst us doth not respect any

but such as allure themselves unto it, and that affect to honour, and love to enrich themselves by such service: For he that can shrowd and retire himselfe in his owne home, and can manage and direct his house without sutes in lawe, or quarrell with his neighbours, or domestically encombrances, is as free as the Duke of Venice. *Paucos servitus, plures servitutum tenent.*¹ "Service holds few, but many hold service." But above all things Hieron seemeth to complain that he perceiveth himselfe deprived of all mutuall friendship, reciprocall societie, and familiar conversation, wherein consisteth the most perfect and sweetest fruit of humane life. For, what undoubted testimonie of affection and good will can I expect or exact from him, that, will he or nill he, oweth me all he hath, all he can? Can I make account of his humble speech, of his lowlying curtzie, or of his courteous offers, since it lieth not in his power to refuse them me? The honour we receive of those which feare and stand in awe of us, is no true honour. Such respects are rather due to royaltie, to majestie, than to me.

—*maximum hoc regni bonum est,
Quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
Quam ferre, tam laudare.*²

This is chiefe good of Princes domination, Subjects are forc't their sovraines actes and fashions
To beare with patience, passe with commendations.

Doe I not see that both the bad and the good king are served alike? That hee who is hated and he that is beloved are both courted alike? And the one as much fawne upon as the other? My predecessor was served with the same appearances, and waited upon with the like ceremonies, and so shall my successor be. If my subjects offend me not, it is no testimonie of any good affection. Wherefore shall I take it in that sense, sithence they cannot, if they would? No man followeth me for any friendship that is betwene him and me: inasmuch as no firme friendship can be contracted where is so small relation, so slender correspondence, and such disparitie. My high degree hath excluded me from the commerce of men. There is too great an inequality and distant disproportion. They follow for countenance and of custome, or rather my fortune than my selfe: hoping thereby to increase theirs. Whatsoever they say, all they doe unto me is but a glosse, and but dissimulation, their libertie being every where bridled and checked by the great

¹ SEN. *Epist.* 22.

² SEN. *Thyest.* act ii. sc. 1.

power I have over them. I see nothing about me but inscrutable hearts, hollow mindes, fained lookes, dissembled speeches, and counterfeited actions. His Courtiers one day commended Julian the Emperour for ministring of rights and doing of justice. "I should easily grow proud," saith he, "for these praises, if they came from such as durst either accuse or discommend my contrary actions, should I commit any." All the true commodities that Princes have are common unto them with men of meane fortune. It is for Gods to mount winged horses, and to feed on Ambrosia. They have no other sleepe, nor no other appetite than ours. Their Steele is of no better temper than that wherewith we arme our selves. Their crowne, their diadem can neither hide them from the Sun, or shelter them from the raine. Dioclesian, that wore one, so much revered and so fortunate, did voluntarily resigne the same, to withdraw himselfe unto the pleasure of a private life; but a while after, the urgent necessitie of publicke affaires requiring his presence, and that he should returne to re-assume his charge again, he answered those that solicited him unto it, "You would never undertake to perswade me to that had you but seene the goodly rankes of trees which my selfe have planted in mine Orchard, or the faire muske-melons I have set in my garden." According to Anacharsis his opinion, "The happiest estate of a well-ordered commonwealth should be, where all other things being equally common, precedencie should be measured and preferments suited according to vertue and desert, and the contrarie according to vice." At what time King Pirrhus undertooke to passe into Italy, Cyneas his wise and trustie counsellor, going about to make him perceive the vanitie of his ambition, one day bespake him thus: "My good sir," said he, "to what end doe you prepare for so great an enterprize?" He answered suddenly, "To make my selfe Lord of Italie." "That done, what will you doe then?" replied Cyneas. "I will then passe," said Pirrhus, "into Gaule, and then into Spaine." "And what afterwards?" "I will then invade Affrike, and subdue the same; and at last, when I shall have brought all the world under my subjection, I will then take my rest, and live contented at mine ease." "Now, for Gods sake, sir," replied Cyneas, "tell me what hinders you that you be not now, if so you please, in that estate? Wherefore doe you not now place your selfe where you meane to aspire, and save so much danger, so many hazards, and so great troubles as you enterpouse betwene both?"

*Nimirum quia non bene novat quæ esset habendi Finis, et omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas.*¹

The cause forsooth, he knew not what should be the end
Of having, nor how far true pleasure should extend.

I will conclude and shut up this treatise with an ancient verse, which I singularly applaud and deeme fit to this purpose.

*Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam.*²

Ev'ry mans manners and his mind,
His fortune to him frame and find.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of Sumptuarie Lawes, or Lawes for moderating of Expences.

THE manner wherewith our Lawes assay to moderate the foolish and vaine expences of table-cheare and apparell seemeth contrarie to its end. The best course were to beget in men a contempt of gold and silk-wearing, as of vaine and unprofitable things, whereas we encrease their credit and price: a most indirect course to withdraw men from them. As, for example, to let none but Princes eat dainties, or wear velvets and clothes of Tissew, and interdict the people to doe it, what is it but to give reputation unto those things, and to encrease their longing to use them? Let Kings boldly quit those badges of honour; they have many other besides: Such excesse is more excusable in other men than in Princes. We may, by the examples of divers Nations, learne sundrie better fashions to distinguish our selves and our degrees (which truly I esteeme requisit in an estate) without nourishing to that purpose this so manifest corruption and apparant inconvenience. It is strange how custome in these indifferent things doth easily encroach and suddenly establish the footing of her authoritie. We had scarce worne cloth one whole yeare at the Court, what time we mourned for our King Henrie the second, but certainly in every mans opinion all manner of silks were already become so vile and abject, that was any man seene to wear them he was presently judged to be some cuntry fellow or mechanical man. They were left only for Chyrurgians and Physitians. And albeit most men were appareled alike, yet were there other sufficient apparant distinctions

¹ LUCR. l. v.

² CORN. NEPOS, *Vit. Attici*. CIC. *Paradox.* v.

of mens qualities. How soone doe plaine chamoy-jerkins and greasie canvase doublets creepe into fashion and credit amongst our souldiers if they lie in the field? And the garishnesse, neatnesse, and riches of silken garments grow in contempt and scorne? Let Kings first begin to leave these superfluous expences, we shall all follow, and within a moneth, without edicts, ordinances, proclamations, and acts of Parliament, it will be observed as a law. The statutes should speake contrarie, as thus: That no man or woman, of what qualitie soever, shall, upon paine of great forfeitures, weare any manner of silke, of scarlet, or any goldsmiths worke, except only Enterlude-players, Harlots, and Curtizans. With such an invention did Zeleucus whilome correct the corrupted manners of the Locrines. His ordinances were such: "Be it enacted that no woman of free condition shall have any more than one maid-servant to follow her when she goeth abroad, except when she shall be drunken: And further, that she may not goe out of the Citie by night, nor weare any jewels of gold or precious stones about her, nor any gowne beset with goldsmiths worke or imbroderie, except she be a publike-professed whore: and moreover, that except panders and bawds, it shall not be lawfull for any man to weare any gold-rings on his fingers, nor any rich garments, as are such of cloth made in the Citie of Miletum." So did he by these reproachfull exceptions ingeniously drive his Citizens from vaine superfluities and pernicious dainties. It was a most profitable course, by honour and ambition to allure men unto their dutie and obedience. Our Kings have the power to addresse all these externall reformations. Their inclination serveth them as a law. *Quicquid Principes faciunt, præcipere videntur*: "Whatsoever Princes doe, that they seeme to command." The rest of France takes the modell of the court as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loathe these filthy and asish breeches that so openly shew our secret parts: the bum-basting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so cumbersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Beso las manos* in saluting of our friends (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto princes): And for a gentleman to come to any place of respect, without his rapier by his side, all unbraeed, all untruss, as if he came from his close-stoole: And that against our forefathers manner, and the particular libertie of our French nobilitie,

we should stand bare-headed, aloofe-off from them, wheresoever they be; and as about them, about many others: So many petty-kings and petty-petty-kinglets have we now adayes: And so of other like new-fangled and vicious introductions: They shall soone be seeme to vanish and be left. Although but superficial faults, yet are they of evill presages. And we are warned that the foundation or maine summers of our houses faile and shrinke, when we see the quarters bend or wals to breake. Plato in his lawes thinks there is no worse plague, or more pernicious in his Citie, than to suffer youth to have the reines of libertie in her owne hand, to change in their attires, in their gestures, dances, exercises, and songs, from one forme to another: And to remove their judgement, now to this, now to that place; following new-fangled devices, and regarding their inventors: By which old customes are corrupted, and ancient institutions despised. In all things, except the wicked, mutation is to be feared; yea, even the alteration of seasons, of winds, of livings, and of humours. And no lawes are in perfect credit but those to which God hath given some ancient continuance: so that no man know their of-spring, nor that ever they were other than they are.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Of Sleeping.

REASON doth appoint us ever to walke in one path, but not alwaies to keepe one place: and that a wise man should not permit humane passions to stray from the right carrier; he may (without prejudice unto his dutie) also leave it unto them either to hasten or to slow his pace, and not place himselfe in an immoveable and impassible Colossus. Were vertue herselfe corporeall and incarnate, I think her pulse would beat and worke stronger, marching to an assault, than going to dinner: For it is necessarie that she heat and move herselfe. I have therefore markt it as a rare thing to see great personages sometimes, even in their weightiest enterprises and most important affaires, hold themselves so resolutely-assured in their state, that they doe not so much as breake their sleepe for them. Alexander the Great, on the day appointed for that furious-bloudy battell against Darius, slept so soundly and so long that morning, that Parmenion was faine to

fled. And touching experience, we sometimes see it to favor the one and sometimes the other partie. The accident of Pirrhus in the battell he had against the Consull Levinus in Italie serveth us for both uses : For, by concealing himselfe under the armes of Demagacles, and arming him with his owne, indeed he saved his life, but was in great danger to fall into the other mischiefe, and lose the day. Alexander, Cæsar, Lucullus, loved (at what time they were to enter fight) to arme and attire themselves with the richest armes, and garish clothes they had, and of particular bright-shining colours. Agis, Agesilaus, and that great Gilippus, contrarie, would ever goe to warres meanelly accoutred, and without any imperiall ornament. Among other reproaches that great Pompey is charged withall in the battell of Pharsalia, this is one speciall, that he idely lingred with his Armie, expecting what his enemy would attempt ; forasmuch as that (I will here borrow the very words of Plutarke, which are of more consequence than mine) weakeneth the violence that running giveth the first blowes, and therewithall removeth the charging of the Combatants one against another, which more than any other thing is wont to fill them with fury and impetuosity, when with vehemence they come to enter-shock one another, augmenting their courage by the crie and running ; and in a manner alayeth and quailth the heat of the Souldiers : Loe-here what he saith concerning this. But had Cæsar lost, who might not also have said, that contrariwise the strongest and firmest situation is that wherein a man keeps his stand without budging, and that who is settled in his march, closing, and against any time of need, sparing his strength in himselfe, hath a great advantage against him that is in motion and disordered, and that running hath already consumed part of his breath ? Moreover, that an armie being a body composed of so many several parts, it is impossible it should in such furie advance it selfe with so just a match, and proportioned a motion, and not breake and dis-ranke, or at least alter her ordinance, and that the nimblest be not grappling before his fellows may helpe him. In that drearie battell of the two Persian brethren, Clearchus the Lacedæmonian, who commanded the Græcians that followed, Cyrus his faction, led them faine and gently without any halting-making to their charges, but when he came within fifty paces of his enemies he bad them with all speed to run unto it : hoping by the shortnesse of the distance to manage their order and direct their breath ; in the

meane time giving them the advantage of the impetuosity, both for their bodies and for their shooting-arnes. Others have ordered this doubt in their army after this manner : If your enemies headlong run upon you, stay for them and bouge not : If they without stirring stay for you, run with furie upon them.

In the passage which the Emperor Charles the fifth made into Provence, our King Francis the first stood a good while upon this choice ; whether it was best, by way of prevention, to go and meet with him in Italie, or to stay his comming into France. And albeit he considered what an advantage it is for one to preserve his house from the troubles and mischiefs that warre brings with it, to the end that, possessing her whole strength, it may continually in all times of need store him with money, and supply him with all other helps ; and considering how the necessity of direfull warre doth daily enforce a Generall to make spoile of goods, and waste the Countrie, which cannot well be done in our owne goods and countrie : and that the countriman doth not as patiently indure this ravage at his friends hands as at his enemies, so as seditions may ensue amongst our owne factions, and troubles amongst our friends : That license to rob and spoile, which in his countrie may not be tolerated, is a great furtherance in a Souldier, and makes him the more willing to endure the miseries and toylings that follow warre : And what a hard matter it is to keep the Souldier in office and heart, who hath no other hope of profit but his bare pay, and is so neere his wife, his children, his friends, and his home : That he who layeth the cloth is ever put to the greatest charges : That there is more pleasure in assailing than in defending : And that the apprehension of a battell lost in our owne home and entrailes is so violent, that it may easily shake the whole frame and distemper the whole body, seeing there is no passion so contagious as that of feare, nor so easie apprehended and taken a-trust, or doth more furiously possesse all parts of man : And that the Cities or Townes, which have either heard the bustling noise of the tempest, or seene the sparkles of this all-consuming fire at their gates, or have perhaps received their Captaines wounded, their Citizens pursued, and their Souldiers spoiled, and all out of breath, if they be not more than obstinately constant, it is a thousand to one if in that brunt of furie they doe not headlong cast themselves into some desperate resolution. Yet did he conclude and chuse this resolve for the best : First to revoke his forces he had beyond the Mountaines in Italie, and

so stay his enemies approaches. For he might, on the contrarie part, imagine that being in his owne countrie, and amidst good friends, he had the better leasure to re-enforce his decayed forces, and more opportunitie to strengthen Townes, to munite Castles, to store Rivers with all necessaries they wanted, and to keepe all passages at his devotion, which done, all the wayes should be open for him, and might by them have all manner of victuals, money, and other habilements of warre brought him in safety, and without convoy : that he should have his subjects so much the more affectionate unto him, by how much nearer they should see the danger : That having so many Cities, Townes, Holds, Castles, and Barres for his securitie, he might at all times, according to opportunitie and advantage, appoint and give Law unto the fight : And if he were pleased to temporize, whilst he tooke his ease, kept his forces whole, and maintained himselfe in safetie, he might see his enemy consume and waste himselfe by the difficulties which daily must necessarily assault, environ, and combat him, as he who should be engaged in an enemy-countrie and foe-land, where he should have nothing, nor meet with any thing, either before or behind him, or of any side, that did not offer him continuall warre : no way nor meanes to refresh, to ease or give his armie elbow-room, if any sicknesse or contagion should come amongst his men ; nor shelter to lodge his hurt and maymed Souldiers : where neither monie, munition, nor victuals might come unto him, but at the sword's point ; where he should never have leasure to take any rest or breath ; where he should have no knowledge of places, passages, woods, foords, rivers, or countrie, that might defend him from ambuscados or surprises : And if he should unfortunately chance to lose a battell, no hope to save, or meanes to re-unite the reliques of his forces. And there want no examples to strengthen both sides. Scipio found it better for him to invade his enemies countrie of Affrica, than to defend his owne, and fight with him in Italie, where he was, wherein he had good successe. But contrariwise, Hanniball in the same warre wrought his owne overthrow, by leaving the conquest of a foraine countrie for to goe and defend his owne. The Athenians having left the enemy in their owne land for to passe into Sicillie, had very ill successe, and were much contrariwise by fortune : whereas Agathocles, King of Siracusa, prospered and was favoured by her, what time he passed into Affrica, and left the warre on foot in his owne countrie. And we are accustomed to

say with some shew of reason, that especially in matters of warre the events depend (for the greatest part) on fortune ; which seldome will yeeld, or never subject her selfe unto our discourse or wisdom, as say these ensuing verses :

*Et male consultis pretium est, prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque
mercurius :*

*Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur :
Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogatque regatque
Majus, et in proprias ducat mortalia leges.¹*

'Tis best for ill advis'd, wisdom may faile,
Fortune proves not the cause that should
prevaille,

But here and there without respect doth saile,
A higher power forsooth us over-drawes,
And mortall states guides with immortall lawes.

But if it be well taken, it seemeth that our counsels and deliberations doe as much depend of her ; and that fortune doth also engage our discourses and consultations in her trouble and uncertaintie. " We reason rashly, and discourse at random," saith Timeus in Plato : " for even as we, so have our discourses great participation with the temeritie of hazard."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Of Steeds, called in French Destriers.

BEHOLD, I am now become a Grammarian, I, who never learnt tongue but by way of roat, and that yet know not what either Adjective, Conjunctive, or Ablative meaneth. As far as I remember, I have sometimes heard say, that the Romanes had certaine horses which they called Funales, or Dextrarios, which on the right hand were led by, as spare horses, to take them fresh at any time of need : And thence it commeth that we call horses of service Destriers ; and our ancient Romanes doe ordinarily say to Adexter, in stead of to accompanie. They also called *Desultorios* *aguos* certaine horses that were so taught, that mainly-running with all the speed they had, joyning sides to one another, without either bridle or saddle, the Roman gentlemen, armed at all assays, in the midst of their running-race would cast and recast themselves from one to another horse. The Numidian men at armes were wont to have a second spare-horse led by hand, that in the greatest furie of the battell

¹ MANTL. *Astr.* l. iv. 95.

enter his chamber, and approaching neere unto his bed, twice or thrice to call him by his name, to awaken him, the houre of the battell being at hand, and urging him. Otho the Emperour having determined to kill himselfe, the very same night, after he had given order for his domestical affaires, shared his monie among his servants, and whetted the edge of a sword, wherewith he intended to wound himselfe, expecting no other thing but to know whether all his friends were gone to rest, fell into so sound a sleepe that the groomes of his chamber heard him snort in another roome. This Emperours death hath many parts semblable unto that of great Cato, and namely this : For Cato being prepared to defeat himselfe, whilst he expected to heare newes whether the Senators, whom he caused to retire, were lancht out from the haven of Utica, fell so fast asleepe that he was heard to snort into the next chamber; and he whom he had sent toward the port having waked him to tell him the storme was so rough that the Senators could not conveniently put out to sea, he sent another, and lying downe anew, fell asleepe again untill the last messenger assured him they were gone. We may also compare unto Alexander in that great and dangerous storme which threatened him, by the Edition of Metellus the Tribune, who laboured to publish the decree of Pompeys appeall into the Citie, together with his army, at what time the commotion of Catiline was on foot : against which decree only Cato did insist, and to that purpose had Metellus and he had many injurious speeches, and menaced one another in the Senate-house : and it was the next day they were like to come to the execution in the market-place, where Metellus, besides the favour of the common people and of Cæsar, then conspiring and plotting for the advancement of Pompey, should come, accompanied with a multitude of strange and forraine slaves and fencers, to doe their utmost. And Cato, strengthened with his only constancie and with unmated resolve : so that his kinsmen, his familiars, and many honest men tooke great care, and were in heavy anxietie and pensivenesse for him : of which many never left him all night, but sat up together without rest, eating, or drinking, by reason of the danger they saw prepared for him ; yea, his wife and sisters did nought but weep and waille, and for his sake torment themselves in their house, whereas contrariwise he alone comforted every body, and blamed them for their demisenesse. And after he had supped (as he was wont) he went quietly to his bed, and slept very soundly untill the next morn-

ing, that one of his copartners in the Tribune-ship came to call him to go to the skirmish. The knowledge we have of this mans unmated-haughty heart by the rest of his life, may make us judge with all securitie that it only proceeded from a sprit so far elevated above such accidents that he dained not so much as to trouble his minde with them no more than with ordinarie chances. In the sea-fight which Augustus gained against Sextus Pompeius in Sicillie, even at the instant he should goe to fight, was surprised with so heavy a sleepe that his friends were compelled to awaken him to give the signall of the battell, which afterward gave occasion unto Marcus Antonius to charge him with this imputation, that he had not dared with open eyes to survey the marshalling of his army, and that his heart would not suffice him to present himselfe unto his soldiers untill such time as Agrippa brought him newes of the victorie he had obtained of his enemies. But concerning young Marius, who committed a greater error (for on the day of his last battell against Sylla, after he had marshalled his army and given the word or signall of the battell) he lay downe in the shadow under a tree a while to rest himselfe, and fell so fast asleepe that he could hardly be awaked with the rout and flight of his men, having scene no part of the fight, they say it was because he was so exceedingly aggravated with travell, and over-tired with weaknesse and want of sleepe, that nature was overcome, and could no longer endure. And touching this point, Phisitions may consider whether sleepe be so necessarie that our life must needs depend of it, for we finde that Perseus King of Macedon, prisoner at Rome, being kept from sleepe, was made to die ; but Plinie aleageth that some have lived a long time without any sleepe at all. And Herodotus reporteth there are nations where men sleepe and wake by halfe yeares. And those that write the life of Epimenides the wise, affirm that he slept the continuall space of seven and fifty yeares.

CHAPTER XLV.

Of the battell of Dreux.

THERE hapned divers rare accidents and remarkable chances in our battell of Dreux, but those who doe not greatly favour the reputation of the Duke of Guise doe boldly aleage that he cannot

be excused to have made a stand and temporised with the forces he commanded, whilst the Lord Constable of France, General of the Armie, was engaged and suppressed with the enemies artillerie, and that it had beene better for him to hazard himselfe to charge the enemy flankwise, than by expecting any advantage to have him come behind him, to suffer so reproachfull an overthrow and so shamefull a losse. But omitting what the event thereof witnessed, he that shall without passion debate the matter shall easily (in my conceit) confesse that the ayme and drift, not only of a capitaine, but of every particular souldier, ought chiefly to respect a victory in great : and that no particular occurrences, of what consequence soever, or what interest may depend on them, should ever divert him from that point. Philopœmen, in an encounter with Machanidas, having sent before a strong troupe of archers and good marke men to begin the skirmish, and the enemy, after he had put them to rout and disranked them, ammusung himselfe in mainly pursuing them, and following the victory alongst the maine battell, where Philopœmen was, although his souldiers were much moved and offended to see their fellows put to the worst, he could not be moved to bouge from his place, nor make head against his enemy to succour his men ; but rather, having suffered them to be defeated and cut in peeces before his face, began then to charge his enemies in the battalion of their infanterie when he perceived them forsaken of their horsemen. And albeit they were Lacedemonians, forasmuch as he charged them at what time (supposing to have gained the day) they began to disorder themselves, he easily overcame them, which done, he pursued Machanidas. This case is cousin-german unto that of the Duke of Guise. In that sharpe-bloody battell of Agesilaus against Bœotians, which Xenophon (who was there present) saith to have beene the hottest and rudest that ever he had seene, Agesilaus refused the advantage which fortune presented him, to let the battalion of the Bœotians passe, and to charge them behind, what certaine victorie soever he saw likely to follow the same, esteeming that it were rather skill than valour ; and to shew his prowess and matchlesse-haughty courage, chose rather to charge them in the front of their fi But what followed? He was well beaten, and himselfe sore-hurt, and in the end pelled to leave his enterprise and em the resolution, which in the beginning he had refused, causing his men to open themselves to give passage unto that torrent of

the Bœotians, who when they were past through, perceiving them to march in disaray, as they who perswaded themselves to be out of all danger, he pursued them and charged them flank-wise. All which notwithstanding, he could never put to rout or force them run-away, for they orderly and faire and softly made their retreat, ever shewing their face, untill such time as they got safely into their holds and trenches.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Of Names.

WHAT diversitie soever there be in herbs, all are shuffled up together under the name of a sallade. Even so upon the consideration of names I will here huddle up a gallymafray of diverse articles. Every several nation hath some names which, I wot not how, are sometimes taken in ill part ; as with us, lacke, Hodge, Tom, Will, Bat, Benet, and so forth. Item, it seemeth that in the genealogies of Princes there are certaine names fatally affected ; as Ptolemy with the Egyptians, Henries in England, Charles in France, Baldwins in Flanders, and Williams in our ancient Aquitaine, whence some say came the name of Guienne ; which is but a cold invention : As if in Plato himselfe there were not some as harsh and ill-sounding. Item, it is an idle matter, yet nevertheless, by reason of the strangenesse, worthy the memorie, and recorded by an ocular witnesse, that Henrie Duke of Normandie, sonne to Henrie the second King of England, making a great feast in France, the assembly of the Nobilitie was so great, that for pastimes sake, being, by the resemblance of their names, divided into severall companies : in the first were found a hundred and ten Knights sitting at one table, and all called Williams ; besides private Gentlemen and servants. It is as pleasant to distribute the tables by the names of the assistants as it was unto Geta the Emperor, who would have all his messes or dishes served in at his table orderly according to the first letters of their names : As, for example, those that began with P, as pig, pie, pike, puddings, pouts, porke, pancakes, &c., were all served in together ; and so of all the rest. Item, it is a common saying, "That it is good to have a good name : " As much to say, good credit or good reputation. Yet verily it

is very commodious to have a well-sounding and smooth name, and which is easie to be pronounced, and facile to be remembered : For Kings, Princes, Lords, and Magistrates know and remember us the better by them, and will not so soone forget us. Marke but of those that serve and follow us, whether we doe not more ordinarily command and sooner employ such whose names come readier to our tongue or memorie. I have seene our King Henrie the second, who could never hit on the right name of a Gentleman of Gascoigne, and did ever call a Lady waiting on the Queene by the generall surname of her house, because that of her father was so harsh and hard to be remembered. And Socrates saith : "It ought to be a fathers speciall care to give his children good and easie-sounding names." Item, it is reported that the foundation of our Lady the great at Poitiers had this beginning : "A licentious young man having his dwelling-house where the Church now standeth, had one night gotten a wench to lie with him, who so soone as she came to bed, he demanded her name, who answered Marie : The young man hearing that name, was suddenly so stricken with a motive of religion, and an awefull respect unto that sacred name of the virgin Marie, the blessed mother of our Saviour and Redeemer, that he did not onely presently put her away from him, but reformed all the remainder of his succeeding life : And that in consideration of this miracle there was first erected a Chappell in the place where this young mans house stood, consecrated unto that holy name, and afterward the faire great Church which yet continueth." This vocal and auricular correction, and so full of devotion, strucke right unto his soule. This other following, of the same kind, insinuated it selfe by the corporall senses. Pythagoras being in companie with two young men, whom he heard complot and consult (being somewhat heated with feasting and drinking) to go and ravish a chaste-house, commanded immediately the minstrels to change their tune ; and so by a solemne, grave, severe, and spondaicall kinde of musicke, did sweetly inhaunt, allay, and in-trance their rash, violent, and law-lesse lust. Item, shall not succeeding posteritie say that our moderne reformation hath been exact and delicate, to have not only oppugned and resisted errors and vices, and filled the world with devotion, humilitie, obedience, peace, and every other kinde of vertue, but even to have combated their ancient names of baptisme, Charles, Lewis, Francis, to people the

world with Methusalem, Ezechiel, Malachie, much better feeling of a lively faith ? A Gentleman my neighbour, esteeming the commodities of ancient times in regard of our daies, forgot not to aledge the fiercenesse and magnificence of the names of the Nobilitie of those times, as Don Grumedan, Quedragan, and Agesilan : And that, but to hear them sounded, a man might easily perceive they had been other manner of men than Peter, Guillot, or Michell. Item, I commend and am much beholding to Iames Amiot, in the course of a French oration of his, to have still kept the full ancient Latine names, without disguising or changing them, to give them a new French cadence. At the first they seemed somewhat harsh unto the reader ; but now, by reason of the credit which his Plutarke hath deservedly gotten amongst us, custome has removed all strangenesse from us. I have often wished that those who write histories in Latine, would leave us our names whole, and such as they are : For, altering Vaudemont to Vallemontanus, and metamorphosing them by suting them to the Græcian or Latin tongue, we know not what to make of them, and are often at a non-plus. To conclude my discourse : It is an ill custome, and of exceeding bad consequence in our countrie of France, to call every man by the name of his Towne, Mannor, Hamlet, or Lordship, as the thing that doth most confound houses, and bring surnames out of knowledge. A cadet or younger-brother of a good house, having had for his appanage a Lordship, by whose name he hath been knowne and honoured, cannot well forsake and leave the same ten yeares after his death : His Lordship cometh unto a stranger, who doth the like : Ghesse then where weare, and how we shall doe to come to the perfect knowledge of these men. We need not goe far for other examples, but looke into our Royall house, where so many partages, so many surnames, and so many severall titles have so encumbered us, that the originall of the stocke is utterly lost. There is so much libertie in these mutations, that even in my time I have seene no man nor woman advanced by fortune into some extraordinarie preferment, that hath not immediately had adjoynd unto him or her genealogicall titles, new and unknowne to their fathers, and that hath not been engrafted into some noble stocke or family. And as good lucke serveth, the basest upstart and most obscure houses are most apt unto adulteration and falsification. How many privat Gentlemen have we in France which, according to their accompt

and blazoning of their gentry, are of the royall blood or race? I beleve more than others. Was it not prettily said, and with a good grace, by one of my friends? There was a great companie banded together about a quarrell which a Gentleman had with another, who in very truth had some prerogative of titles, honours, and alliances above the common sort of Nobilitie; upon which word of his prerogative, every one seeking to equall himselfe unto him, alleaged, some one offspring, some another, some the resemblance of his name, some of his armes, othersome an old far-fetche pedigree, and the meaneest of them to be the great grand-child of some King beyond the seas. When they came all to dinner, this man, whom hitherto they had all followed, in lieu of taking his wonted place, making low lowting reverences, went to the lowest end of the board, entreating the companie to hold him excused, that through rash-unadvisednesse he had hitherto lived with them companion-like, but now being lately enformed of their right qualities, he began to know them according to their ancient degrees, and that it did not duly belong unto him to sit above so many Princes. And after he had acted his play, he began to raile upon them with a thousand injuries; saying thus unto them: For the love of God, content your selves with what your forefathers have been contented, and with the state whereto God hath called us; we have sufficient if we can maintaine it well, let us not disparage the fortune and condition of our predecessors, and reject we these fond imaginations, which cannot faile any man, whatsoever he be, that is so imprudent as to alleage them. Crests, Armes, and Coats have no more certaintie than surnames. I beare Azure semie of trefoiles, a Lions Paw in faece, Or armed Gules. What privilege hath this Coat, that it should for ever continue particularly to my house? A sonne in law will transerre the same into another family: Some silly upstart purchaser of Armes will make it his chiefe Coat. There is nothing wherein meet so many alterations and so much confusion.

But this consideration draweth me perforce unto another field. Let us somewhat narrowly search into, and for God's sake consider, on what foundation we ground this glorie and reputation, for which the world is turned topsie-turvie. On what do we establish this transitorie renowne, which with so great mind-possesting toyle and industrie we seek and gape-after? In fine, it is Peter, or William that beareth the same (marke it well, reader) and to whom it belongeth, is not hope a courageous

facultie, which in a mortall subject, and in a moment, seeks to usurp. infinite and immensitie, and to replenish his Masters indigence with the possession of all things he can imagine or desire, before it would? Nature hath given us a pleasant joy to play withall in that. Is it Peter or William. And what is that but a word for al mouths? or three or foure dashes of a pen, first, so easie to be varied, as I would willingly ask those whom the honor of so many victories concerneth, or whether Guesquin, or Glesquin, or Gueaquin? yet were there more apparence her than in Lucian that 2. did sue T. for

— non levia aut hutilia petuntur
*Premia:*¹

No light prize, no reward in jest
Is hunted after as the best.

The wager goeth deepe: The question is, which letter must be paid with so many sieges, battels, hurts, emprisonments, and services done unto the Crowne of France by her ever renowned Constable. Nicholas Denisot hath had no care but of the letters of his name, and hath changed all the contexture of them, thereout to frame the Earl of Alsinos, whom he hath honoured and presented with the glorie of his Poesie and Painting. And Suetonius the historian hath loved but the sense of his owne, and having taken away Lenis, which was his fathers surname, hath left Tranquillus successor of his compositions reputation. Who would beleve Captain Bayard hath no honour but that which he hath borrowed from the acts of Peter Terrail? And that Antonio Escalin (even before his eies) suffered Captaine Poulin, and the Baron of La Garde, to steal so many Navigations, voyages, and attempts, both by sea and land, from him? Secondarily, they are dashes and trickes of the pen, common unto a thousand men. How many are there in all races or families both of one name and surname! And how many in divers families, races, ages, and countries? Historie hath knowne three Socrates, five Platoes, eight Aristotles, seven Xenophons, twenty Demetrius, twenty Theodores: besides which, imagine how many came not to her knowledge. Who letteth my horse boy to call himselfe Pompey the great? But after all, what means, what devices are there that annex unto my horse-keeper deceased, or to that other who had his head cut off in Ægypt, or that joyne unto them this glorified and far-renowned word, and these pen-dashes so much honoured, that they may thereby advantage themselves?

*Id cinerem, et manes credis curare sepultos?*¹

Thinke you, ghosts buried, ashes dead,
Care much how we alive are sped?

What feeling motion of revenge have the
two companions in chiefe valor amongst
men: Epaminondas of that glorious verse,
which so many ages since is so common in
our mouthes for him?

*Consiliis nostris laus est attrita Laconum.*²

By our complots the haught renowne,
Of Spartan Gallants was brought downe.

And Africanus of that other;

A sole exoriente, supra Mæotis paludes

*Nemo est, qui factis me æquiparare queat?*³
From Sun rise to the Scythian-lake, of fame
None in exploits can equalize my name.

Those that survive are tickled with the
pleasure of these words, and by them
solicited with jealousy and desire, doe pre-
sently without consideration transmit by
fantasie this their proper motion of revenge
unto the deceased; and with a fond-
deceiving hope perswade, themselves, when
their turne commeth, to be capable of it.
God he knows it, neverthesse:

- ad hæc se

Romanus Grajusque et Barbarus Induperator
Exerit, causas discriminis atque laboris
Inde habuit, tanto major fama sitis est, quam
*Virtutis.*⁴

Heerto himselfe the Romane Generall,
The Græcian, the Barbarian, rou'd and rais'd:
Heere hence drew cause of perils, travells all:
So more, than to be good, thirst to be prais'd.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Of the uncertaintie of our Judgement.

IT is even as that verse saith,

Ἐνέων δὲ πολλὰς πόδας ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα.

Of words on either side,
A large doale they divide.

There is law sufficient to speake every
where, both *pro* and *contra*: As for
example:

Vince Hannibāl, et non seppe usar' poi
*Bu la vittoriosa sua ventura.*⁵

Hannibāl conquer'd, but he knew not after
To use well his victorious good fortune.

He that shall take this part, and with our
mea go about, to make that over-sight

¹ Virg. *Æn.* l. iv. 34. ² Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* l. v.
³ Ibid. ⁴ Juv. *Sat.* x. 137.

⁵ PETRARCHA.

prevaille, that we did not lately pursue our
fortune at Montcontour: Or he that shall
accuse the King of Spaine, who could not
use the advantage he had against us at
Saint Quintin, may say this fault to have
proceeded from a minde drunken with his
good fortune, and from a courage ful-
gorged with the beginning of good lucke;
loseth the taste how to encrease it, being
already hindred from digesting what he hath
conceived of it: He hath his hands full,
and cannot take hold any more: Unworthy
that ever fortune should cast so great a good
into his lap: For, what profit hath he of it,
if, notwithstanding, he give his enemy
leisure and meanes to recover himselfe?
What hope may one have, that he will once
more adventure to charge these re-enforced
and re-united forces, and new armed with
despite and vengeance, that durst not, or
knew not how to pursue them, being dis-
maied and put to rout?

*Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror.*¹

While fortune is at height in heat,
And terror worketh all by great.

But to conclude, what can he expect
better than what he hath lately lost? It is
not, as at Fence, where the number of venies
given gets the victorie: So long as the
enemy is on foot, a man is newly to begin.
It is no victorie, except it end the warre.
In that conflict where Cæsar had the worse,
neere the Citie of Oricum, he reproch-
fully said unto Pompei's souldiers, that
he had utterly beene overthrowne, had their
Captaine knowne how to conquer, and paid
him home after another fashion when it
came to his turne. But why may not a
man also hold the contrarie? That it is the
effect of an insatiate and rash-headlong
mind, not to know how to limit or period
his covetousnesse: That it is an abusing of
Gods favours to goe about to make them
lose the measure he hath prescribed them,
and that anew to cast himselfe into danger
after the victorie, is once more to remit the
same unto the mercie of fortune: That one
of the chiefest policies in militarie profession
is not to drive his enemy unto despair.
Silla and Marius in the sociall warre, having
discomfited the Marsians, seeing one squad-
ron of them yet on foot, which through de-
spaire, like furious beasts were desperately
comming upon them, could not be induc'd
to stay or make head against them. If the
fervor of Monsieur de Foix had not drewne
him over rashly and moodily to pursue the
straglers of the victorie at Ravenna, he had
not blemished the same with his untimely

¹ LUCAN. l. vii. 734.

death; yet did the fresh-bleeding memorie of his example serve to preserve the Lord of Anguien from the like inconvenience at Serisoles. It is dangerous to assaile a man whom you have bereaved of all other meanes to escape or shift for himselfe but by his weapons; for necessitie is a violent school mistris, and which teacheth strange lessons: *Gravissimi sunt morsus irritate necessitatis*. "No biting so grievous as that of necessitie provoked and enraged."

Vincitur haud gratis jugulo qui provocat hostem.

For nought you over-come him not,
Who bids his foe come cut his throat.

And this is the reason why Pharaoh impeached the King of Lacedæmon, who came from gaining of a victorie against the Mantineans, from going to charge a thousand Argians, that were escaped whole from the discomfiture; but rather to let them passe with all libertie, lest he should come to make triall of provoked and despited vertue, through and by ill fortune. Clodomire King of Aquitaine, after his victorie, pursuing Gondemar King of Burgundie, vanquished and running away, forced him to make a stand, and make head again: but his unadvised wilfulness deprived him of the fruit of the victorie, for he dyed in the action. Likewise he that should chuse, whether it were best to keepe his souldiers richly and sumptuously armed, or only for necessitie, should seeme to yeld in favour of the first, whereof was Sertorius, Philopœmen, Brutus, Cæsar, and others, urging that it is ever a spur to honour and glorie for a souldier to see himselfe gorgeously attired and richly armed, and an occasion to yeld himselfe more obstinate to fight, having the care to save his armes, as his goods and inheritance. A reason (saith Xenophon) why the Asiatikes carried with them, when they went to warres, their wives and concubines, with all their jewels and chiefest wealth. And might also incline to the other side, which is, that a man should rather remove from his shoulder all care to preserve himselfe, than to increase it unto him: for by that meanes he shall doubly feare to hazard or engage himselfe, seeing these rich spoiles doe rather increase an earnest desire of victorie in the enimie: and it hath bene observed that the said respect hath sometimes wonderfully encouraged the Romans against the Samnites. Antiochus shewing the armie he prepared against them, gorgeously accoutred with all pompe and statelennes, unto Hanniball, and de-

manding of him whether the Romanes would be contented with it: "yea, verily," answered the other, "they will be very well pleased with it: They must needs be so, were they never so covetous." Licurgus forbad his Souldiers, not onely all manner of sumptuousnesse in their equipage, but also to uncase or strip their enemies when they overcame them, willing, as he said, that frugalitie and povertie should shine with the rest of the battell. Both at sieges and elsewhere, where occasion brings us neere the enimie, we freely give our souldiers libertie to brave, to disdain, and injure him with all manner of reproaches: And not without apparence of reason; for it is no small matter to take from them all hope of grace and composition, in presenting unto them that there is no way left to accept it from him whom they have so egregiously outraged, and that there is no remedie left but from victorie. Yet had Vitellius but bad successe in that; for, having to deale with Otho, weaker in his Souldiers valor, and of long disaccustomed from warre, and effeminated through the delights and pleasures of the Citie, himselfe in the end set them so on fire with his reproachfull and injurious words, upbrayding them with their pusillanimitie and faint-heartednesse, and with the regret of their ladies, banquettings and sensualities, which they had left at Rome, that he put them into heart againe, which no perswasions or other meanes could doe before; and thereby drew them, whom nought could have driven, to fight and fall upon him. And verily, when they are injuries that touch a man to the quick, they shall easily urge him, who was very backward to fight for his Kings quarrel, to be very forward in his owne cause or interest. If a man but consider of what consequence the preservation and importance the safetie of a generall is in an Armie, and how the enemies chiefest ayme is at the fairest marke, which is the head, from which all other depend, it seemeth that that counsell cannot be doubted of, which by sundrie great Chieftaines we have seene put in practice which is, in the beginning of the fight, or in the fury of the battell, to disguise themselves. Notwithstanding the inconvenience a man may by this meanes incur, is no lesse than that mischief which a man seeketh to avoid: For the Captaine being unseene and unknowne of his souldiers, the courage they take by his example, and the heart they keep by his presence, is thereby impaired and diminished; and losing the knowne ensignes and accustomed marks of their Leader, they either deem him dead or, despairing of any good success, to be

they might shift and change horse : *Quibus, desultorum in modum, binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transsultare, mos erat. Tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile equorum genus.*¹ "Whose manner was as if they had bene vaulters, leading two horses with them in armour to leap from their tired horse to the fresh-one, even in the hottest of the fight. So great agilitie was in themselves, and so apt to be taught was the race of their horses." There are many horses found that are taught to helpe their master, to run upon any man shall offer to draw a naked sword upon them ; furiously to leap upon any man, both with feet to strike and with teeth to bite, that shall affront them ; but that for the most part they rather hurt their friends than their enemies. Considering also, that if they once be graped, you cannot easily take them off, and you must needs stand to the mercie of their combat. Artibius, Generall of the Persian armie, had very ill lucke to be mounted upon a horse fashioned in this schoole, at what time he fought man to man against Onesilus, King of Salamis ; for he was the cause of his death, by reason the shield-bearer or squire of Onesilus cut him with a faulchon betwene the two shoulders, even as he was leaping upon his master. And if that which the Italians report be true, that in the battell of Fornovo, King Charles his horse, with kicking, winching, and flying, rid both his master and himselfe from the enemies that encompass him, to dismount or kill him, and without that, he had bene lost : He committed himselfe to a great hazard, and scap't a narrow scowring.

The Mammalukes boast that they have the nimblest and readiest horses of any men at armes in the world. That both by nature they are instructed to discern, and by custome taught to distinguish their enemy, on whom they must leap and wince with feet and bite with teeth, according to the voice their master speaketh or rider giveth them. And are likewise taught to take up from the ground, lances, darts, or any other weapons with their mouths, and as he commandeth to present them to their rider. It is said of Cæsar, and of Pompey the Great, that amongst their many other excellent qualities, they were also most cunning and perfect horsemen ; and namely of Cæsar, that in his youth being mounted upon a horse, and without any bridle, he made him run a full carriere, make a sodaine stop, and with his hands behind his backe, performe what ever can be expected of an excellent ready

horse. And even as nature was pleased to make both him and Alexander two matchlesse miracles in militarie profession, so would you say she hath also endeavoured, yea, enforced herselfe to arme them extraordinarily ; For all men know that Alexanders horse, called Bucephalus, had a head shaped like unto that of a bull ; that he suffered no man to get-on and sit him but his master ; that none could weald and manage him but he ; what honours were done him after his death all know, for he had a Citie erected in his name. Cæsar likewise had another who had his fore-feet like unto a mans, with hoofs cloven in forme of fingers, who could never be handled, drest, or mounted but by Cæsar, who when he died dedicated his image to the Goddess Venus. If I be once on horse-backe, I alight very unwillingly ; for it is the seat I like best, whether I be sound or sicke. Plato commendeth it to be availefull for health : and Plinie affirmeth the same to be healthfull for the stomacke and for the joynts. And sithence we be falne into this subject, let us a little follow it I pray you. We read of a law in Xenophon, by which all men that either had or were able to keepe a horse were expresly forbidden to travell and goe a foot. Trogus and Iustinus report that the Parthians were not only accustomed to warre on horse-backe, but also to dispatch all their businesse and negotiate their affaires, both publike and privat ; as to bargain, to buy, to sell, to parly, to meet, to entertaine one another, and to converse and walke together ; and that the chieft difference betwene free men and servants amongst them is that the first ever ride, and the other goe alwaies on foot ; an institution first devised by King Cyrus. There are many examples in the Romane histories (and Suetonius doth more particularly note it in Cæsar) of Captaines that commanded their horsemen to alight whensoever by occasion they should be urged unto it, thereby to remove all manner of hope from their Souldiers to save themselves by flight, and for the advantage they hoped for in this manner of fight : *Quo haud dubie superat Romanus.*¹ "Wherein undantiedly the Romane is superiour to all," saith Titus Livius : yet shall we see that the first provision and chiefe means they used to bridle rebellion amongst their new conquered nations was to deprive them of all armes and horses. Therefore finde we so often in Cæsar : *Arma proferri, jumenta produci, obsides dari jubet.*² "He commands all their

¹ Liv. Dec. i. l. iii. et vii.² Cæs. Comment. l. vii.¹ Liv. Bel. Pun. Dec. iii. l. iii.

armour should be brought forth, all their cattell should be driven out, and hostages should be delivered." The great Turke doth not permit, at this day, any Christian or Jew to have or keepe any horse for himselfe throughout all his large empire. Our ancestors, and especially at what time we had warres with the English, in all solemne combats or set battles, would (for the most part) alight from their horses, and fight on foot, because they would not adventure to hazard so precious a thing as their honour and life, but on the trust of their owne proper strength and vigour of their undanted courage, and confidence of their limbs. Let Chirisanthes in Xenophon say what he pleaseth: whosoever fighteth on horse-backe engageth his valour and hazardeth his fortune on that of his horse; his hurts, his stumbling, his death, drawes your life and fortune into consequence, if he chance to startle or be afraid, then are you induced to doubt or feare: if to leape forward, then to become rash and fond-hardy: if he want a good mouth or a timely spur, your honour is bound to answer for it. And therefore doe not I finde it strange, that those combats were more firme and furious than those which now we see foughten on horse-backe.

— *cedebant pariter, pariterque ruebant
Victores, victique, neque his fuga nota, neque
illis.*¹

The victors and the vanquisht both together Gave backe, came on: the flight was knowne in neither.

Their battells are seene much better compact and contrived: They are now but bickerings and routs: *Primus clamor atque impetus rem decernit*: "The first shout and shocke makes an end of the matter." And the thing we call to help us, and keepe us company in so great and hazardous an adventure, ought, as much as possible may be, lie still in our disposition and absolute power. As I would counsell a gentleman to chuse the shortest weapons, and such as he may best assure himselfe of: It is most apparant that a man may better assure himselfe of a sword he holdeth in his hand, than of a bullet shot out of a pistoll, to which belong so many severall parts, as powder, stone, locke, snap-hanse, barrell, stocke, scowring-peece, and many others, whereof if the least faile, or chance to breake, and be distempered, it is able to overthrow, to hazard, or miscarry your fortune. Seldome doth that blow come or light on the marke it is aymed at, which the ayre doth carry.

*Et quò ferre velint permittere vulnera ventis,
Ensis habet vires, et gens quæcunque virorum est,
Bella gerit gladiis.*¹

Giving winde leave to give wounds as they list, But swords have strength, and right men never

mist

With sword t' assalt, and with sword to resist.

But concerning that weapon, I shall more amply speake of it where I will make a comparison betwene ancient and moderne armes: And except the astonishment and frighting of the care, which nowadaies is growne so familiar amongst men, that none doth greatly feare it; I thinke it to be a weapon of small effect, and hope to see the use of it abolished. That wherewith the Italians were wont to throw fire in it, was more frightfull and terrour-moving. They were accustomed to name a kinde of javelin, Phalarica, armed at one end with an yron pike of three foot long, that it might pierce an armed man through, which lying in the field they used to lanch or hurle with the hand, and sometimes to shoot out of certaine engines, for to defend besieged places: the staffe whereof being wreath'd about with hemp or flax, all pitched and oiled over, flying in the ayre, would soone be set afire, and lighting upon any body or target, deprived the partie hit therewith of all use of weapons or limbes: Me thinks nevertheless, that comming to grapple, it might as well hinder the assailant as trouble the assailed, and that the ground strewed with such burning truncheons, might in a pell-mell confusion produce a common incommodie.

— *magnum stridens contorta phalarica
venit
Fulminis acta modo.*²

With monstrous buzzing came a fire-dart thirled, As if a thunder-bolt had there beene whirled.

They had also other means, to the use of which custome enured them, and that by reason of inexperience seeme incredible to us; wherewith they supplied the defect of our powder and bullets. They with such fury darted their Piles, and with such force hurled their javelins, that they often pierced two targets and two armed men through, as it were with a spit. They hit as sure and as farre with their slings as with any other shot. *Saxis globosis funda, mare apertum incessentes . . . coronas modici circuli magni ex intervallo loci assueti trajicere: non capita modo hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent:* "While they were boyes, with round stones in a sling, making ducks and drakes upon the sea, they accustomed

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. x. 576.

² LUCAN. l. viii. 384. ³ VIRG. *Æn.* l. ix. 705.

⁴ LIV. *Dec.* iv. l. viii.

to cast through round marks of small compass a great distance off: whereby they not only hit and hurt the heads of their enemies, but would strike any place they aimed at." Their battering or murthering peeces represented as well the effect as the clattering and thundering noise of ours: *ad icus manium cum terribili sonitu editos, pavor et trepidatio cepit*: "At the batterie of the walles made with a terrible noise, feare and trembling began to attach them within." The Gaules, our ancient forefathers in Asia, hated mortally such treacherous and flying weapons, as they that were taught to fight hand to hand, and with more courage." *Non tam patentibus plagis moventur,—ubi latioꝝ quam altioꝝ plaga est, etiam glorioſius se pugnare putant; iidem quum aculeus sagitta, aut glandis abdita intorsus tenui vulnere in speciem urit; tum in rabiem et pudorem tam parua perimentis pestis versi, prosternunt corpora humi*:¹ "They are not so much moved with wide gashes, where the wound is more broad than it is deepe, there they thinke that they fight with more bravery; but when the sting of an arrow or a bullet, with a small wound to shew, gals them inwardly, then falling into rage and shame that so slight a hurt should kill them, they cast their bodies on the ground."

A model or picture very neere unto an harquebusada. The ten thousand Græcians in their long-lingering and farre-famous retreat, encountered with a certaine nation that exceedingly much endamaged them with stiffe, strong, and great blowes, and so long arrowes, that taking them up, they might throw them after the manner of a dart, and with them pierce a target and an armed man thorow and thorow. The

of Swethen, saith, "In any skirmish or fight on horsebacke, they often alight to combat on foot, having so trayned and taught their horses, that so long as the fight lasteth they never bounge from their masters side, that if need require, they may suddenly mount up againe: and according to their naturall custome, there is nothing accounted more base or vile than to use saddles or bardels, and they greatly contemne and scorn such as use them: So that a few of them feare not to encounter with a troupe farre exceeding them in number. That which I have other times wondered at, to see a horse fashioned and taught, that a man having but a wand in his hand, and his bridle loose hanging over his eares, might at his pleasure manage, and make him turne, stop, run, carrie, trot, gallop, and whatever else may be expected of an excellent ready horse, was common amongst the Massilians, who never used either bridle or saddle.

*Et gens quæ nudo residens Massilia dorso,
Ora levi flectit, frænorum nescia, virga.*¹

Massilian horsemen on bare horse-backe sit
Manage with light rod, without reynes or bit.

*Et Numide in fræni cingunt.*²

Numidians who their horses ride
Without bit, round about us bide.

*Equi sine frænis, deformis ipse cursus,
rigida cervice et extento capite currentum*: "The horses being without bridles, their course is ill favoured, they running with a stiffe necke, and outstretcht head (like a roasted Pigge:)" Alphonsus, King of Spaine, that first established the order of Knights called the order of the Bend or skarfe, amongst uther rules devised this one,

or rather timber-peeces, and huge stones, so farre and with such force, did greatly represent and come very near our moderne inventions. We may not also forget the pleasant seat which one named Master Peter Pol, doctor in divinitie, used to sit upon his mule, who, as Monstrelet reporteth, was wont to ride up and downe the streets of Paris, ever sitting sideling, as women use. He also saith in another place, that the Gascoines had certaine horses, so fierce and terrible, taught to turne and stop suddenly in running, whereat the French, the Piccards, the Flemmings, and Brabantins (as they who were never accustomed to see the like) were greatly amazed, and thought it a wonder: I use his very words. Caesar, speaking of those

lately read in Guevaras epistles, of which whosoever called them his golden epistles gave a judgment farre different from mine. The Courtier saith, "That before his time it was counted a great shame in a gentleman to be seen riding upon a mule:" Whereas the Abyssines are of a contrarie opinion, who accordingly as they are advanced to places of honour or dignitie about their Prince, called Prester-John, so do they more and more affect, in signe of pompe and state, to ride upon large-great mules. Xenophon reporteth that the Assirians were ever wont to keepe their horses fast-tied in fetters or gyves, and ever in the stable, they were so wilde and furious. And for that they

¹ Liv. Dec. 4. l. viii.

² LUCAN. l. iv. 681.

³ VIRG. Æn. l. iv. 41.

required so much time to unshackle, and to harness them (lest protracting of so long time might, if they should chance at unawares, and being unready, to be surprised by their enemies, endamage them) they never took up their quarter in any place except it were well dyked and intrenched. His Cyrus, whom he maketh so cunning in horsemanship, did always keepe his horses at a certaine stint, and would never suffer them to have any meat before they had deserved the same by the sweat of some exercise. If the Scythians in time of warre chanced to be brought to any necessitie of victuals, the readiest remedy they had was to let their horses bloud, and therewithall quenched their thirst and nourished themselves.

*Venit et epoto Sarmata pastus equo.*¹

The Scythian also came, who strangely feedes
On drinking out his horse (or that hee bleedes).

Those of Crotto being hardly besieged by Metellus, were reduced to so hard a pinch and strait necessitie of all manner of other beverage, that they were forced to drinke the stale or urine of their horses. To verifie how much better cheape the Turkes doe both levie, conduct, and maintaine their armies than we Christians doe, they report that besides their souldiers never drinke any thing but water, and feed on nothing but rice and drie salt flesh, which they reduce into a kinde of powder (whereof every private man doth commonly carry so much about him as will serve for a months provision), and for a shift will live a long time with the bloud of their horses, wherein they use to put a certaine quantitie of salt, as the Tartars and Moskovites doe. These new discovered people of the Indies, when the Spaniards came first amongst them, esteemed that as well men as horses were either gods or creatures far beyond and excelling their nature in nobilitie. Some of which, after they were vanquished by them, comming to sue for peace and beg pardon at their hands, to whom they brought presents of gold and such viands as their countrie yeilded, omitted not to bring the same and as much unto their horses, and with as solemne oration as they had made unto men, taking their neighings as a language of truce and composition. In the nether Indies the chiefe and royallest honour was anciently wont to be to ride upon an elephant; the second to goe in coaches drawne with foure horses; the third to ride upon a camell; the last and basest was to be carried or drawne by one horse

alone. Some of our moderne writers report to have seene some countries in that climate where the people ride oxen, with packe-saddles, stirrups, and bridles, by which they were carried very easily. Quintus Fabius Maximus Rutilianus, warring against the Samnites, and seeing that his horsemen in three or foure charges they gave had missed to breake and run through his enemies battalion, at last resolved thus, that they should all unbridle their horses, and with maine force of sharpe spurs pricke and broach them; which done, the horses, as enraged, took such a running thorow, and athwart the enemies camp, armes and men, that nought was able to resist them, and with such a furie that by opening, shouldering, and overthrowing the battalion, they made way for his infanterie, which there committed a most bloody slaughter, and obtained a notable victorie. The like was commanded and effected by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus against the Celtiberians: *Id cum majore vi equorum facietis, si effrenatos in hostes equos immittitis; quod sæpe Romanos equites cum laude fecisse sua, memoriae proditum est. Detraclisque frenis bis ultro citroque cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis, transcurrerunt.*¹ "That shall you doe with more violence of horse if you force your horse unbridled on the enemy, which it is recorded the Roman horsemen have often performed with great prooffe and praise. So pulling off the bridles they twice ran through forward and backe againe with great slaughter of the enemy, all their lances broken."

The Duke of Moscovie did anciently owe this reverence unto the Tartars, at what time soever they sent any Ambassadors to him, that he must goe meet them on foot, and present them with a goblet full of mares-milke (a drinke counted very delicious amongst them) which whilst they were drinking, if any drop chanced to be spilt upon their horses haire, he was by dutie bound to lick the same up with his tongue. The armie which the Emperor Bajazeth had sent into Russia was overwhelmed by so horrible a tempest of snow that to find some shelter, and to save themselves from the extremetie of the cold, many advised to kill and unpanch their horses and enter into their panches to enjoy and find some ease by that vitall heat. Bajazeth after that bloody and tragical conflict wherein he was overthrowne by the Scythian Tamburlane in seeking to escape, had no doubt saved himselfe by the swiftnesse of an Arabian mare on which he was mounted that day,

¹ MART. *Spect.* iii. 4.

¹ LIV. *Dec.* iv. l. x.

-if unluckily he had not been forced to let her drinke her fill in passing over a river, which made her so faint and floundered that he was easily overtaken and apprehended by those that pursued him. The common saying is, that to let a horse stale after a full carriere doth take downe his speed, but I would never had thought that drinking had done it, but rather strengthened and heartned him.

Crcesus passing alongst the citie of Sardis found certaine thickets, wherein were great store of snakes and serpents, on which his horses fed very hungerly, which thing, as Herodotus saith, was an ill-boding prodigy unto his affaires. We call him an entire horse that hath his full maine and whole eares, and which in shew, or at a muster, doth not exceed others. The Lacedemonians having defeated the Athenians in Sicilie, returning in great pompe and glory from the victorie into the citie of Siracusa, among other bravadoes of theirs, caused such horses as they had taken from their enemies to be shorne all over, and so led them in triumph. Alexander fought with a nation called Dahas, where they went to warre two and two, all armed, upon one horse, but when they come to combat one must alight, and so successively one fought on foot and the other on horsebacke, each in his turne one after another. I am perswaded that in respect of sufficiencie, of comlinessse, and of grace on horseback no nation goeth beyond us. A good horse-man (speaking according to our phrase) seemeth rather to respect an undismayed courage than an affected clean seat. The man most skilfull, best and surest-fitting, comeliest-graced, and nimblest-handed, to sit, to ride, and mannage a horse cunningly that ever I knew, and that best pleased my humor, was Monsieur de Carnavalet, who was Master of the Horse unto our King Henry the second. I have seene a man take his full carriere, standing boult up-right on both his feet on the saddle, leap downe to the ground from it, and turning backe take off the saddle, and presently set it on againe as fast as ever it was, and then leap into it againe, and al this did he whilst his horse was running as fast as might be with his bridle on his necke. I have also seene him ride over a bonnet or cap, and being gone a good distance from it, with his bow shooting backward, to sticke many arrowes in the same; then sitting still in the saddle to take up any thing from the ground, to set one foot to the ground and keepe the other in the stirrop, and continually running doe a thousand such tumbling and apish tricks wherewith he got his living. There have in my time two men beene seene in Constan-

tinople, both at once upon one horse, and who in his speediest running would by turnes, first one and then another, leape downe to the ground and then into the saddle againe, the one still taking the others place. And another who only with teeth, and without the helpe of any hand, would bridle, currie, rub, dresse, saddle, girt, and harness his horse. Another that betwene two horses, and both saddled, standing upright with one foot in the one and the second in the other, did beare another man on his armes standing upright, run a full speedy course, and the uppermost to shoot and hit any marke with his arrowes. Divers have beene seene who, standing on their heads and with their legs out-stretched aloft, having many sharp-pointed cimitaries fastened round about the saddle, to gallop at full speed. While I was a young lad, I saw the Prince of Sulmona at Naples manage a young, a rough and fierce horse, and shew all manner of horsemanship; to hold testons or reals under his knees and toes so fast as if they had beene nayled there, and all to shew his sure, steady, and unmoveable sitting.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Of ancient Customes.

I WOULD willingly excuse our people for having no other patterne or rule of perfection but his owne customes, his owne fashions: for it is a common vice, not only in the vulgar sort, but as it were in all men, to bend their ayme and frame their thoughts unto the fashions wherein they were borne. I am pleased when he shall see Fabricius or Lælius, who, because they are neither attired nor fashioned according to our manner, that he condemne their countenance to be strange and their carriage barbarous. But I bewaile his particular indiscretion, in that he suffereth himselfe to be so blinded and deceived by the authoritie of present custome, and that if custome pleaseth he is ready to change opinion and varie advice, every moneth, nay every day, and judgeth so diversly of himselfe. When he wore short-wasted doublets, and but little lower than his breast, he would maintaine by militant reasons that the waste was in his right place: but when not long after he came to wear them so long-wasted, yea almost so low as his privates, than began he to condemne the former fashion, as fond

intolerable and deformed; and to commend the latter as comely, handsome, and commendable. A new fashion of apparel creepeth no sooner into use but presently he blameth and dispraiseth the old, and that with so earnest a resolution and universall a consent, that you would say, "it is some kind of madnesse or selfe-fond humor that giddieth his understanding.

And forasmuch as our changing or altering of fashion is so sudden and new-fangled, that the inventions and new devices of all the tailors in the world cannot so fast invent novelties, it must necessarily follow that neglected and stale rejected fashions doe often come into credit and use again: And the latest and newest within a while after come to be outcast and despised, and that one selfe-same judgment within the space of fifteene or twentie yeares admitteth not only two or three different, but also cleane contrarie opinions, with so light and incredible inconstancie, that any man would wonder at it. There is no man so subtle-crafty amongst us, that suffereth not himselfe to be enveigled and over-reached by this contradiction, and that is not insensibly diazeled both with his inward and externall eyes. I will heere huddle-up some few ancient fashions that I remember: Some of them like unto ours, other-some farre differing from them: To the end, that having ever this continuall variation of humane things in our minde, we may the better enlighten and confirme our transported judgment. That manner of fight which we use now adaies with rapier and cloke, was also used among the Romanes, as saith Cæsar: *Sinistras sagis involvunt, gladiosque distringunt*:¹ "They wrap their left armes in their clokes, and draw their swords." We may to this day observe this vice to be amongst us, and which we have taken from them, that is, to stay such passengers as we meet by the way, and force them to tell us who they are, whence they come, whither they goe, and to count it as an injurie and cause of quarrel if they refuse to answer our demand. In Baths, which our forefathers used daily before meals, as ordinarily as we use water to wash our hands, when first they came into them they washed but their armes and legges, but afterward (which custome lasted many after-ages, and to this day continueth amongst divers nations of the world) their whole body over with compounded and perfumed waters, in such sort as they held it as a great testimonie of simplicitie to wash themselves in pure and uncompounded water: Such as

were most delicate and effeminate were wont to perfume their whole bodies over and over, three or four times every day: And often (as our French women have lately taken up) to picke and snip out the haire of their forehead, so they of all their body.

*Quod pectus, quod crura tibi, quod brachia vellis.*¹

That you from breast, legges, armes, the haire
Neatly pull off (to make them faire).

Although they had choice of ointments fit for the purpose.

*Psilotro nitet, aut arida latet abdita creta.*²

She shines with ointments that make haire to fall,
Or with dry chalker she over-covers all.

They loved to lie soft, and on fine downe beds, alleaging lying on hard mattresses as a signe of patience. They fed lying on their beds, neere after the manner of the Turkes now-adaies.

*Inde thoro pater Æneas sic orsus ab alio.*³

Father Æneas thus gan say,
From stately couch where then he lay.

And it is reported of Cato Junior that after the battell of Pharsalia, and that he began to mourne and bewaile the miserable state of the common-wealth, and ill condition of publike affaires, he ever eat sitting on the ground, following an austere, and observing a strict kinde of life. The *Beso las manos* was used as a signe of honour and humilitie only towards great persons. If friends met, after friendly salutations they used to kisse one another, as the Venetians do at this day.

*Gratulusque darem cum dulcibus oscula verbis.*⁴

Give her I would with greetings graced,
Kisses with sweet words enterlaced.

And in saluting or suing to any great man they touched his knees, Pasicles the Philosopher, brother unto Crates, comming to salute one, whereas he should have carried his hand to his knee, carried the same unto his genitories: The partie saluted having rudely pusht him away, "What," quoth he, "is not that part yours as well as the other?" Their manner of feeding was as ours, their fruit last. They were wont to wipe their tailles (this vaine superstition of words must be left unto women) with a sponge, and that's the reason why Spongia in Latine is counted an obscene word: which sponge was ever tied to the end of a staffe, as witnesseth the

¹ MART. I. ii. *Epigr.* lxii. 1.

² *Id.* I. vi. *Epigr.* xciii. 9. [Martial wrote *acida latet oblita creta.*]

³ VIRG. *Æn.* I. ii. 2.

⁴ OVID. *Pont.* I. iv. *El.* ix. 13.

¹ CÆS. *Bel. Civ.* I. i.

storie of him that was carried to be deuoured of the wild beasts before the people, who desiring leave to goe to a priue before his death, and having no other meanes to kill himselfe, thrust downe the sponge and staffe hee found in the priue into his throte, where with he choked himselfe. Having ended the delights of nature, they were wont to wipe their priuities with perfumed wooll.

*At tibi nil faciam, sed lota mentula laudat.*¹

To thee no such thing will I bring,
But with washt wooll another thing.

In every street of Rome were placed tubs and such other vessels, for passengers to make water in.

*Pusi saepe lacum propter, se ac dolia curta
Somnia devincti credunt extollere vestem.*²

Children asleepe oft thinke they take up all
Neere to some pissing turb, some lake, some wall.

They used to break their fast, and non-chion between meals, and all summer-time had men that sold snowe up and down the streets, wherewith they refreshed their wines, of whom some were so daintie that all winter long they used to put snow into their wine, not deeming it cold enough. Principall and noble men had their cup-bearers, tasters, carvers, and buffons to make them merrie. In Winter their viandes were brought and set on the boord upon arches, as we use chafing dishes; and had portable kitchins (of which I have seene some) wherein might be drawne wheresoever one list a whole service and messe of meat.

*Has vobis opulas habete, lauti,
Nos offendimur ambulante cena.*³

Take you daintie mouth'd such stirring feasts;
With walking meales we are offended guests.

And in summer they often caused cold water (being carried through pipes) to drill upon them as they sate in their dining chambers, or lowe parlors, where in cesterne they kept store of fish alive, which the by-standers might at their pleasure chuse and take with their hands, and have it drest every man according to his fantasie. Fish hath ever had this privilege, as at this day it hath, that chiefe Gentlemen are pleased and have skill to dress it best: And to say truth, the taste of fish is much more delicate and exquisit than that of flesh, at least in mine. But in all manner of magnificence, delitiousnes, riotous gluttonie, inventions of voluptuousnes, wantonnes, and sumptuositie, we truly endeavour, as much as may be, to equall and come neere them: For our will

and taste is as much corrupted as theirs, but our skill and sufficiencie is farre short of them: Our wit is no more capable, and our strength no more able to approach and match them in these vitious and blame-worthy parts, than in vertuous and commendable actions: For both proceede from a vigor of spirit and farre-reaching wit, which, without comparison, was much greater in them than now in us. And mindes by how much more strong and excellent they are, so much lesse facultie and meanes have they to doe, either excellently well or notoriously ill. The chiefeest aime amongst them was a meane or mediocrity. The foremost or last, in writing or speaking, had no signification of pre-heminence or greatness, as may evidently appeare by their writings. They would as familiarly and as soon say, Oppius and Caesar, as Caesar and Oppius; and as indifferently I and thou, as thou and I. And that's the reason why I have heretofore noted in the life of Flamininus, in our French Plutarke, a place where it seemeth that the Author, speaking of the jealousie of glorie that was betwene the Aetolians and the Romanes for the gaine of a battell which they had obtained in common, maketh for the purpose, that in Greeke songs the Aetolians were named before the Romans, except there bee some Amphibology in the French words: for in that tounge I reade it. When Ladies came unto stoves or hot-houses, they made it not daintie to admit men into their companie, and to be washed, rubbed, chafed, and annointed by the hands of their groomes and pages.

*Inguina succinctus nigræ tibi servus alutæ
Stat, quoties calidis nude foveris æquis.*¹

Your man, whose loynes blacke-lether girds,
stands by,
Whilst in warme water you starke-naked lie.

They also used to sprinkle themselves all over with certaine powders, thereby to alay and repress all manner of filth or sweat. The ancient Gaules (saith Sidonius Apollinaris) wore their haire long before, and all the hinder part of their head shaven, a fashion that our wanton youths and effeminate gallants have lately renewed, and in this new-fangled and fond-doting age, brought up againe, with wearing of long-dangling locks before. The ancient Romans paid the water-men their fare or due so soone as they came into the boat, whereas we pay it when they set us on shore.

*— dum as exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
Tota abit hora.*²

¹ MART. l. xi. *Epig.* li. ii.

² IUCR. l. iv. 1018.

³ MART. l. vii. *Epig.* xlvii. 3.

¹ MART. l. vii. *Epig.* xxxiv. 1.

² HOR. l. i. *Sat.* v. 13.

While they call for their fare, tie drawe-mule to,
There runs away a full houre, if not two.

Women were wont to lie on the utmost side of the bed, and therefore was Cæsar called *Spondam Regis Nicomedis*; ¹ "King Nicomedes his beds side." They tooke breath while they were drinking, and used to baptise or put water in their wines.

- quis puer acius
*Restinguet ardentis salerni
Pocula pratereunte limphâ?* ²

What boy of mine or thine
Shall coole our cup of wine
With running water fine?

Those cousing and minde-deceiving countenances of lakeis were also amongst them.

*O Iane, à tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit,
Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis albas,
Nec lingua quantum sitiit canis Appula tantum.* ³

O Janus, whom behinde no Storks-bill doth deride,
Nor nimble hand resembling mak's eares white and wide,
Nor so much tongue lill'd out as dogges with thirst ore-dried.

The Argian and Romane Ladies mourned in white, as our dames wont to doe; and if I might be credited, and beare-sway amongst them, they should continue it still. But because there are many bookes that treat of this argument, I will say no more of it.

CHAPTER I.

Of Democritus and Heraclitus.

JUDGEMENT is an instrument for all subjects, and medleth every where, and therefore in the Essayes I make of it, there is no maner of occasion I seeke not to employ therein. If it be a subject I understand not my selfe, therein I make triall of it, sounding afarre off the depth of the ford, and finding the same over deepe for my reach, I keepe my selfe on the shoare. And to acknowledge not to be able to wade through is a part of its effect, yea of such whereof he vanteth most. If I light upon a vaine and idle subject, I assay to trie and endeavour to see whether I may find a good ground to worke upon, and matter to frame a body, and wherewith to build and under-lay it. Sometimes I addresse my judgement and contrive it to a

noble and out-worne subject, wherein is nothing found subsisting of itselfe, the high way to it being so bare-trodden that it cannot march but in other steps. There he pleaseth himselfe in chusing the course he thinkes best, and a thousand paths sometimes he saith, this or that was best chosen. I take my first Argument of fortune: All are alike unto me: And I never purpose to handle them thoroughly: For there is nothing wherein I can perceive the full perfection: Which they doe not that promise to shew it us. Of a hundred parts and visages that every thing hath, I take one, which sometimes I slightly runne over, and other times but cursorily glance at. And yet other whilst I pinch it to the quicke and give it a Stockado, not the widest, but the deepest I can. And for the most part I love to seize upon them by some unwonted lustre. I would adventure to treat and discourse of some matter to the depth; knew I my selfe lesse, or were I deceived in mine owne impuissance; scattering here one and there another word, scantlings taken from their maine ground-work, disorderly dispersed, without any well-grounded designe and promise. I am not bound to make it good, nor without varying to keepe my selfe closed into it; whensoever it shall please me to yeld my selfe to doubt, to uncertaintie, and to my Mistris's forme, which is ignorance. Each motion sheweth and discovereth what we are. The very same minde of Cæsar we see in directing, marshalling, and setting the battel of Pharsalia, is likewise seene to order, dispose, and contrive idle, trifling and amorous devices. We judge of a horse not only by seeing him ridden, and cunningly managed, but also by seeing him trot or pace; yea, if we but looke upon him as he stands in the stable. Amongst the functions of the soule, some are but meane and base. He that seeth her no further, can never know her thorowly. And he that seeth her march her naturall and simple pace, doth peradventure observe her best. The winds of passions take her most in her highest pitch, seeing she entirely coucheth herselfe upon every matter, and wholly therein exerciseth herselfe: and handleth but one at once, not according to it, but according to herselfe. Things severall in themselves have peradventure weight, measure, and condition: But inwardly, in us, she cuts it out for them, as she understandeth the same herselfe. Death is fearefull and ugly unto Cicero; wished for and desired of Cato; and indifferent unto Socrates. Health, well-fare, conscience, authoritie, riches, glorie, beaultie, and their contraries are dispoysed at the entrance, and receive a new vesture at

¹ Suet. *Jul. Cæs.* c. xlix.

² Hor. l. ii. *Od.* xi. 18.

³ Pers. *Sat.* i. 38.

the soles hand. Yea, and what colour she pleaseth: browne, bright, greene, sad, or any hew else; sharpe or sweete, deepe or superficiall, and what each of them pleaseth. For none of them did ever verifie their stiles, their rules, or formes in common; each one severally is a Queene in her owne estate. Therefore let us take no more excuses from externall qualities of things. To us it belongeth to give our selves account of it. Our good and our evill hath no dependancy but from our selves. Let us offer our vows and offerings unto it, and not to fortune. She hath no power over our manners. Why should I not judge of Alexander as I am sitting and drinking at table, and talking in good company? Or if hee were playing at Chesse, what string of his wit doth not touch or harpe on this fond-childish and time-consuming play? I lothe and shun it, only because there is not sport enough in it, and that in his recreation he is over serious with us, being ashamed I must apply that attention therunto as might be employed on some good subject. He was no more busied in levying his forces and preparing for his glorious passage into India; nor this other in disintangling and discovering of a passage whence dependeth the well-fare and safety of mankind. See how much our mind troubleth this ridiculous ammuizing, if all her sinnewes bandy not. How amply she giveth every one Law in that to know and directly to judge of himselfe. I doe not more universally view and feele my selfe in any other posture. What passion doth not exercise us therunto? Choller, spight, hatred, impatience, and vehement ambition to overcome, in a matter wherein it were haply more excusable to be ambitious for to be vanquished. For a rare pre-excellence, and beyond the common reach, in so frivolous a thing, is much misseeming a man of honour. What I say of this example may be spoken of all others. Every parcell, every occupation of a man, accuseh and sheweth him equal unto another. Democritus and Heraclitus were two Philosophers, the first of which, finding and deeming humane condition to be vaine and ridiculous, did never walke abroad but with a laughing, scornful and mocking countenance: Whereas Heraclitus, taking pitie and compassion of the very same condition of ours, was continually seene with a sad, mournfull, and heave cheere, and with teares trickling downe his blubbered eyes.

— Alter

*Ridebat quoties à limine moverat unum
Protuleratque pedem, flectbat contrarius alter.*¹

One from his doore, his foote no sooner past,
But straight he laugh; the other wept as fast.

I like the first humor best, not because it is more pleasing to laugh than to weepe; but for it is more disdainfull, and doth more condemne us than the other. And me thinkes we can never bee sufficiently despised according to our merit. Bewalling and commiseration are commixed with some estimation of the thing moaned and wailed. Things scorned and condemned are thought to be of no worth. I cannot be perswaded there can be so much ill lucke in us as there is apparant vanitie, nor so much malice as sottishnesse. We are not so full of evil as of voydnesse and inanitie. We are not so miserable as base and abject. Even so Diogenes, who did nothing but trifle, toy, and dally with himselfe, in rumbling and rowling of his tub, and flurting at Alexander, accompting us but flies and bladders puffed with winde, was a more sharp, a more bitter, and a more stinging judge, and by consequence more just and fitting my humor than Timon, surnamed the hater of all mankind. For looke what man hateth, the same thing he takes to hart. Timon wisht all evill might light on us: He was passionate in desiring our ruine. He shunned and loathed our conversation as dangerous and wicked, and of a depraved nature: Whereas the other so little regarded us, that we could neither trouble nor alter him by our contagion; he forsooke our company, not for feare, but for disdaine of our commerce: He never thought us capable or sufficient to doe either good or evill. Of the same stampe was the answer of Statilius, to whom Brutus spake to win him to take part, and adhere to the conspiracie against Caesar: He allowed the enterprize to be very just, but disallowed of the men that should performe the same, as unworthy that any man should put himself in any adventure for them: Conformable to the discipline of Hegesias, who said, "That a man ought never to doe anything but for himself;" forasmuch as he alone is worthy to have any action performed for him: and to that of Theodorus, "who thought it an injustice that a wise man should in any case hazard himselfe for the good and benefit of his countrie, or to endanger his wisdom for fooles." Our owne condition is as ridiculous as risible, as much to be laugh at as able to laugh.

CHAPTER LI.

Of the Vanitie of Words.

ARHETORICIAN of ancient times said that his trade was to make small things appeare and seeme great. It is a shoemaker that can make great shoes for a little foot. Had hee lived in Sparta he had doubtlesse been well whipped for professing a false, a 'couzening and deceitfull art. And I thinke Archidamus, King of that Citie, did not without astonishment listen unto the answer of Thucydides, of whom he demanded whether he or Pericles was the strongest and nimblest wrestler; whose answer was this, "Your question, sir, is very hard to be decided; for if in wrestling with him I give him a fall, with his faire words he perswadeth those that saw him on the ground that he never fell, and so gets the victorie." Those that maske and paint women commit not so foule a fault; for it is no great losse, though a man see them not, as they were naturally borne and unpainted: Whereas these profess to deceive and beguile, not our eies, but our judgement, and to bastardize and corrupt the offence of things. Those common-wealths that have maintained themselves in a regular, formal, and well governe'd estate, as that of Crete and Lacedemon, did never make any great esteeme of orators. Ariston did wisely define Rhetorike "to be a Science to perswade the vulgar people:" Socrates and Plato "to be an Art to deceive and flatter." And those which denie it in the generall description, doe every where in their precepts verifie the same. The Mahomedans, by reason of its inutility, forbid the teaching of it to their children. And the Athenians, perceiving how pernicious the profession and use thereof was, and of what credit in their Citie, ordained that their principall part, which is to move affections, should be dismissed and taken away, together with all exordiums and perorations. It is an instrument devised to busie, to manage, and to agitate a vulgar and disordered multitude; and is an implement employed but about distempered and sicke mindes, as Physicke is about crazed bodies. And those where either the vulgar, the ignorant, or the generalitie have had all power, as that of Rhodes, those of Athens, and that of Rome, and where things have ever bene in continuall disturbance and uproar, thither have Orators and the professors of that Art flocked. And verily, if it be well looked into, you shall

finde very few men in those common-wealths that without helpe of eloquence have attained to any worthy estimation and credit: Pompey, Cæsar, Crassus, Lucullus, Lentulus, Metellus, have thence taken their greatest stay and furtherance, whereby they have ascended unto that height and greatness of authoritie whereunto they at last attained, and against the opinion of better times have more prevailed with words than with armes. For L. Volumnius, speaking publicly in favour of the election which some had made of Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius to be Consuls, saith thus: "They are men borne unto warre, of high spirits; of great performance, and able to effect anything; but rude, simple, and unarted in the combat of talking; minds truly consular. They only are good Pretors, to do justice in the Citie (saith he), that are subtile, cautelous, well-spoken, wily, and lip-wise." Eloquence hath chiefly flourished in Rome when the common-wealths affaires have bene in worst estate, and that the devouring Tempest of civill broyles, and intestine warres did most agitate and turmoil them. Even as a raucke, free and untamed soyle, beareth the rankest and strongest weeds, whereby it seemeth that those common-weales which depend of an absolute Monarch, have lesse need of it than others: For that foolishnesse and facilitie which is found in the common multitude, and which doth subject the same to be managed, perswaded, and led by the eares by the sweet, alluring and sense-entrancing sound of this harmonie, without duely weighing, knowing, or considering the trueth of things by the force of reason: This facilitie and easie yeelding, I say, is not so easily found in one only ruler, and it is more easie to warrant him from the impression of this poysen, by good institution and sound counsell. There was never seene any notable or farre-renowned Orator to come out of Macedon or Persia. What I have spoken of it hath bene upon the subject of an Italian, whom I have lately entertained into my service, who during the life of the whilom cardinal Caraffa served him in the place of steward of his house. Enquiring of his charge and particular qualitie, he told me a long, formal and eloquent discourse of the science or skill of epicurisme and gluttonie, with such an Oratorie-gravitie and Magistrale countenance as if he had discoursed of some high mysterious point of divinitie, wherein he hath very methodically decifred and distinguished sundrie differences of appetites: First of that which a man hath fasting, then of that men have after the first, the second,

and third service. The severall meanes how sometimes to please it simply, and other times to sharpen and provoke the same; the policie and rare invention of his sawces: First, in general terms, then particularizing the qualities and severall operations of the ingredients, and their effects: The difference of salades according to their distinct seasons; which must be served in warme, and which cold: The manner how to dress, how to adorne and embellish them, to make them more pleasing to the sight. After that, he entred into a large and farrefetch narration touching the true order and due method of service, full of goodly and important considerations.

— *Nec minimo sanè discrimine refert,
Quo gestu lepores, et quo gallina secetur.*¹

What grace we use, it makes small difference, when

We carve a Hare, or else breake up a Hen.

And all that filled up and stuffed with rich magnificent words, well couched phrases, oratorie figures, and pathetically metaphors; yea such as learned men use and employ in speaking of the government of an empire, which made me remember my man.

Hoc salsum est, hoc adustum est, hoc lentum est parum,

Illud rectè, iterum sic memento, sedulo

Moneo quæ possum pro mea sapientia.

Postremò tanquam in speculum, in patinas, Demea,

*Inspicere jubeo, et moneo quid facto usus sit.*²

This dish is salt, this burnt, this not so fine, That is well done, doe so againe; Thus I As my best wisdom serves, all things assigne. Lastly, sir, I command, they neatly prie, On dishes, as a glasse, And shew what needfull was.

Yet did those strict Græcians commend the order and disposition which Paulus Æmilius observed in the banquet he made them at his returne from Macedon: But here I speake not of the effects, but of the words. I know not whether they worke that in others which they doe in mee. But when I heare our Architects mouth-out those big and ratling words of Pilasters, Architraves, Cornices, Frontispices, Corinthian and Dorike works, and such like fustian-terms of theirs, I cannot let my wandering imagination from a sodaine apprehension of Apollidonius his pallace, and I find by effect that they are the seely and decayed peeces of my Kitchen-dooer. Doe but heare one pronounce Metonymia, Metaphore, Allegory, Etimologie and other

such trash-names of grammer, would you not thinke they meant some forme of a rare and strange language: They are titles and words that concerne your chamber-maids tittle-tattle. It is a fopperie and cheating trick, cousin-germane unto this, to call the offices of our estate by the proud titles of the ancient Romans, though they have no resemblance at all of charge, and lesse of authoritie and power. And this likewise, which in mine opinion will one day remaine as a reproch unto our age, unworthily and undeservedly to bestow on whom we list the most glorious surnames and loftiest titles, wherewith antiquitie in many long-continued ages honoured but one or two persons. Plato hath by such an universall consent borne-away the surname of Divine, that no man did ever attempt to envie him for it. And the Italians, which vaunt (and indeed with some reason) to have generally more lively and farre-reaching wits, and their discourse more sound and sinnowy, than other nations of their times, have lately therewith embellished Peter Aretine; in whom, except it be an high-raised, proudly-pufft, mind-moving, and heart-danting manner of speech, yet in good sooth more than ordinarie wittie and ingenious; but so new-fangled, so extravagant, so fantastick, so deep-laboured; and to conclude, besides the eloquence, which be it as it may be, I cannot perceive any thing in it beyond or exceeding that of many other writers of his age, much lesse that it in any sort approacheth that ancient divinitie. And the surname Great, we attribute and fasten the same on princes that have nothing in them exceeding popular greatnesse.

CHAPTER LII.

Of the Parcimonie of our Forefathers.

ATTILIUS REGULUS, Generall of the Romans Armie in Affrike, in the midst of his glorie and victorie against the Carthaginians, writ unto the common-wealth, that a hyne or plough-boy, whom he had left alone to oversee and husband his land (which in all was but seven acres of ground) was run away from his charge, and had stolne from him all his implements and tools belonging to his husbandrie, craving leave to be discharged, and that he might come home to looke to his businesse, for feare his wife and children

¹ *Juv. Sat. v. 127.*

² *Ter. Adel. act iii. sc. 4, 62.*

should thereby be endamaged: the Senate tooke order for him, and appointed another man to looke to his land and businesse, and made that good unto him which the other had stolne from him, and appointed his wife and children to be maintained at the common-wealths charge. Cato the elder, returning Consul from Spaine, sold his horse of service to save the monie he should have spent for his transport by sea into Italy: And being chiefe governor in Sardinia, went all his visitations afoot, having no other traine but one officer of the common-welth, who carried his gowne and a vessell to do sacrifice in, and for the most part carried his male himself. He boasted that he never woare gowne that cost him more than ten crowns, nor sent more than one shilling sterling to the market for one whole daies provision, and had no countrie house rough-cast or painted over. Scipio Æmilianus, after he had triumphed twice, and twice been Consul, went on a solemne Legation, accompanied and attended on only with seven servants. It is reported that Homer had never any more than one servant, Plato three, and Zeno, chiefe of the Stoikes sect, none at all. Tiberius Gracchus, being then one of the principal men amongst the Romanes, and sent in commission about weightie matters of the common-wealth, was allotted but six-pence halfe-penic a day for his charges.

CHAPTER LIII.

Of a saying of Cæsar.

IF we shall sometimes amuse our selves and consider our estate, and the time we spend in controlling others, and to know the things that are without us; would we but emploie the same in sounding our selves throughly, we should easily perceive how all this our contexture is built of weake and decaying peeces. Is it not an especiall testimonie of imperfection that we cannot settle our contentment on any one thing, and that even of our owne desire and imagination it is beyond our power to chuse what we stand in need of? Whereof, the disputation that hath ever beene amongst Philosophers beareth sufficient witnes, to finde out the chief felicitie or *summum bonum* of man, and which yet doth and shall eternally last without resolution or agreement.

— *dum abest quod avemus, id exsuperare videtur*

*Cætera; post aliud, cum contigit illud, avemus, Et sitis aqua tenet.*¹

While that is absent which we wish, the rest That seems to passe, when ought else is address, That we desire, with equall thirst oppress.

Whatsoever it be that falleth unto our knowledge and joyvissance, we finde it doth not satisfie us, and we still follow and gape after future, uncertaine, and unknowne things, because the present and knowne please us not, and doe not satisfie us. Not (as I thinke) because they have not sufficiently wherewith to satiate and please us, but the reason is that we apprehend and seize on them with an unruly, disordered, and diseased taste and hold-fast.

Nam cum vidit hic ad usum quæ flagitat usus, Omnia jam ferre mortalius esse parata, Divitiis homines et honore et laude potentes Affluere, atque bonâ natorum excellere famâ, Nec minus esse domi cuiquam tamen anxiam corda,

*Atque animum infestis cogi servire querellis: Intellexit ibi vitium vas facere ipsam, Omniaque illius vitio corrumpier intus Quæ collata foris et commoda quæque venirent.*²

For when the wiseman saw, that all almost, That use requires, for men prepared was, That men enriches, honors, praises boast, In good report of children others passe, Yet none at home did beare lesse pensive heart, But that the minde was forst to serve complaint He knew, that fault the vessell did empart, That all was marr'd within by vessels taint, Whatever good was wrought by any art.

Our appetite is irresolute and uncertaine; it can neither hold nor enjoy any thing handsomly and after a good fashion. Man supposing it is the vice and fault of things he possesseth, feedeth and filleth himselfe with other things, which he neither knoweth nor hath understanding of, whereto he applyeth both his desires and hopes, and taketh them as an honour and reverence to himselfe; as saith Cæsar, *Communi fit vitio natura, ut invisit, latitantibus abque incognitis rebus magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterramur.*³ "It hapneth by the common fault of nature that both wee are more confident and more terrified by things unseene, things hidden and unknowne.

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 25.

² LUCR. l. ix.

³ CÆS. BEL. CIV. l. ii.

CHAPTER LIV.

Of vaine Subtilties, or subtill Devices.

THERE are certaine frivolous and vaine inventions, or as some call them subtilties of wit, by meanes of which some men doe often endeavour to get credit and reputation, as divers Poets that frame whole volumes with verses beginning with one letter. We see Egges, Wings, Hatchets, Crosses, Globes, Columnnes, and divers other such like figures anciently fashioned by the Græcians, with the measure and proportion of their verses spreading, lengthening, and shortening them in such sort as they justly represent such and such a figure. Such was the science and profession of him who long time busied himselfe to number how many severall waies the letters of the Alphabet might be ranged, and found out that incredible number mentioned by Plutarke. I allow of his opinion who, having one brought before him that was taught with such industrie, and so curiously to cast a graine of millet with his hand, that without ever missing he would every time make it goe through a needles-eye, and being entreated to bestow some thing upon him (as a reward for so rare a skill), verie pleasantly and worthily commanded that this cunning workman should have two or three peckes of millet delivered him, to the end his rare art and wittie labour might not remaine without daillie exercise. It is a wonderfull testimonie of our judgements imbecillitie that it should commend and allow of things, either for their rarenesse or noveltie, or for their difficultie, though neither goodnesse or profit be joined unto them. We come but now from my house, where we have a while recreated our selves with devising who could find out most things that held by both extreme ends. As for example, Sir is in our tongue a title only given to the most eminent person of the state, which is the King, and yet is commonly given to some of the vulgar sort, as unto Merchants and Pedlars, and nothing concerneth those of the middle sort, and that are betweene both. Women of chiefeest calling and qualitie are called Dames, the meane sort Damoisels, and those of the basest ranke are also entitled Dames. The clothes of estate, which we see set over tables and chaires, are only allowed in Princes houses, yet we see them used in tavernes. Democritus was wont to say, "That Gods and beasts had quicker senses

and sharper wits than men who are of the middle ranke." The Romans used to weare one self-same garment on mourning and on festivall daies. It is most certaine that both an extreme feare and an exceeding heat of courage doe equally trouble and distemper the belly. The nick-name of Tremblant, wherewith Zanchio the twelfth King of Navarre was surnamed, teacheth that boldnesse as well as feare engender a startling and shaking of the limbs. Those which armed either him or any other of the like nature, whose skin would quiver, assaid to re-assure him by diminishing the danger wherein he was like to fall: you have no perfect knowledge of me (said he), for if my flesh knew how far my courage will ere-long carry it, it would presently fall into a flat swoone. That chillesse, or as I may terme it, faintnesse, which we feel after the exercises of Venus, the same doth also proceed from an over vehement appetite and disordered heat. Excessive heat and extreme cold doe both boile and rost. Aristotle saith, "That leaden vessels doe as well melt and consume away by an excessive cold and rigor of winter as by a vehement heat." Both desire and satietie fill the sense with sorrow both above and under voluptuousnesse. Folly and wisdom meet in one point of feeling and resolution above the suffering of humane accidents. The wiser sort doth gourmandise and command evill, and others know it not: The latter (as a man would say) short of accidents, the other beyond, who after they have well weighed and considered their qualities, and duly measured and rightly judged what they are, overleap them by the power of a vigorous courage. They disdain and tread them under foot, as having a strong and solide minde, against which, if fortunes darts chance to light, they must of necessitie be blunted and abated meeting with so resisting a body, as they cannot pierce or make any impression therein. The ordinarie and meane condition of men abideth betweene these two extremities, which are those that perceive and have a feeling of mischiefs but cannot endure them. Both infancie and decrepitude meet with weaknessse of the braine. Covetise and profusion in a like desire to acquire and hoard up. It may with likelihood be spoken that there is a kinde of Abecedarie ignorance preceding science: another doctorall following science: an ignorance which science doth beget, even as it spoileth the first. Of simple, lesse-curious, and least-instructed spirits are made good Christians, who simply believe through reverence and obedience, and are kept in awe of the

lawes. In the meane vigor of spirits, and slender capacite is engendered the error of opinions. They follow the appearance of the first sense, and have some title to interpret it foolishnesse and sottishnesse, that we are confirmed in ancient waies respecting us that are nothing therein instructed by study. The best, most-settled, and clearest-seeing spirits make another sort of well-beleevvers, who by long and religious investigation, penetrate a more profound and find out a more abstruse light in scriptures, and discover the mysterious and divine secrets of our ecclesiastical policie. And therefore see we some of them that have reached unto this last ranke, by the second, with wonderfull fruit and confirmation, as unto the furthest bounds of Christian intelligence, and enjoy their victorie with comfort, thanksgiving, reformation of manners, and great modesty. In which ranke my purpose is not to place these others who to purge themselves from the suspicion of their forepassed errors, and the better to assure us of them, become extreme, indiscreet, and unjust in the conduct of our cause, and tax and taint the same with infinite reproaches of violence. The simple peasants are honest men, so are philosophers (or as our time nameth them, strong and cleare natures), enriched with a large instruction of profitable sciences. The mongrell sort of husband-men, who have disdained the first forme of ignorance of letters, and could never reach unto the other (as they that sit betweene two stooles, of which besides so many others I am one) are dangerous, peevish, foolish, and unfortunate, and they which trouble the world most. Therefore doe I (as much as lieth in me) withdraw my selfe into the first and naturall seat, whence I never assaied to depart. Popular and meere naturall Poesie hath certaine graces and ill-bred livenessse, whereby it concurrith and compareth it selfe unto the principall beautie of perfect and artificiall Poesie as may plainly be seene in the Villanelles, homely gigs, and cuntry songs of Gasconie, which are brought us from Nations that have no knowledge at all, either of any learning or so much as of writing. Meane and indifferent Poesie, and that consisteth betweene both, is scorned and contemned and passed without honour or esteemed. But forasmuch as since the passage hath beene opened unto the spirit, I have found (as it commonly hapneth) that we had apprehended that which is neither so nor so for a difficult exercise and of a rare subject; and that since our invention hath been set on fire it discovereth an infinite number of like examples. I will onely

adde this one: That if these Essayes were worthy to be judged of, it might in mine opinion happen that they would not greatly please the common and vulgar spirits, and as little the singular and excellent. The first will understand but little of them, the latter over much; they might perhaps live and rub out in the middle region.

CHAPTER LV.

Of Smells and Odors.

IT is reported of some, namely of Alexander, that their sweat, through some rare and extraordinary complexion, yielded a sweet smelling flavour, whereof Plutarke and others seeke to find out the cause. But the common sort of bodies are cleane contrarie, and the best qualitie they have is to be cleare of any smell at all. The sweetness of the purest breaths hath nothing more perfect in them than to bee without savour that may offend us, as are those of healthy sound children. And therefore saith Plautus:

*Mulier tum bene olet, ubi nihil olet.*¹

Then smells a woman purely well,
When she of nothing else doth smell.

The most exquisit and sweetest savour of a woman it is to smell of nothing; and sweet, well-smelling, strange savours may rightly be held suspicious in such as use them; and a man may lawfully think who useth them doth it to cover some naturall defect: whence proceed these ancient Poeticall sayings, "To smell sweet is to stinke."

*Rides nos, Coracine, nil olentes,
Malo quam bene olere, nil olere.*²

You laugh at us that we of nothing savour,
Rather smell so, than sweeter (by your savour).

And else where:

*Posthume, non bene olet, qui bene semper olet.*³

Good sir, he smells hot ever sweet,
Who smells still sweeter than is meet.

Yet love I greatly to be entertained with sweet smells, and hate exceedingly all manner of sowre and ill savours, which I shall sooner smell than any other.

— *Namque sagacius unus odoror,
Polypos, an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
Quam canis acer ubi lateat sus.*⁴

¹ PLAU. *Mosell.* act. i. sc. 3.

² MART. l. vi. *Epig.* lv. 4.

³ L. ii. *Epig.* xii. 4.

⁴ HOR. *Epod.* xii. 4.

Sooner smell I, whether a cancred nose,
Or ranke gote-smell in haire arme-pits lie,
Than sharpest hounds, where rowting bores
repose.

The simplest and meere natural smells are most pleasing unto me; which care ought chiefly to concerne women. In the verie heart of Barbarie, the Scithian women, after they have washed themselves, did sprinkle, dawbe, and powder all their bodies and faces over with a certaine odoriferous drug that groweth in their countrie: which dust and dawbing being taken away, when they come neere men, or their husband, they remaine verie cleane, and with a verie sweet savouring perfume. What odour soever it be, it is strange to see what hold it will take on me, and how apt my skin is to receive it. He that complaineth against nature, that she hath not created man with a fit instrument, to carrie sweet smells fast-tied to his nose, is much to blame: for they carrie themselves. As for me in particular, my mostachoes, which are verie thick, serve me for that purpose. Let me but approach my gloves or my hand-kercher to them, their smell will stickie upon them a whole day. They manifest the place I come from. The close-smacking, sweetnesse-moving, love-alluring, and greed-smirking kisses of youth, were heretofore wont to stickie on them many houres after; yet am I little subject to those popular diseases that are taken by conversation and bred by the contagion of the ayre: And I have escaped those of my time of which there hath beene many and severall kinds, both in the Townes about me, and in our Armie: We read of Socrates that during the time of many plagues and relapses of the pestilence, which so often infested the Citie of Athens, he never forsooke or went out of the Towne: yet was he the only man that was never infected; or that felt any sickness. Physitians might (in mine opinion) draw more use and good from odours than they doe. For myselfe have often perceived that according unto their strength and qualitie they change and alter, and move my spirits, and worke strange effects in me: which makes me approve the common saying, that the invention of incense and perfumes in Churches, so ancient and so far-dispersed throughout all nations and religions, had an especiall regard to rejoyce, to comfort, to quicken, to rowze, and to purifie our senses, that so we might be the apter and readier unto contemplation. And the better to judge of it, I would I had my part of the skill which some Cookes have, who can so curiously season and temper strange odors with the savor and relish of their meats. As it was

especially observed in the service of the King of Tunes, who in our days landed at Naples, to meet and enter-parly with the Emperour Charles the fifth. His viandes were so exquisitely farced, and so sumptuously seasoned with sweet odoriferous drugs and aromaticall spices, that it was found upon his booke of accompt the dressing of one peacocke and two fesants amounted to one hundred duckets; which was their ordinarie manner of cooking his meats. And when they were carved up, not only the dining chambers, but all the roomes of his palace and the streets round about it, were replenished with an exceeding odoriferous and aromaticall vapour, which continued a long time after. The principall care I take, wheresoever I am lodged, is to avoid and be far from all manner of filthy, foggy, ill-savouring and unwholesome aires. These goodly Cities of strangely-seated Venice and huge-built Paris, by reason of the muddy, sharp, and offending saviors which they yeld; the one by her fennie and marish situation, the other by her durtie uncleannesse and continuall mire, doe greatly alter and diminish the favor which I bear them.

CHAPTER LVI.

Of Prayers and Orisons.

I PROPOSE certaine formelesse and irresolute fantasies, as do those scholars who in schooles publish doubtfull and sophisticall questions to be disputed and canvased: not to establish the truth, but to find it out, which I submit to their judgements, to whom the ordering and directing not only of my actions and compositions, but also of my thoughts, belongeth. The condemnation, as well as the approbation of them, will be equally acceptable and profitable unto me, deeming it absurd and impious if anything be either ignorantly or unadvisedly set downe in this rapsody, contrarie unto the sacred resolutions and repugnant to the holy prescriptions of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romane Church, wherein I was borne, and out of which I purpose not to die. And therefore alwaies referring myselfe unto their censures that have all power over me, doe I meddle so rashly to write of all manner of purposes and discourses as I doe here. I wot not whether I be deceived, but, sithence by an especiall and singular favour of Gods divine

bounty, a certaine forme of prayer hath by the very mouth of God, word by word, been prescribed and directed unto us, I have ever thought the use of it should be more ordinarie with us than it is. And might I be believed, both rising and going to bed, sitting downe and rising from boord, and going about any particular action or businesse, I would have all good Christians to say the Paternoster, and if no other praiſer, at least not to omit that. The Church may extend, amplifie, and diversifie praiſers according to the need of our instruction: For I know it is alwaies the same substance, and the same thing. But that one should ever have this privilege, that all manner of people should at all times and upon every occasion have it in their mouth: For it is most certaine that only it containeth whatsoever we want, and is most fit and effectuell in all events. It is the only praiſer I use in every place, at all times, and upon every accident; and instead of changing, I use often repetition of it: whence it commeth to passe that I remember none so well as that one. I was even now considering whence this generall errorr commeth, that in all our desseignes and enterprises, of what nature soever, we immediately have recourse unto God, and in every necessitie we call upon his holy name: And at what time soever we stand in need of any help and that our weaknesse wanteth assistance, we only invoke him, without considering whether the occasion be just or unjust; and what estate or action we be in, or goe about, be it never so vicious or unlawfull, we call upon his name and power. Indeed, he is our only protector, and of power to afford us all manner of helpe and comfort; but although he vouchsafe to honour us with this joy-bringing fatherly adoption, yet is he as just as he is good, and as good and just as he is mightie: But oftner useth his justice than his might, and favoureth us according to the reason of the same, and not according to our requests. Plato in his lawes maketh three sorts of injurious belief in the Gods: First, that there is none at all; Secondly, that they meddle not with our affaires; Thirdly, that they never refuse any thing unto our vovs, offerings, and sacrifices. The first errorr, according to his opinion, did never continue immutable in man, even from his first infancie unto his latter age. The two succeeding may admit some constancie. His justice and power are inseparable. It is but in vaine to implore his power in a bad cause. Man must have an unpolluted soule when he praiſeth (at least in that moment he addresseth himselfe to pray)

and absolutely free from all vicious passions; otherwise we ourselves present him the rods to scourge us withall. In lieu of redressing our fault, we redouble the same by presenting him with an affection fraught with irreverence, sinne, and hatred, to whom only we should sue for grace and forgiveness. Loe here, why I doe not willingly commend those Pharisaeical humours, whom I so often behold, and more than ordinarie, to pray unto God, except their actions immediately preceding or succeeding their praiſers witness some shew of reformation or hope of amendment.

- *Si nocturnus adulter*

*Tempora sanctonico velas adopena cucullo.*¹

If in a cape-cloake-hood befrenchifide
Thou a night-whore-munger thy head dost hide.

And the state of a man that commixeth devotion unto an execrable life, seemeth in some sort to be more condemnable than that of one that is conformable unto himselfe, and every way dissolute. Therefore doth our Church continually refuse the favour of her entrance and societie, unto customes and manners wilfully obstinate on some egregious villanie. We only pray by custome and use, and for fashion sake, or, to say better, we but reade and pronounce our prayers: To conclude, it is nothing but a shew of formalitie, and a formall shew. And it greeveth me to see many men, who at grace before and after meat will with great shew of devotion crosse themselves three or foure times (and it vexeth me so much the more, when I call to mind that it is a signe I greatly reverence, and have in continual use, yea, if I be but gaping) and there whilst, shall you see them bestow all other houres of the day in all manner of hatred, malice, covetousnesse, and injustice. Many houres spend they about vice, but one to God, and that as it were by way of recompence and composition. It is wonderous to see so far different and divers actions, continue with so even a tenor, that no interruptions or alteration at all can be perceived, either about their confines, or passage from one unto another. What prodigious conscience can be at any harts-ease, fostring, and feeding with so mutuall, quiet, and agreeing society in one selfe same mansion, both crime and judge? A man whose Pailardize and luxurie doth incessantly sway and rule the head, and who judgeth the same abhominable and most hatefull in the sight of God; what saith he unto his all-seeing Majesty, when he openeth his lips, either of mouth or hart, to speake to him of

¹ JUVEN, SAT. VIII. 144.

it? He reclaimeth himself,* but falleth sodainly againe. "If the object of his divine justice, and his presence should strike (as he saith), and chastise his soule, how short-soever the penitence were, feare it self would so often cast his thought on it, that he would presently perceive himselfe master of those vices which are habituated, inbred, settled, and enflshed in him." But what of those which ground a whole life upon the fruit and benefit of that sinne they know to be mortall? How many trades, professions, occupations, and vocations, have we daily and continually used, frequented, and allowed amongst us, whose essence is vicious and most pernicious? And he that would needs confesse himselfe unto ine, and of his owne accord told me, that for feare of losing his credit, and to keepe the honour of his offices; he had for a whole age made shew and profession, and acted the effects of a religion, which in his owne selfe-accusing conscience he judged damnable, and cleane contrarie unto that he had in his hart: How could he admit and foster so contradictorie and impious a discourse in his hart? With what language entertaine they divine justice concerning this subject? Their repentance, consisting in visible amends and manageable reparation; they lose both towards God and us the meanes to alleage the same. Are they so malapart and fond-hardy as to crave pardon without satisfaction, and sans repentance? I thinke it goeth with the first as with the last: But obstinacie is not herein so easie to be vanquished. This so suddaine contrarietie, and violent volubilitie of opinion, which they faine unto us, seemeth to me a miracle. They present us with the state of an indigestible agonie. How fantastickall seemed their imagination unto me, who these latter yeares had taken up a fashion, to checke and reprove all men that professed the Catholike Religion, in whom shined any extraordinarie brightnesse of spirit, saying, that it was but fained: and to doe him honour, held that whatsoever he said in apparance he could not inwardly chuse but have his believe reformed according to their byase. It is a peevish infirmite for a man to thinke himselfe so firmly grounded as to perswade himselfe that the contrarie may not be believed: And more peevish also, to be perswaded by such a spirit, that preferreth I wot not what disparitie of fortune, before the hopes and threats of eternall life. They may believe me: If any thing could have attempted my youth, the ambition of the hazard and difficultie which followed this late-moderne enterprize, should have had good part therein. It is not without great reason,

in my poor judgement, that the Church forbiddeth the confused, rash and indiscreet use of the sacred and divine songs which the holy spirit hath indited unto David. God ought not to be commixed in our actions, but with awfull reverence, and an attention full of honour and respect. The word or voice is too divine, having no other use but to exercise our lungs and to please our eares. It is from the conscience and not from the tongue that it must proceed. It is not consonant unto reason that a prentise or shop-keeping boy, amidst his idle, vaine, and frivolous conceits, should be suffered to entertaine himselfe, and play therewith. Nor is it seemely or tolerable to see the sacred booke of our beliefs Mysteries tossed up and downe and plaid withall, in a shop, or a hall, or a kitchen. They have heretofore beene accompted mysteries, but through the abuse of times they are now held as sports and recreations. So serious and venerable a study should not, by way of pastime and tumultuarie, be handled. It ought to be a fixed, a purposed, and settled action, to which this preface of our office *sursum corda* should ever be adjoynd; and the very exterior parts of the body should with such a countenance be referred unto it, that to all mens eyes it may witness a particular attention and duteous respect. It is not a study fitting all men, but only such as have vowed themselves unto it, and whom God hath, of his infinit mercie, called thereto. The wicked, the ungodly, and the ignorant, are thereby empaired. It is no historie to be fabulously reported, but a historie to be dutifully revered, awfully feared, and religiously adored. Are they not pleasantly conceited, who, because they have reduced the same into the vulgar tongues, and that all men may understand it, perswade themselves, that the people shall the better conceive and digest the same? Consisteth it but in the words, that they understand not all they find written? Shall I say more? By approaching thus little unto it, they goe back from it. Meere ignorance, and wholly relying on others, was verily more profitable and wiser than is this verball and vaine knowledge, the nurse of presumption and source of temeritie. Moreover, I am of opinion that the uncontrouled libertie, that all men have to wrest, dissipate, and wyredraw a word so religious and important, to so many severall idiomies, hath much more danger than profit following it. The Jewes, the Mahometans, and well-nigh all other nations, are wedded unto and reverence the language wherein their mysteries and religion had originally beene conceived:

and any change or translation hath not without apparance of reason beene directly forbidden. Know we whether there be Judges enow in Basque and in Brittanie to establish this translation made in their tongue? The universall Church hath no more difficult and solemne judgement to make. Both in speaking and preaching the interpretation is wandering, free, and mutable, and of one parcell; so it is not alike. One of our Græcian Historians doth justly accuse his age, forasmuch as the secrets of Christian religion were dispersed in all publike places, and even amongst the basest artificers; and that every man might, at his pleasure, dispute of it, and at random speake his mind of the same. And it should be a great shame for us, who by the unspeakable grace of God enjoy the pure and sacred mysteries of piety, to suffer the same to be profaned in the mouthes of ignorant and popular people, seeing the very Gentiles interdicted Socrates and Plato, and the wisest, to meddle, enquire or speake of things communicated unto the Priestess of Delphos. Saying, moreover, "That the factions of Princes, touching the subject of Divinities, are armed, not with zeale, but with anger. That zeale dependeth of divine reason and justice, holding an orderly and moderate course, but that it changeth into hatred and envie, and in stead of corne and grape, it produceth nettles and darnell, if it be directed by humane passion." And justly saith this other, who counselling the Emperour Theodosius, affirmed "that disputations did not so much appease and lull asleepe the schismes of the Church, as stir up and cause heresies." And therefore it behooved to avoid all contentions, controversies, and logicall arguings, and wholly and sincerely refer himselfe unto the prescriptions and orders of faith, established by our forefathers. And Andronicus the Emperour, finding by chance in his pallace certaine principall men very earnestly disputing against Lapidus about one of our points of great importance, taunted and rated them very bitterly, and threatened if they gave not over, he would cause them to be cast into the river. Children and women doe now adaeas governe and sway the oldest and most experienced men concerning Ecclesiasticall Lawes: whereas the first that Plato made forbiddeth them to enquire after the reason of civill Lawes, and which ought to stand in place of divine ordinances. Allowing aged men to communicate the same amongst themselves, and with the magistrate, adding moreover, alwaies provided it be not in the presence of young men and before profane

persons. A notable Bishop hath left written, that in the other end of the world there is an island called of our predecessours Dioscorida, very commodious, and fertile of all sorts of fruits and trees, and of a pure and wholesome ayre; whose people are Christians, and have Churches and Altars, adorned with nothing else but crosses, without other images; great observers of fastings and holy daies; exact payers of their priests tithes, and so chaste that none of them may lawfully all his life long know any more than one wife. And in all other matters so well pleased with their fortune, that being seated in the middest of the sea, they have and know no use of ships: and so simple, that of their religion, which they so diligently and awfully observe, they know not, nor understand so much as one only word. A thing incredible to him that knew not how the Pagans, who are so devout and zealous idolaters, know nothing of their Gods but only their bare names and statues. The ancient beginning of Menalippe, a tragedie of Euripides, importeth thus:

*O Iupiter, car de toy rien sinon
Je ne cognois seulement que le nom.*¹

O Iupiter, for unto me
Only the name is knowne of thee.

I have also in my head certaine writing complained of, for so much as they are merely humane and philosophicall, without meddling with divinitie. He that should say to the contrarie, which a man might doe with reason, that heavenly doctrine, as a Queene and governess doth better keepe her ranke apart; that she ought to be chiefe ruler and principall head everie where, and not suffragant and subsidiarie. And that peradventure examples in grammar, rethorike, and logike, might more fitly and sortably be taken from elsewhere, than from so sacred and holy a subject, as also the arguments of theatres, plots of plaies, and grounds of publike spectacles: That mysteriously divine reasons are more venerably and reverently considered alone, and in their native stile, than joyned and compared to humane discourse. That this fault is oftener seene, which is, that Divines write too humanely, than this other, that humanists write not Theologically enough. Philosophy, saith S. Chrysostome, "is long since banished from sacred schools as an unprofitable servant, and deemed unworthy to behold, but in passing by the entrie or the vestrie of the sacred treasures of heavenly doctrine." That the formes of

¹ EURIP.

humane speech are more base, and ought by no means to make any use of the dignitie, majestie and preheminence of divine speech. As for my part I give it leave to say, *Verbis indisciplinatis*:¹ "With undisciplined words:" Fortune, destinie, chance, accident, fate, good lucke, ill lucke, the Gods, and other phrases, as best it pleaseth. I propose humane fantasies and mine owne, simply as humane conceits, and severally considered; not as settled, concluded, and directed by celestiall ordinance, incapable of any doubt or alteration. A matter of opinion, and not of faith. What I discourse according to my selfe, not what I believe according unto God, with a laicall fashion, and not a clerical manner; yet ever most religious; As children propose their essays, instructable, not instructing. And might not a man also say without apparence, that the institution which willett no man shall dare to write of religion but sparingly and reservedly, except such as make expresse profession of it, would not want some shew of profit and justice; and happily to me to be silent. It hath beene told me, that even those which are not of our consent do flatly inhibit amongst themselves the use of the sacred name of God in all their vulgar and familiar discourses. They would have no man use it as an interjection or exclamation, not to be alleaged as a witness or comparison, wherein I find they have reason. And howsoever it be that we call God to our comerce and societie, it should be zealously, seriously, and religiously. There is, as far as I remember, such a like discourse in Xenophon, wherein he declareth: That we should more rarely pray unto God: forasmuch as it is not easie we should so often settle our minds in so regular, so reformed, and so devout a seat, where indeed it ought to be, to pray aright and effectually: otherwise our prayers are not only vaine and unprofitable, but vicious. "Forgive us, say we, our offences, as we forgive them that trespass against us." What else inferre we by that petition, but that we offer him our soule void of all revenge and free from all rancour? We nevertheless invoke God and call on his aid, even in the complot of our grievous faults, and desire his assistance in all manner of injustice and iniquitie.

*Qua nisi seductis nequeas committere Divis?*²

Which you to Saints not drawne aside,
Would thinke unfit to be applide.

The covetous man sueth and praieth unto him for the vaine increase and superfluous preservation of his wrong-gotten treasure. The ambitious he importuneth God for the conduct of his fortune, and that he may have the victorie of all his desseignes. The theefe, the pirate, the murderer, yea and the traitor, all call upon him, all implore his aid, and all sollicite him, to give them courage in their attempts, constancie in their resolutions, to remove all lets and difficulties, that in any sort may withstand their wicked executions and impious actions, or give him thanks if they have had good successe; the one if he have met with a good bootie, the other if he returne home rich, the third if no man has seene him kill his enemie, and the last though he have caused an execrable mischiefe. The souldier, if he but goe to besiege a cottage, to scale a castle, to rob a church, to pettard a gate, to force a religious house, or any villanous act, before he attempt it praieth to God for his assistance, though his intents and hopes be full-fraught with crueltie, murder, covetise, luxurie, sacrilege, and all iniquitie.

*Hoc ipsum quo tu Iovis aurem impellere tentas,
Dic agedum, Staio: proh Iupiter, o bone, clamet,
Iupiter! at sese non clamet Iupiter ipse.*¹

Go-to then, say the same to some bad fellow,
Which thou prepar'st for Gods cares: let him
bellow,

O God, good God; so God,
On himselfe would not plod.

Margaret, Queene of Navarre, maketh mention of a young prince, whom, although she name not expressly, yet his greatnesse hath made him sufficiently knowne, who going about an amorous assignation, and to lie with an advocates wife of Paris, his way lying alongst a church, he did never passe by so holy a place, whether it were in going or coming from his lecherie and cuckolding-labour, but would make his prayers unto God, to be his help and furtherance. I would faine have an impartiall man tell me to what purpose this prince invoked and called on God for his divine favour, having his mind only bent to sinne, and his thoughts set on luxurie: Yet doth she alleage him for a speciall testimonie of singular devotion. But it is not only by this example a man might verifie that women are not very fit to manage or treat matters of religion and divinitie. A true and hartie praiser, and an unfained religious reconciliation from us unto God, cannot likely fall into a wicked and impure soule, especially when Sathan swaieth the same.

¹ AUGUSTIN. *De Civ. Dei*, l. x. c. 29.

² PERS. *Sat.* ii. 4.

¹ Ib. 21.

He that calleth upon God for his assistance, whilst he is engulphed and wallowing in filthy sinne, doth as the cut-purse that should call for justice unto his ayd, or those that produce God in wnesse of a lie.

- *tacito mala vota susurro
Concipimus.*¹

With silent whispering we,
For ill things suppliants be.

There are few men that would dare to publish the secret requests they make to God.

*Haud cuius promptum est, murmur que
humilesque susurros
Tollere de Templis, et aperto vivere voto.*²

From Church low-whispering murmurs to expell,
'Tis not for all, or with knowne vowes live well.

And that's the reason why the Pythagorians would have them publike that all might heare them, that no man should abusively call on God, and require any un-decent or unjust thing of him as that man :

- *clare cum dixit, Apollo,
Labra movet metuens audiri: pulchra Laverna
Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri.
Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.*³

When he aloud hath said, Apollo heare,
Loth to be heard, Goddess of thieves, said he,
Grant me to couzen, and yet just appeare,
My faults in night, my frauds in clouds let be.

The Gods did grievously punish the impious vowes of Oedipus by granting them unto him. His praier was, that his children might betwene themselves decide in armes the succession of his estate ; he was so miserable as to be taken at his word. A man should not request that all things follow our will, but that it may follow wisdom. Verily, it seemeth that we make no other use of our praiers, than of a companie of gibrish phrases : and as those who employ holy and sacred words about witchcraft and magical effects ; and that we imagine their effect dependeth of the contexture, or sound, or succession of words, or from our countenance. For, our soule, being full-fraught with concupiscence and all manner of ungodly thoughts, nothing touched with repentance, nor moved with new reconciliation towards God, we headlong present unto him those heedlesse words which memorie affordeth our tongue, by which we hope to obtaine an expiation and remission of our offences. There is nothing so easie, so sweet, so comfortable and favourable, as the law of God ; she (of his infinit mercie)

calleth us unto him, how faultie and detestable soever we be ; she gently stretcheth forth her armes unto us, and mildly receiveth us into her lap, how guiltie, polluted, and sinfull soever we are, and may be in after-times. But in recompence of so boundlesse and unspeakable a favour, she must be thankfully accepted, and cheerfully regarded : and so gracious a pardon must be received with a gratitude of the soule, and at least, in that instant, that we addresse ourselves unto her presence, to have our soule grieved for her faults, penitent of her sinnes, hating those passions and affections that have caused or provoked us to transgresse his lawes, to offend his Majestie, and to breake his commandments. Plato saith that neither the Gods nor honest men will ever accept the offering of a wicked man.

*Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia
Mollivit aversos Penates,
Farre pio et saliente mica.*¹

If guiltlesse hand the Altar tuch,
No offering, cost it ne'er so much,
Shall better please our God offended,
Than corne with crackling-corne-salt blended.

CHAPTER LVII.

Of Age.

I CANNOT receive that manner, whereby we establish the continuance of our life. I see that some of the wiser sort doe greatly shorten the same in respect of the common opinion. What said Cato Iunior, to those who sought to hinder him from killing himselfe ? " Doe I now live the age, wherein I may justly be reproved to leave my life too soone ? " Yet was he but eight and fortie yeares old. He thought that age very ripe, yea, and well advanced, considering how few men come unto it. And such as entertaine themselves with, I wot not what kind of course, which they call naturall, promiseth some few yeares beyond, might do it, had they a privilege that could exempt them from so great a number of accidents, unto which each one of us stands subject by a naturall subjection, and which may interrupt the said course they propose unto themselves. What fondnesse is it for a man to thinke he shall die, for and through a

¹ LUCAN. l. v. 104.

² PERS. Sat. ii. 6.

³ HOR. l. i. Epist. xvii. 59.

¹ HOR. l. iii. Od. xxiii. 17.

failing and defect of strength, which extreme age draweth with it, and to propose that terme unto our life, seeing it is the rarest kind of all deaths and least in use? We only call it naturall, as if it were against nature to see a man breake his necke with a fall; to be drowned by shipwracke; to be surprised with a pestilence or pleurisie, and as if our ordinarie condition did not present these inconveniences unto us all. Let us not flatter ourselves with these fond-goodly words: a man may peradventure rather call that naturall which is generall, common, and universall. To die of age is a rare, singular, and extraordinarie death, and so much lesse naturall than others: It is the last and extremest kind of dying: The further it is from us, so much the lesse is it to be hoped for: Indeed it is the limit beyond which we shal not passe, and which the law of nature hath prescribed unto us as that which should not be outgone by any; but it is a rare privilege peculiar unto her selfe, to make us continue unto it. It is an exemption, which through some particular favour she bestoweth on some one man, in the space of two or three ages, discharging him from the crosses, troubles, and difficulties she hath enterposed betwene both in this long carriere and pilgrimage. Therefore my opinion is, to consider that the age unto which we are come is an age whereto few arrive: since men come not unto it by any ordinarie course, it is a signe we are verie forward. And since we have past the accustomed bounds, which is the true measure of our life, we must not hope that we shall goe much further. Having escaped so many occasions of death, wherein we see the world to fall, we must acknowledge that such an extraordinarie fortune as that is, which maintaineth us, and is beyond the common use, is not likely to continue long. It is a fault of the verie lawes to have this false imagination: They allow not a man to be capable and of discretion to manage and dispose of his owne goods, until he be five and twentie yeares old, yet shall he hardly preserve the state of his life so long. Augustus abridged five yeares of the ancient Romane lawes, and declared that for any man that should take upon him the charge of judgement, it sufficed to be thirtie yeares old. Servius Tullius dispensed with the Knights who were seven and fortie yeares of age from all voluntarie services of warre. Augustus brought them to fortie and five. To send men to their place of sojourning before they be five and fiftie or three score yeares of age, me seemeth carrieth no great apparence with it. My advice would be, that our vacation and employment should

be extended as far as might be for the publike commoditie; but I blame some, and condemne most, that we begin not soone enough to employ our selves. The same Augustus had been universall and supreme judge of the world when he was but nineteene yeares old, and would have another to be thirtie before he shall bee made a competent Judge of a cottage or farme. As for my part, I thinke our minds are as full growne and perfectly joynted at twentie yeares as they should be, and promise as much as they can. A mind which at that age hath not given some evident token or earnest of her sufficiencie, shall hardly give it afterward, put her to what triall you list. Natural qualities and vertues, if they have any vigorous or beauteous thing in them, will produce and shew the same within that, or never. They say in Dauphiné,

*Si l'espine non picque quand nai,
A peine que picque jamai.*¹

A thorne, unlesse at first it picke,
Will hardly ever pearce to th' quicke.

Of all humane honourable and glorious actions that ever came unto my knowledge, of what nature soever they be, I am perswaded I should have a harder taske to number those which, both in ancient times and in ours, have beene produced and atchieved before the age of thirtie yeares, than such as were performed after: yea, often in the life of the same men. May not I boldly speake it of those of Hanniball and Scipio his great adversarie? They lived the better part of their life with the glorie which they had gotten in their youth: And though afterward they were great men in respect of all others, yet were they but meane in regard of themselves. As for my particular, I am verily perswaded, that since that age both my spirit and my body have more decreased than increased, more recoyled than advanced. It may be, that knowledge and experience shall increase in them, together with life, that bestow their time well: but vivacitie, promptitude, constancie, and other parts much more our owne, more important and more essentiall, they droope, they languish, and they faint.

— *nbi jam validis quassatum est viribus avi
Corpus, et obtusis ceciderunt viribus artus,
Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguaque mensque.*¹

When once the body by shrewd strength
Of yeares

Is shak't, and limmes drawne downe from
Strength that weares,
Wit halts, both tongue and mind
Doe daily doat, we find.

¹ French proverb.

² LUCRET. l. iii. 457.

It is the body which sometimes yeeldeth first unto age, and other times the mind; and I have seene many that have had their braines weakened before their stomacke or legges. And forasmuch as it is a disease, little or nothing sensible unto him that endureth it, and maketh no great shew, it is so much the more dangerous. Here I exclaime against our Lawes, not because they leave us so long and late in working

and employment, but that they set us a worke no sooner, and it is so late before we be employed. Me thinkes that considering the weaknesse of our life, and seeing the infinit number of ordinarie rockes and naturall dangers it is subject unto, we should not so soone as we come into the world, allot so great a share thereof unto unprofitable wantonnesse in youth, il-breeding illnesse and slow-learning prentissage.

The Second Booke.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Inconstancie of our Actions.

THOSE which exercise themselves in controuling humane actions, finde no such let in any one part as to peece them together and bring them to one same lustre : For they commonly contradict one another so strangely, as it seemeth impossible they should be parcels of one Ware-house. Young Marias is sometimes found to be the sonne of Mars, and other times the childe of Venus. Pope Boniface the Eight is reported to have entred into his charge as a Fox, to have carried himselfe therein as a Lion, and to have died like a Dog. And who would thinke it was Nero, that lively image of cruelty, who being required to signe (as the custome was) the sentence of a criminall offender that had bene condemned to die, that ever he should answer, "Oh would to God I could never have written?" So neare was his heart grieved to doome a man to death. The world is so full of such examples that every man may store himselfe; and I wonder to see men of understanding trouble themselves with sorting these parcels: Sithence (mee seemeth) irresolution is the most apparant and common vice of our nature: as witnesseth that famous verse of Publius the Comedian :

*Malum consilium est, quod mutari non potest.*¹

The counsel is but bad,
Whose change may not be had.

There is some apparence to judge a man by the most common conditions of his life, but seeing the naturall instability of our customes and opinions, I have often thought that even good Authors doe ill and take a wrong course, wilfully to opinionate themselves about framing a constant and solide contexture of us. They chuse an universall ayre, and following that image, range and interpret all a mans actions; which if they cannot wrest sufficiently, they remit them

unto dissimulation. Augustus hath escaped their hands; for there is so apparent, so sudden and continual a variety of actions found in him through the course of his life, that even the boldest Judges and strictest censurers have bene faine to give him over, and leave him undecided. There is nothing I so hardly beleeeve to be in man as constancie, and nothing so easie to be found in him, as inconstancy. He that should distinctly and part by part judge of him, should often jumpe to speake truth. View all antiquity over, and you shall finde it a hard matter to chuse out of a dozen of men that have directed their life unto one certaine, settled, and assured course; which is the surest drift of wisdom. For to comprehend all in one word, saith an ancient Writer, and to embrace all the rules of our life into one, it is at all times to will, and not to will one same thing. I would not vouchsafe (saith he) to adde anything: alwayes provided the will be just: for, if it be unjust, it is impossible it should ever continue one. Verily, I have heretofore learned that vice is nothing but a disorder and want of measure, and by consequence it is impossible to fasten constancy unto it. It is a saying of Demosthenes (as some report) that consultation and deliberation is the beginning of all virtue, and constancie the end and perfection. If by reason or discourse we should take a certaine way, we should then take the fairest: but no man hath thought on it.

*Quod petiit, spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit
Instat, et vitæ disconvenit ordine toto.*¹

He scornes that which he sought, seek's that he scorn'd of late,
He flows, ebbs, disagrees in his lifes whole estate.

Our ordinary manner is to follow the inclination of our appetite this way and that way, on the left and on the right hand; upward and downward, according as the winde of occasions doth transport us: we never thinke on what we would have, but at the instant we would have it: and change

¹ Terent. *ad. Aul. Gell. l. viii. c.*

¹ Hor. *l. i. Epist. l. 98.*

as that beast that takes the colour of the place wherein it is laid. What we even now purposed we alter by and by, and presently returne to our former biase: all is but changing, motion, and inconstancy

*Ducimur ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.*¹

So are we drawne, as wood is shoved,
By others sinnewes each way moved.

We goe not, but we are carried: as things that flote, now gliding gently, now hulling violently, according as the water is, either stormy or calme.

— *nonne videmus*

*Quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quærere semper,
Commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit?*²

See we not, every man in his thoughts height
Knowes not what he would have, yet seekes he
streight
To change place, as he could lay downe his
weight?

Every day new toyes, each hour new
fantasies, and our humours move and fleet
with the fleetings and movings of time.

*Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali Pater ipse
Iupiter auctifero lustravit lumine terras.*³

Such are mens mindes, as that great God of
might
Surveys the earth with encrease bearing
light.

We float and waver betweene divers opinions: we will nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing constantly. Had any man prescribed certaine Lawes or established assured policies in his owne head, in his life should we daily see to shine an equality of customes, an assured order and an infallible relation from one thing to another (Empe- docles noted this deformitie to be amongst the Agrigentines, that they gave themselves so over unto delights as if they should die to morrow next, and built as if they should never die) the discourse thereof were easie to be made. As is seene in young Cato: He that toucht but one step of it hath toucht all. It is an harmony of well according tunes and which cannot contradict it selfe. With us it is clean contrarie, so many actions, so many particular judgements are there required. The surest way (in mine opinion) were to refer them unto the next circumstances, without entering into further search, and without concluding any other consequence of them. During the late tumultuous broiles of our mangled estate, it was told me that a young woman not farre from mee had head-long cast her selfe out of a high window, with intent to kill herselfe, only to avoid the ravishment

of a rascally-base souldier that lay in her house, who offered to force her: and perceiving that with the fall she had not killed herselfe, to make an end of her enterprize she would have cut her owne throat with a knife, but that she was hindered by some that came into her: Neverthelessse having sore wounded herselfe, she voluntarily confessed that the souldier had yet but urged her with importunate requests, suing solicitations, and golden bribes, but she feared he would in the end have obtained his purpose by compulsion: by whose earnest speeches, resolute countenance, and gored blood (a true testimony of her chaste vertue) she might appear to be the lively patterne of another Lucrece, yet know I certainly that, both before that time and afterward, she had beene enjoyed of others upon easier composition. And as the common saying is; Faire and soft, as squemish-honest as she seemes, although you misse of your intent, conclude not rashly an inviolable chastitie to be in your Mistresse; for a groome or a horse-keeper may finde an houre to thrive in; and a dog hath a day. Antigonus having taken upon him to favour a souldier of his, by reason of his vertue and valour, commanded his Physitians to have great care of him, and see whether they could recover him of a lingering and inward disease which had long tormented him, who being perfectly cured, he afterward perceiving him to be nothing so earnest and diligent in his affaires, demanded of him how he was so changed from himselfe, and become so cowardish: "Your selfe, good sir," answered he, "have made me so by ridding me of those infirmities which so did grieve me that I made no accompt of my life." A souldier of Lucullus, having by his enemies beene robbed of all he had, to revenge himselfe undertooke a notable and desperat attempt upon them; and having recovered his losses, Lucullus conceived a very good opinion of him, and with the greatest shewes of assured trust and loving kindnesse he could bethinke himselfe, made especiall accompt of him, and in any dangerous enterprize seemed to trust and employ him only:

*Verbis quæ timido quoque possent addere mentem.*¹

With words, which to a coward might
Adde courage, had he any spright.

"Employ," said he unto him, "some wretch-
stripped and robbed Souldier,"

— *quantumvis rusticus ibit,
Ibit ed quo vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit,*²

¹ HOR. l. ii. Sat. vii. 82. ² LUCRET. l. iii. 1070.

¹ HOR. l. ii. Sat. ii. 24.

² Ib. 37.

None is, saith he, so clownish, but will-on,
Where you will have him, if his purse be gone

and absolutely refused to obey him. When we read that Mahomet, having outrageously rated Chasan, chiefe leader of his Janizers, because he saw his troupe well-nigh defeated by the Hungarians, and hee to behave himselfe but faintly in the fight, Chasan without making other reply, alone as he was, and without more adoe, with his weapon in his hand rushed furiously in the thickest throng of his enemies that he first met withall, of whom he was instantly slaine: This may haply be deemed rather a rash conceit than a justification, and a new spight than a naturall proves. He whom you saw yesterday so boldly venturous, wonder not if you see him a dastardly meacocke to morrow next: for either anger or necessitie, company or wine, a sudden fury or the clang of a trumpet, might rowse-up his heart and stir up his courage. It is no heart nor courage so framed by discourse or deliberation: These circumstances have settled the same in him: Therefore it is no marvell if by other contrary circumstance he become a craven and change copy. This supple variation and easie yeelding contradiction which is seene in us, hath made some to imagine that wee had two soules, and others two faculties; whereof every one as best she pleaseth, accompanieth and doth agitate us; the one towards good, the other towards evill. Forsomuch as such a rough diversitie cannot well sort and agree in one simple subject. The blast of accidents doth not only remove me according to his inclination; for, besides, I remove and trouble my selfe by the instability of my posture, and whosoever looketh narrowly about himselfe, shall hardly see himselfe twice in the same state. Sometimes I give my soule one visage and sometimes another, according unto the posture or side I lay her in. If I speake diversly of my selfe it is because I looke diversly upon my selfe. All contrarieties are found in her, according to some turne or removing, and in some fashion or other; shamefast, bashfull, insolent, chaste, luxurious, peevish, prating, silent, fond, doting, labourious, nice, delicate, ingenious, slow, dull, froward, humorous, debonaire, wise, ignorant, false in words, true-speaking, both liberal, covetous, and prodigall. All these I perceive in some measure or other to bee in mee, according as I stirre or turne my selfe; And whosoever shall heedfully survey and consider himselfe, shall finde this volubility and discordance to be in himselfe, yea and in his very judgement. I have nothing to say entirely, simply, and with soliditie of my selfe, without confusion, disorder, blending,

mingling, and in one word, Distinguo is the most universall part of my logike. Although I ever purpose to speak good of good, and rather to interpret those things that will beare it, unto a good sense; yet is it that the strangeness of our condition admitteth that we are often urged to doe well by vice it selfe, if well doing were not judged by the intention only. Therefore may not a courageous act conclude a man to be valiant. He that is so, when just occasion serveth, shall ever be so, and upon all occasions. If it were an habitude of vertue, and not a sudden humour, it would make a man equally resolute at all assayes, in all accidents: Such alone, as in company; such in a single combat, as in a set battel: For, whatsoever some say, valour is all alike, and not one in the street or towne, and another in the campe or field. As courageously should a man beare a sickness in his bed as a hurt in the field, and feare death no more at home in his house than abroad in an assault. We should not then see one same man enter the breach, or charge his enemy with an assured and undoubted fiercenesse, and afterward having escaped that, to vexe, to grieve and torment himselfe like unto a seely woman, or faint-hearted milke-sop for the losse of a sure, or death of a childe. If one chance to be carelessly base-minded in his infancie, and constantly-resolute in povertie; if he be timorously-fearfull at sight of a barbers razor, and afterward stoltily-undismayed against his enemies swords: the action is commendable, but not the man. Divers Græcians (saith Cicero) cannot endure to looke their enemy in the face, yet are they most constant in their sicknesses; whereas the Cimbrians and Celtiberians are meere contrary. *Nihil enim potest esse æquabile, quod non a certa ratione proficiscatur.* "For nothing can beare it selfe even which proceedeth not from resolved reason." There is no valor more extreme in his kinde than that of Alexander; yet it is but in species, nor every where sufficiently full and universall. As incomparable as it is, it hath his blemishes, which is the reason that in the idlest suspicions he apprehendeth at the conspiracies of his followers against his life, we see him so earnestly to vex, and so desperately to trouble himselfe: In search and pursuit whereof he demeaneth himselfe with so vehement and indiscreet an injustice, and with such a demisse feare, that even his naturall reason is thereby subverted. Also the superstition wherewith he is so thoroughly tainted beareth some shew of pusillanimitie. And the unlimited excesse

of the repentance he shewed for the murder of Clitus is also a witness of the inequality of his courage. Our matters are but parcels huddled up and peeces patched together, and we endeavour to acquire honour by false meanes and untrue tokens. Vertue will not bee followed but by herselfe : and if at any time we borrow her maske, upon some other occasion she will as soone pull it from our face. It is a lively hew and strong die, if the soule be once dyed with the same perfectly, and which will never fade or be gone, except it carry the skin away with it. Therefore to judge a man, we must a long time follow, and very curiously marke his steps ; whether constancie do wholly subsist and continue upon her owne foundation in him. *Cui vivendi via considerata atque provisa est.*¹ "Who hath forecast and considered the way of life ;" whether the variety of occurrences make him change his pace (I meane his way, for his pace may either be hastened or slowed) let him run on : such a one (as sayeth the imprease of our good Talbot) goeth before the wind. It is no marvell (saith an old writer) that hazard hath such power over us, since wee live by hazard. It is impossible for him to dispose of his particular actions, that hath not in grose directed his life unto one certaine end. It is impossible for him to range all peeces in order, that hath not a plot or forme of the totall frame in his head. What avayleth the provision of all sorts of colours unto one that knows not what he is to draw ? No man makes any certaine designe of his life, and we deliberate of it but by parcels. A skillfull archer ought first to know the marke he aimeth at, and then apply his hand, his bow, his string, his arrow and his motion accordingly. Our counsels goe a stray because they are not rightly addressed, and have no fixed end. No winde makes for him that hath no intended port to saile unto. As for me, I allow not greatly of that judgement which some made of Sophocles, and to have concluded him sufficient in the managing of domesticall matters, against the accusation of his owne sonne, only by the sight of one of his tragedies. Nor doe I commend the conjecture of the Parians, sent to reforme the Milesians, as sufficient to the consequence they drew thence. In visiting and surveying the ile, they marked the landes that were best husbanded, and observed the country houses that were best governed. And having registered the names of their owners, and afterward made an assembly of the Townesmen of the Citie, they named and

instituted those owners as new Governours and Magistrates, judging and concluding, that being good husbands and carefull of their household affaires, they must consequently be so of publike matters. We are all framed of flaps and patches and of so shapelesse and diverse a contexture that every peece and every moment playeth his part. And there is as much difference found betwene us and our selves as there is betwene our selves and other. *Magnum rem puta, unum hominem agere* : "Esteeme it a great matter to play but one man."

Since ambition may teach men both valor, temperance, liberality, yea and justice : sith covetousnesse may settle in the minde of a Shop-prentise-boy, brought up in ease and idleness, a dreadlesse assurance to leave his home-bred ease, and forgoe his place of education, and in a small barke to yeeld himselfe unto the mercy of blustering waves, mercilesse windes and wrathfull Neptune ; and that it also teacheth discretion and wisdom ; And that Venus her self ministreth resolution and hardinesse unto tender youth as yet subject to the discipline of the rod, and teacheth the ruthlesse Souldier the soft and tenderly effeminate heart of women in their mothers laps ;

*Hæc duce custodes furtim transgressa jacentes, Adjuvenem tenebris sola puella venit.*²

The wench by stealth her lodg'd guards having stript,
By this guide, sole, i'th darke, to'th yonker skipt ;

It is no part of a well-grounded judgement simply to judge ourselves by our exteriour actions : A man must thorowly sound himselfe, and dive into his heart, and there see by what wards or springs the motions stirre. But forsomuch as it is a hazardous and high enterprise, I would not have so many to meddle with it as doe.

CHAPTER II.

Of Drunkennesse.

THE world is nothing but variety and dissemblance. Vices are all alike, inasmuch as they are all vices : And so doe haply the Stoikes meane it. But though they are equally vices, they are not equall vices ; and that hee who hath started a hundred steps beyond the limits

*Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum,*³

¹ Cic. *Parad.* v.

² Tib. l. ii. *Eleg.* i. 75. ³ Hor. l. i. *Sat.* i. 12.

On this side, or beyond the which
No man can hold a right true pitch—

is not of worse condition than he that is ten steps short of it, is no whit credible : and that sacrilege is not worse than the stealing of a colewort out of a garden.

*Nec vincet ratio, tantundem ut peccet, idemque,
(Qui teneros caules alieni frugerit horti,
Et qui nocturnus divum sacra legerit.)*¹

No reason can evict, as great or same sinne
taints
Him that breakes in anothers Garden tender
plants,
And him that steales by night things conse-
crate to Saints.

There is as much diversity in that as in any other thing. The confusion of order and measure of crimes is dangerous : Murderers, Traitors and Tyrants, have too much gaine by it : it is no reason their conscience should be eased, in that some other is either idle or lascivious, or lesse assiduous unto devotion. Every man poiseith upon his fellowes sinne, and elevates his owne. Even teachers do often range it ill in my conceit. As Socrates said, that the chiefeest office of wisdom was to distinguish goods and evils. We others, to whom the best is ever in vice, should say the like of knowledge to distinguish vices, without which, and that very exact, both vertuous and wicked men remaine confounded and unknowne. Now drunkennesse amongst others appeareth to me a grosse and brutish vice. The minde hath more part else where ; and some vices there are which (if it may lawfully be spoken) have a kinde of I wot not what generosity in them. Some there are that have learning, diligence, valour, prudence, wit, cunning, dexterity, and subtlety joyned with them ; whereas this is meerely corporall and terrestriall. And the grossest and rudest nation that liveth amongst us at this day is only that which keepeth it in credit. Other vices but alter and distract the understanding, whereas this utterly subverteth the same, and astonieth the body.

— *cum vini vis penetravit,
Consequitur gravitas membrorum, præpediuntur*

*Crura vacillanti, tardescit lingua, madet mens,
Nant oculi, clamor, singultus, iurgia gliscunt.*²

When once the force of wine hath inly pierst,
Limbs-heavnesse is next, legs faine would
goe,

But reeling cannot, tongue drawles, mindes
disperst,

Eyes swimme, cries, hickups, brables grow.

The worst estate of man is where he
loseth the knowledge and government of

himselfe. And amongst other things it is said that as must wine boyling and working in a vessel, workes and sends upwards what ever it containeth in the bottom, so doth wine cause those that drink excessively of it to worke up and break out their most concealed secrets.

— *tu sapientium
Curas, et arcanum jocoso
Consilium vctegis Lyæo.*¹

Thou (wine-cup) doest by wine reveale
The cares, which wise men would conceale,
And close drifts, at a merry meale.

Iosephus reporteth that by making an Ambassador to tipples-square, whom his enemies had sent unto him, he wrested all his secrets out of him. Neverthesse Augustus having trusted Lucius Piso, that conquered Thrace, with the secretest affaires he had in hand, had never cause to be discontented with him ; nor Tiberius with Cossus, to whom he imparted all his serioussest counsels, although we know them both to have so given themselves to drinking of wine that they were often faine to be carried from the Senat, and both were reputed notable drunkards.

— *Hesterno inflatum venas de more Lyæo.*³

Veines pufft up, as it used alway
By wine which was drunke yesterday.

And as faithfully as the complot and purpose to kill Cæsar committed unto Cimber, who would daily be drunke with quaffing of wine, as unto Cassius, that drunke nothing but water, whereupon he answered very pleasantly, " What ! shall I beare a tyrant that am not able to beare wine ? " We see our carousing tospot German souldiers, when they are most plunged in their cups and as drunke as rats, to have perfect remembrance of their quarter, of the watch-word, and of their files.

— *nec facilis victoria de madidis, et
Blesis, atque micro titubantibus.*³

Nor is the conquest easie of men sowst,
Lisping and reeling with wine they carowst.

I would never have beleevd so sound, so deepe and so excessive drunkennesse, had I not read in histories that Attalus having envited to sup with him (with intent to doe him some notable indignity) the same Pausanias who for the same cause killed afterward Philip King of Macedon (a king, who by the eminent faire qualities that were in him, bore a testimonie of the education he had learned in the house and company of Epaminondas), made him so dead-drunke

¹ HOR. l. iii. Od. xxi. 14.

² V. RG. Buc. Ecl. vi. 15.

³ JUV. Sat. xv. 47.

¹ HOR. l. i. Sat. iii. 115. ² JUV. Sat. l. iii. 479.

that insensibly and without feeling he might prostitute his beauty as the body of a common hedge-harlot, to Muletters, Groomes and many of the abject-servants of his house. And what a lady (whom I much honour and highly esteeme) told mee, protesting that neere Bourdeaux, towards Castres, where her house is, a widdow country-woman, reputed very chaste and honest, suspecting herself to be with childe, told her neighbours that had she a husband she should verily thinke she was with childe; but the occasion of this suspicion increasing more and more, and perceiving herself so big-bellied that she could no longer conceale it, she resolved to make the Parish-priest acquainted with it, whom she entreated to publish in the Church that whosoever hee were that was guilty of the fact, and would avow it, she would freely forgive him, and if hee were so pleased, take him to her husband. A certaine swaine or hyne-boy of hers, emboldened by this proclamation, declared how that having one holliday found her well-tipped with wine, and so sound asleepe by the chimnie side, lying so fit and ready for him, without awaking her he had the full use of her body. Whom she accepted for her husband, and both live together at this day. It is assured that antiquitie hath not greatly described this vice. The compositions of diverse Philosophers speake but sparingly of it. Yea, and some of the Stoikes deeme it not amisse for man sometimes to take his liquor roundly, and drinke drunke, thereby to recreate his spirits.

Hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum

*Socratem palmam promeruisse ferunt.*¹

They say, in this too, Socrates the wise,
And great in vertues combats, bare the prize.

Cato, that strict censurer and severe corrector of others, hath beene reproved for much drinking.

*Narratur et prisca Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.*²

'Tis said, by use of wine repeated,
Old Catoes vertue oft was heated.

Cyrus, that so far-renowned king, amongst his other commendations, meaning to preferre himselfe before his brother Artaxerxes, and get the start of him, aleageth that he could drinke better and tittle more than he. And amongst the best policed and formalest nations, the custome of drinking and pledging of healths was much in use. I have heard Silviu, that excellent phisitian of Paris, affirme that to preserve the vigor of

our stomake from empairing, it is not amisse once a month to rowze up the same by this excesse of drinking, and lest it should grow dull and stupid thereby to stirre it up. And it is written that the Persians, after they had well tiddled, were wont to consult of their chiefeest affaires. My taste, my relish, and my complexion are sharper enemies unto this vice than my discourse, for besides that I captivate more easily my conceits under the auctoritie of ancient opinions, indeed I finde it to be a fond, a stupid, and a base kinde of vice, but lesse malicious and hurtfull than others; all which shooke and with a sharper edge wound publike societie. And if we cannot give our selves any pleasure except (as they say) it cost us something; I finde this vice to be lesse chargeable unto our conscience than others; besides it is not hard to be prepared, difficult to be found; a consideration not to be despised. A man well advanced in years and dignitie, amongst three principall commodities he told me to have remaining in life, counted this; and where shall a man more rightly finde it than amongst the naturall? But heooke it ill, delicatenesse, and the choice of wines is therein to be avoided. If you prepare your voluptuousnesse to drinke it with pleasure and daintily neat, you tie your selfe unto an inconvenience to drinke it other than is alwayes to be had. A man must have a milder, a loose and freer taste. To be a true drinker a man should not have so tender and squeamish a palat. The Germans doe in a manner drinke equally of all sorts of wine with like pleasure. Their end is rather to gulpe it downe freely than to tast it kindly. And to say truth they have it better cheape. Their voluptuousnesse is more plenteous and fuller. Secondly, to drinke after the French manner, as two draughts and moderately, is over much to restraine the favours of that God. There is more time and constancie required thereunto. Our forefathers were wont to spend whole nights in that exercise, yea often times they joyned whole long dayes unto them. And a man must proportion his ordinarie more large and firme. I have in my dayes seene a principall Lord, a man of great employment and enterprises and famous for good success, who without straining himselfe and eating but an ordinary meales-meate, was wont to drinke little lesse than five pottles of wine, yet at his rising seemed to be nothing distempered, but rather, as we have found to our no small cost in managing our affaires, over-wise and considerate. The pleasure of that whereof we would make account in the course of our life ought to be employed

¹ COR. GAL. *Et. i.* ² HOR. *L. iiii. Od. xxi. 11.*

longer space. It were necessary, as shop-
boyes or labouring people, that we should
refuse no occasion to drinke and continually
to have this desire in our minde. It seemeth
that wee daily shorten the use of this, and
that in our houses (as I have seene in mine
infancie) breakfasts, nunchions, and beavers
should be more frequent and often used
than now adayes they are. And should
wee thereby in any sort proceed towards
amendment? No verily. But it may be
that we have much more given our selves
over unto paillardise and all manner of
luxurie than our fathers were. They are
two occupations that enter-hinder one
another in their vigor. On the one side it
hath empaired and weakened our stomacke,
and on the other sobrietie serveth to make
us more jolly-quaint, lusty, and wanton for
the exercise of love matters. It is a wonder
to thinke on the strange tales I have
heard my father report of the chastitie of
his time. He might well speake of it as he
that was both by art and nature proper for
the use and solace of ladies. He spake
little and well, few words, but to the purpose,
and was ever wont to entermixe
some ornament taken from vulgar bookes,
and above all Spanish, amongst his common
speeches. And of all Spanish authors,
none was more familiar unto him than
Marcus Aurelius.¹ His demeanour and carriage
was ever milde, meeke, gentle, and
very modest, and above all grave and
stately. There is nothing he seemed to be
more carefull of than of his honesty, and
observe a kinde of decencie of his person,
and orderly decorum in his habits, were it
on foot or on horsebacke. He was exceeding
nice in performing his word or promise. And
so strictly conscientious and obsequious in
religion, that generally he seemed rather to
encline toward superstition than the contrarie.
Though he were but a little man, his courage
and vigor was great. He was of an upright
and well proportioned stature, of a pleasing,
cheerfull-looking countenance, of a swarthy
hue, nimble addicted, and exquisitely nimble
unto all noble and gentleman-like exercises.
I have seene some hollow staves of his
filled with lead which hee wont to use and exercise
his armes withall, the better to enable
himselfe to pitch the barre, to throw the
sledge, to cast the pole, and to play at
fence; and shoes with leaden soles, which
he wore to enure himselfe to leape, to
vault, and to run. I may without blushing
say, that in memorie of himselfe, he hath
left certaine petie miracles amongst us. I
have seene him when he was past threescore

years of age mocke at all our sports, and
out-countenance our youthfull pastimes,
with a heavy furr'd gowne about him to
leape into his saddle, to make the pommada
round about a table upon his thumb, and
seldome to ascend any staires without skipping
three or four steps at once. And concerning
my discourse, hee was wont to say
that in a whole province there was scarce
any woman of qualitie that had an ill
name. Hee would often report strange
familiarities, namely of his owne, with very
honest women, without any suspicion at all.
And protested very religiously that when he
was married he was yet a pure virgine; yet
had he long time followed the warres
beyond the mountaines, and therein served
long, whereof he hath left a Journall-booke
of his owne collecting, wherein he hath
particularly noted whatsoever happened
day by day worthy the observation so long
as he served, both for the publike and his
particular use. And he was well stricken
in years when he tooke a wife. For returning
out of Italie in the yeare of our Lord
one thousand five hundred eight and
twenty, and being full three and thirty years
old by the way hee chose himselfe a wife.
But come we to our drinking againe. The
incommodities of age, which need some
helpe and refreshing, might with some
reason beget in me a desire or longing of
this faculty, for it is in a man the last
pleasure which the course of our years
stealeth upon us. Good fellows say that
naturall heat is first taken in our feet: that
properly belongeth to infancie. From
thence it ascendeth unto the middle
region, where it is settled and continueth
a long time, and in mine opinion there
produceth the only true and moving pleasures
of this corporall life. Other delight
and sensualities in respect of that doe but
sleepe. In the end, like unto a vapour which
by little and little exhalet and mounteth
aloft, it comes unto the throat and there
makes her last bode. Yet could I never
conceive how any man may either encrease
or prolong the pleasure of drinking beyond
thirst, and in his imagination frame an artificial
appetite, and against nature. My
stomacke could not well reach so farre: it
is very much troubled to come to an end of
that which it takes for his need. My constitution
is to make no accompt of drinking
but to succeed meat, and therefore doe I
ever make my last draught the greatest.
And forasmuch as in age we have the roofof
our mouthes commonly furred with
rume, or distempered, distasted and
altered through some other evill constitution,
wine seemeth better unto us and of a

¹ GUEVARA.

quicker relish, according as our pores be either more or lesse open and washed. At least I seldome relish the same very well, except it be the first draught I take. Anacharsis wondered to see the Græcians drinke in greater glasses at the end of their meales than in the beginning. It was (as I imagine) for the very same reason that the Germans doe it, who never begin to carouse but when they have well fed. Plato forbiddeth children to drinke any wine before they be eightene yeares of age, and to be drunke before they come to forty. But to such as have once attained the age of fortie, he is content to pardon them, if they chance to delight themselves with it, and alloweth them somewhat largely to blend the influence of Dionysius in their banquets, that good God, who bestoweth cheerfulness upon men, and youth unto aged men, who layeth and aswageth the passions of the minde, even as yron is made flexible by the fire : and in his profitable lawes holds drinking-meetings or quaffing companies as necessary and commendable (alwaies provided there be a chiefe leader amongst them to containe and order them) drunkenness being a good and certaine tryall of every mans nature ; and therewithall proper to give aged men the courage to make merry in dancing and musicke ; things allowable and profitable, and such as they dare not undertake being sober and settled : That wine is capable to supply the mind with temperance and the body with health. Notwithstanding, these restrictions, partly borrowed of the Carthaginians, please him well. Let those forbear it that are going about any expedition of warre. Let every magistrate and all judges abstain from it at what time they are to execute their charge, and to consult of publike affaires. Let none bestow the day in drinking, as the time that is due unto more serious negotiations, nor the nights wherein a man intendeth to get children. It is reported that Stilpo the Philosopher, finding himselfe surcharged with age, did purposely hasten his end by drinking of pure wine. The like cause (though not wittingly) did also suffocate the vital forces, crazed through old age, of the Philosopher Arcesilaus. But it is an old and pleasant question whether a wise mans mind were like to yeeld unto the force of wine.

*Si munita adhibet vim sapientia.*¹

If unresisted force it bends,
Gainst wisdom which it selfe defends.

Unto what vanity doth the good opinion

we have of ourselves provoke us? The most temperate and perfectest minde of the world findes it too great a taske to keepe herselfe upright, lest she fall by her owne weakness. Of a thousand there is not one perfectly righteous and settled but one instant of her life, and question might be made whether according to her natural condition she might at any time be so. But to joyne constancie unto it is her last perfection : I meane if nothing should shooke her ; which a thousand accidents may doe. Lucretius, that famous Poet, may philosophie and bandie at his pleasure : Loe where he lieth senselesse of an amorous potion. Thinks any man that an apoplexie cannot as soone astonish Socrates as a poore labouring man? Some of them have by the force of a sickness forgot their own names, and a slight hurt hath overthrowen the judgement of others. Let him be as wise as he can, in the end he is but a man ; what is more fraile, more miserable, or more vaine? Wisdom forceth not our naturall conditions.

*Sndores itaque, et pallorem existere toto Corpore, et infrings linguam, vocemque aboriri, Caligare oculos, sonare aures, succidere artus, Denique concidere ex animi terrore videmus.*¹

We see therefore, paleness and sweats ore-grow
Our bodies, tongues doe falter, voyce doth
breake,
Eyes dazle, eares buzze, joints doe shrinke
below,
Lastly we swoone by hart-fright, terrors
weake.

He must seele his eyes against the blow that threateneth him ; being neere the brimme of a precipice, he must cry out like a child : Nature having purposed to reserve these light markes of her authoritie unto herselfe, inexpugnable unto our reason, and to the Stoeicke vertue : to teach him his mortalitie and our insipiditie. He waxeth pale for feare, he blusheth for shame, he groaneth feeling the chollie, if not with a desperate and lowd-roaring voice, yet with a low, smothered, and hoarse-sounding noise.

*Humani à se nihil alienum putat,*²

He thinks, that nothing strange be can
To him that longs to any man.

Giddie-headed Poets, that faine what they list, dare not so much as discharge their Heroes from tears.

*Sic satur lachrymans, classique immitit habenas.*³

¹ LUCRET. l. iii. 155.

² TER. *Heaut.* act i. sc. 1, 25.

³ VIRG. *Æn.* l. vi. 1.

¹ HOR. *Od.* xxviii. 4.

So said he weeping, and so saide,
Himselfe hand to the sterage laide.

Let it suffice him to bridle his affections, and moderate his inclinations; for it is not in him to beare them away. Plutarke himselfe, who is so perfect and excellent a judge of humane actions, seeing Brutus and Torquatus to kill their own children, remaineth doubtfull whether vertue could reach so farre, and whether such men were not rather moved by some other passion. All actions beyond the ordinary limits are subject to some sinister interpretation. Forasmuch as our taste doth no more come unto that which is above it, than to that which is under it. Let us omit that other sect which maketh open profession of fierceness. But when in the very same sect which is esteemed the most demisse, we heare the bragges of Metrodorus: *Occupavi te, Fortuna, atque cepi; omnesque aditus tuos interclusi, ut ad me aspirare non posses.*¹ "Fortune, I have prevented, caught, and overtaken thee: I have mured and ramd up all thy passagis, whereby thou mightest attaine unto mee:" When Anaxarchus, by the appointment of Nicocreon, the tyrant of Cipres, being laid along in a trough of stone, and smoten with yron sledges, ceaseth not to crie out, "Streeke, smite and breake; it is not Anaxarchus, it is but his vaile you martyr so:" When we heare our martyrs in the midst of a flame crie aloud unto the Tyrant, "This side is roasted enough, chop it, eat it, it is full roasted, now begin on the other:" When in Iosephus wee heere a child all to rent with biting snippers, and pierced with the breath of Antiochus, to defie him to death, crie with a lowde-assured and undismald voyce, "Tyrant, thou lovest time, loe I am still at mine ease; where is that smarting paine, where are those torments, wherewith whilom thou didst so threaten me? My constancie doth more trouble thee than I have feeling of thy crueltie: Oh faint hearted varlet, doest thou yeeld when I gather strength? Make mee to faint or shrink, cause me to moane or lament, force me to yeeld and sue for grace if thou canst; encourage they satellittes, harden thy executioners; loe how they droope and have no more power; arme them, strengthen them, flesh them:" Verely we must needs confesse there is some alteration, and some furie (how holy soever) in those mindes, When we come unto these Stoick evasions: I had rather be furious than voluptuous: the saying of Antisthenes, *Μακρόν μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθεῖν*,² "Rather would I

be mad than merry;" when Sextius telleth us, he had rather be surprised with pain than sensuality; when Epicurus undertakes to have the goute to wantonize and faune upon him, and refusing ease and health, with a hearty cheerefullnesse defie all evils, and scornefully despising lesse sharpe griefs, disdaining to grapple with them, he blithely desireth and calleth for sharper, more forcible and worthy of him.

*Spumantemque dari, pecora inter inertia, votis
Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte
leonem.*¹

He wisht, amongst hartlesse beasts some foming
Bore,
Or mountaine-Lyon would come downe and
rore;

Who would not judge them to be pranks of a courage removed from his wonted seate? Our minde cannot out of her place attaine so high. She must quit it and raise her selfe aloft, and taking the bridle in her teeth, carry and transport her man so farre, that afterward he wonder at himselfe, and rest amazed at his actions. As in exploits of warre, the heat and earnestnesse of the fight doth often provoke the noble minded souldiers to adventure on so dangerous passages, that afterward being better advised, they are the first to wonder at it. As also Poets are often surprised and rapt with admiration at their owne labours, and forget the trace by which they pass so happy a career. It is that which some terme a fury or madness in them. And as Plato saith that a settled and reposed man doth in vaine knocke at Poesies gate; Aristotle likewise saith that no excellent minde is freely exempted from some or other intermixture of folly. And he hath reason to call any starting or extraordinarie conceit (how commendable soever) and which exceedeth our judgement and discourse, folly. Forsomuch as wisdom is an orderly and regular managing of the minde, and which she addresseth with measure, and conducteth with proportion; and taketh her owne word for it. Plato disputeth thus: that the facultie of prophesying and divination is far above us, and that when wee treat it, we must be besides ourselves: our wisdom must be darkened and over shadowed by sleepe, by sickness, or by drowziness; or by some celestial fury, ravished from her owne seat.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iv. 158.

¹ METR. *Cic. Tusc. Qu.* l. v.

² ANTIST. *Diogen. Laert.* l. vi. c. i.

CHAPTER III.

A Custome of the Ile of Cea.

IF, as some say, to philosophate be to doubt; with much more reason to rave and fantastiquize, as I doe, must necessarily be to doubt: For, to enquire and debate belongeth to a scholler, and to resolve appertaines to a cathedrall master. But know, my cathedrall, it is the authoritie of Gods divine will, that without any contradiction doth sway us, and hath her ranke beyond these humane and vaine contestations. Philip being with an armed hand entred the cuntry of Peloponnesus, some one told Damidas the Lacedemonians were like to endure much if they sought not to reobtaine his lost favour. "Oh varlet as thou art (answered he). And what can they suffer who have no feare at all of death?" Agis being demanded, how a man might do to live free, answered; "Despising and contemning to die." These and a thousand like propositions, which concur in this purpose, do evidently inferre some thing beyond the patient expecting of death it selfe, to be suffered in this life: witness the Lacedemonian child, taken by Antigonus, and sold for a slave, who urged by his master to perform some abject service; "Thou shalt see (said he) whom thou hast bought, for it were a shame for me to serve, having libertie so neere at hand;" and therewithall threw himselfe headlong downe from the top of the house. Antipater, sharply threatening the Lacedemonians, to make them yeeld to a certaine request of his; they answered, shouldest thou menace us worse than death, we will rather die. And to Philip, who having written unto them that he would hinder all their enterprises; "What? (say they) wilt thou also hinder us from dying?" That is the reason why some say that the wiseman liveth as long as he ought, and not so long as he can. And that the favourabest gift nature hath bequeathed us, and which removeth all meanes from us to complaine of our condition, is, that she hath left us the key of the fields. She hath appointed but one entrance unto life, but many a thousand ways out of it: Well may we want ground to live upon, but never ground to die in; as Boicalus answered the Romanes. Why dost thou complaine against this world? It doth not containe thee: If thou livest in paine and sorrow, thy base courage is the cause of it. To die there wanteth but will.

*Ubique mors est: optimè hoc cavuit Deus,
Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest:
At nemo mortem: mille ad hanc aditus patent.*¹
Each where death is: God did this well purvey,
No man but can from man life take away,
But none barr's death, to it lies many a way.

And it is not a receipt to one malady alone; Death is a remedy against all evils: It is a most assured haven, never to be feared, and often to be sought: All comes to one period, whether man make an end of himselfe, or whether he endure it; whether he run before his day, or whether he expect it: whence soever it come, it is ever his owne, where ever the thread be broken, it is all there, it's the end of the web. The voluntariest death is the fairest. Life dependeth on the will of others, death on ours. In nothing should we so much accommodate our selves to our humors as in that. Reputation doth nothing concerne such an enterprise, it is folly to have any respect unto it. To live is to serve, if the libertie to dye be wanting. The common course of curing any infirmitie is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made into us, we are cauterized, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let bloud, we are dieted. Goe we but one step further, we need no more physicke, we are perfectly whole. Why is not our jugular or throat-veine as much at our command as the mediane? To extreme sicknesses, extreme remedies. Servius the Grammarian being troubled with the gowt, found no better meanes to be rid of it than to apply poison to mortifie his legs. He cared not whether they were Podagrees or no, so they were insensible. God giveth us sufficient privilege, when he placeth us in such an estate, as life is worse than death unto us. It is weaknesse to yeeld to evils, but folly to foster them. The Stoikes say it is a convenient naturall life, for a wise man, to forgoe life, although he abound in all happinesse, if he doe it opportunely: And for a foole to prolong his life, albeit he be most miserable, provided he be in most part of things, which they say to be according unto nature. As I offend not the lawes made against thieves when I cut mine owne purse, and carry away mine owne goods; nor of destroyers when I burne mine owne wood; so am I nothing tied unto lawes made against murderers, if I deprive my selfe of mine owne life. Hegesias was wont to say, that even as the condition of life, so should the qualitie of death depend on our election. And Diogenes meeting with the Philosopher Speusippus, long time afflicted with the dropsie, and therefore carried in a

¹ SEN. *Thæb.* act i. sc. 1.

litter, who cried out unto him, All haile, Diogenes: And to thee no health at all (replied Diogenes), that endurest to live in so wretched an estate. True it is, that a while after, Speusippus, as overtired with so languishing a condition of life, compassed his owne death. But this goeth not without some contradiction: For many are of opinion, that without the expresse commandment of him that hath placed us in this world, we may by no meanes forsake the garrison of it, and that it is in the hands of God only, who therein hath placed us, not for our selves alone, but for his glory, and others service, when ever it shall please him to discharge us hence, and not for us to take leave: That we are not borne for our selves, but for our Countrie: The Lawes for their owne interest require an accompt at our hands for our selves, and have a just action of murder against us. Else as forsakers of our owne charge, we are punished in the other world.

Proxima deinde tenent masti loca, qui sibi lethum

*Insontes peperere manu, lucemque perossi
Projecere animas.¹*

Next place they lamentable hold in hell,
Whose hand their death caused causelesse, but
not well)
And hating life did thence their soules expell.

There is more constancie in using the chaine that holds us than in breaking the same; and more triall of stedfastnesse in Regulus than in Cato. It is indiscretion and impatience that hastneth our way. No accidents can force a man to turne his backe from lively vertue: She seeketh out evils and sorrowes as her nourishment. The threats of fell tyrants, tortures and torments, executioners and torturers, doe animate and quicken her.

*Duris ut illex tonsa bipennibus
Nigrae feraci frondis in Alcido
Per damna, per cedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animunq; ferro.²*

As holme-tree doth with hard axe lopt
On hills with many holme-trees topt,
From losse, from cuttings it doth feele,
Courage and store rise ev'n from Steele.

And as the other saith,

*Non est ut putas virtus, pater,
Timere vitam, sed malis ingentibus
Obstare, nec se vertere ac retro ducere.³*

Sir, 'tis not vertue, as you understand,
To feare life, but grosse mischiefe to withstand,
Not to retire, turne backe, at any hand.

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere mortem.
Fortius ille facit, qui miser esse potest.⁴*

'Tis easie in crosse chance death to despise:
He that can wretched be, doth stronger rise.

It is the part of cowardlinesse, and not of vertue, to seeke to squat it selfe in some hollow lurking hole, or to hide her selfe under some massie tombe, thereby to shun the strokes of fortune. She never forsakes her course, nor leaves her way, what stormie weather soever crosse her.

*Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum serient ruinae.⁵*

If the world broken should upon her fall,
The ruines may her strike, but not appall,

The avoyding of other inconveniences doth most commonly drive us into this, yea, sometimes the shunning of death makes us to run into it.

Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriari, mori?⁶

Madnesse is't not, say I,
To dye, lest you should dye?

As those who for feare of a break-necke downe-fall, doe headlong cast themselves into it.

*multos in summa pericula misit
Venturi timor ipse mali: fortissimus ille est,
Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instant,
Et differre potest.⁷*

The very feare of ils to come, hath sent
Many to mighty dangers: strongest they,
Who fearfull things t' endure are ready bent,
If they confront them, yet can them delay.

— usque adeo mortis formidine, vita
Percipit humanos odium, lucisque videnda,
Ut sibi consciscant morienti pectore lethum,
Obliiti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.⁸

So far by feare of death, the hate of life,
And seeing light, doth men as men possesse,
They grieving kill themselves to end the strife,
Forgetting, feare is spring of their distresse.

Plato in his Lawes alots him that hath deprived his neerest and dearest friend of life (that is to say, himselfe) and abridged him of the destinies course, not constrained by any publike judgement, nor by any lewd and inevitable accident of fortune, nor by any intolerable shame or infamy, but through basenesse of minde, and weakenesse of a faint-fearful courage, to have a most ignominious and ever-reproachfull buriall. And the opinion which disdaineth our life is ridiculous: For in fine it is our being. It is our all in all. Things that have a nobler and richer being may accuse ours: But it is against nature, we should despise,

¹ MART. l. xi. *Epig.* lvii. 15.

² HOR. l. iii. *Od.* iii. 7.

³ MART. l. ii. *Epig.* lxxx. 2.

⁴ LUCAN. l. vii. 104.

⁵ LUCKET. l. iii. 79.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. vi. 434.

² HOR. l. iv. *Od.* iv. 57.

³ SEN. *Thyb.* act. i. sc. 1.

and carelesly set our selves at naught: It is a particular infirmity, and which is not seene in any other creature, to hate and disdain himselfe. It is of like vanitie, that we desire to be other than we are. The fruit of such a desire doth not concerne us, forasmuch as it contradicteth and hindereth it selfe in it selfe. He that desireth to be made of a man an Angell, doth nothing for himselfe: He should be nothing the better by it: And being no more, who shall rejoyce or conceive any gladnesse of this change or amendment for him?

*Debet enim miserè cui forte aggrege futurum est,
Ipse quoque esse in eo tum tempore, cum male
possit
Accidere.*¹

For he, who shall perchance prove miserable, And speed but ill, should then himselfe be able To be himselfe, when ils may chance unstable.

The security, indolence, impossibility, and privation of this lifes evils, which we purchase at the price of death, bring us no commoditie at all. In vaine doth he avoid warre that cannot enjoy peace; and bootlesse doth he shun paine that hath no meanes to feele rest. Amongst those of the first opinion, great questioning hath beene to know what occasions are sufficiently just and lawfull to make a man undertake the killing of himselfe, they call that *εὐλογον ἀεθωγήν*,² a reasonable orderly out-let. For, although they say a man must often dye for slight causes, since these that keepe us alive are not very strong; yet is some measure required in them. There are certaine fantastick and braine-sicke humors, which have not only provoked particular men, but whole Nations to defeat themselves. I have heretofore alenged some examples of them: And moreover we read of certaine Milesian virgins, who upon a furious conspiracie hanged themselves one after another, untill such time as the Magistrate provided for it, appointing that such as should be found so hanged, should with their owne halters be dragged naked thorow the streets of the citie. When Threicion perswadeth Cleomenes to kill himselfe, by reason of the bad and desperate estate his affaires stood in, and having escaped a more honourable death in the battell which he had lately lost, moveth him to accept of this other, which is second to him in honour, and give the Conqueror no leisure to make him endure, either another death, or else a shamefull life Cleomenes, with a Lacedemonian and Stoike courage, refuseth this counsell as base and effeminate: It is a receipt (saith he) which

can never faile me, and whereof a man should make no use, so long as there remaineth but one inch of hope: That to live, is sometimes constancie and valour; That he will have his very death serve his Countrey, and by it shew an act of honour and of vertue. Threicion then beleevd, and killed himselfe. Cleomenes did afterwards as much, but not before he had tried and assayed the utmost power of fortune. All inconveniences are not so much worth that a man should dye to eschue them. Moreover, there being so many sudden changes and violent alterations in humane things, it is hard to judge in what state or point we are justly at the end of our hope:

*Sperat et in sæva victus gladiator arena,
Sic licet infesto pollice turba minax.*¹

The Fencer hopes, though downe in lists he lye, And people with turn'd hand threats he must dye.

All things, saith an ancient proverb, may a man hope for so long as he liveth; yea, but answereth Seneca, wherefore shall I rather have that in minde; that fortune can do all things for him that is living, than this; that fortune hath no power at all over him who knoweth how to dye? Iosephus is seene engaged in so apparent-approaching danger, with a whole nation against him, that according to humane reason there was no way for him to escape; notwithstanding being (as he saith) counsell'd by a friend of his, at that instant, to kill himselfe; it fell out well for him to opinionate himselfe yet in hope: for fortune, beyond all mans discourse, did so turne and change that accident, that without any inconvenience at all, he saw himselfe delivered: whereas on the contrarie Brutus and Cassius, by reason of the down-fall and rashnesse, wherewith before due time and occasion they killed themselves; did utterly lose the reliques of the Roman libertie, whereof they were protectors. The Lord of Anguien in the battell of Serisolles, as one desperate of the combats successe, which on his side went to wracke, attempted twice to run himselfe thorow the throat with his rapier, and thought by precipitation to bereave himselfe of the enjoying of so notable a victorie. I have seene a hundred Hares save themselves even in the Grey-hounds jaws: *Aliquis carnifici suo superstes fuit*:¹ "Some man hath outlived his Hang-man."

*Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis evi
Rettulit in melius, multos alterna revulsus
Lusit, et in solido rursum fortune locavit.*²

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 905.

² ALEX. *Aphrod.*

¹ SEN. *Epist.* xiii.

² VIRG. *Æn.* l. xi. 426.

Time, and of turning age the divers straine,
Hath much to better brought, fortunes turn'd
traine
Hath many mock't, and set them fast againe.

Plinie saith there are but three sorts of sicknesses, which to avoid, a man may have some colour of reason to kill himselfe. The sharpest of all is the stone in the bladder, when the urine is there stopped. Seneca, these onely, which for long time disturbe and distract the offices of the minde. To avoid a worse death, some are of opinion, a man should take it at his owne pleasure. Democritus, chiefe of the *Ætoli*ans, being led captive to Rome, found meanes to escape by night : but being pursued by his keepers, rather than he would be taken againe, ran himselfe thorow with his sword. *Antinoüs* and *Theodotus*, their Citie of *Epirus* being by the Romans reduced unto great extremitie, concluded, and perswaded all the people to kill themselves. But the counsell, rather to yeeld, having prevailed, they went to seeke their owne death, and rushed amidst the thickest of their enemies, with an intention rather to strike than to ward themselves.

The Iland of *Gosa*, being some yeares since surprised and over-run by the *Turkes*, a certaine *Sicilian* therein dwelling, having two faire daughters ready to be married, killed them both with his owne hands, together with their mother, that came in to help them. That done, running out into the streets, with a crossebow in one hand and a haliver in the other, at two shoots slew the two first *Turks* that came next to his gates, then resolutely drawing his sword, ran furiously among them, by whom he was suddenly hewen in peeces : Thus did he save himselfe from slavish bondage, having first delivered his owne from it. The Jewish women, after they had caused their children to be circumcised, to avoid the crueltie of *Antiochus*, did headlong precipitate themselves and them unto death. I have heard it credibly reported that a gentleman of good qualitie being prisoner in one of our gaols, his parents advertized that he should assuredly be condemned, to avoid the infamie of so reproachfull a death, appointed a priest to tell him that the best remedy for his deliverie was to recommend himselfe to such a saint, with such and such a vow, and to continue eight dayes without taking any sustenance, what faintnesse or weaknesse soever he should feele in himselfe. He believed them, and so without thinking on it, was delivered out of life and danger. *Scribonia* perswading *Libo*, her nephew, to kill himselfe, rather than to await the stroke of justice, told him that for a man to preserve his own life,

to put it into the hands of such as three or four dayes after should come and seek it, was even to dispatch another man's businesse, and that it was no other than for one to serve his enemies to preserve his blood therewith to make food. We read in the Bible that *Nicanor*, the persecutor of Gods law, having sent his satellites to apprehend the good old man *Rasias* for the honour of his vertue, surnamed the father of the fewes ; when that good man saw no other means left him, his gate being burned, and his enemies ready to lay hold on him, chose rather than to fall into the hands of such villaines and be so basely abused against the honour of his place, to dye nobly, and so smote himselfe with his owne sword ; but by reason of his haste, having not thoroughly slaine himselfe, he ran to throw himselfe downe from an high wall, amongst the throng of people, which making him roome, he fell right upon his head. All which notwithstanding, perceiving life to remaine in him, he tooke heart againe ; and getting up on his feet, all goared with blood and loaden with strokes, making way through the prease, came to a craggy and downe-steepy rocke, where, unable to go any further, by one of his wounds with both his hands pulled out his guts, and tearing and breaking them, cast them amongst such as pursued him, calling and attesting the vengeance of God to light upon them. Of all violences committed against conscience, the most in mine opinion to be avoided is that which is offered against the chastitie of women, forasmuch as there is naturally some corporall pleasure commixt with it, and therefore the dissent cannot fully enough be joyned thereunto ; and it seemeth that force is in some sort intermixed with some will. The ecclesiastical storie hath in especiall reverence sundry such examples of devout persons who called for death to warrant them from the outrages which some tyrants prepared against their religion and consciences. *Pelagia* and *Sophronia*, both canonised, the first, together with her mother and sisters, to escape the outrageous rapes of some souldiers, threw her selfe into a river ; the other, to shun the force of *Maxentius*, the Emperour, slew her selfe. It shall peradventure redound to our honour in future ages, that a wise author of these dayes, and namely a Parisian, doth labour to perswade the ladies of our times rather to hazard upon any resolution than to embrace so horrible a counsell of such desperation. I am sorie that to put amongst his discourses he knew not the good saying I learnt of a woman at

Tholouse, who had passed through the hands of some souldiers: "God be praised," said she, "that once in my life I have had my belly full without sinne." Verily these cruelties are not worthy of the French curtesie. And God be thanked, since this good advertisement, our ayre is infinitely purged of them. Let it suffice that in doing it they say no, and take it, following the rule of Marot. The historie is very full of such, who a thousand ways have changed a lingering, toylsome life with death. Lucius Aruntius killed himself, as he said, to avoid what was past and eschue what was to come. Grarius Sylvanus and Statius Proximus, after they had bene pardoned by Nero, killed themselves, either because they scorned to live by the favour of so wicked a man, or because they would not another time be in danger of a second pardon, seeing his so easie-yielding unto suspicions and accusations against honest men. Spargapises, sonne unto Queene Tomiris, prisoner by the law of warre unto Cyrus, employed the first favour that Cyrus did him, by setting him free, to kill himselfe, as he who never pretended to reap other fruit by his liberty, than to revenge the infamie of his taking upon himselfe. Boges, a Governor for King Kexes, in the country of Ionia, being besieged by the Athenians army, under the conduct of Cymon, refused the composition to returne safely, together with his goods and treasure, into Asia, as one impatient to survive the loss of what his master had given him in charge; and after he had stoutly, and even to the last extremity, defended the towne, having no manner of victuals left him; first he cast all the gold and treasure, with whatsoever he imagined the enemy might reap any commoditie by, into the river Strimon. Then having caused a great pile of wood to be set on fire, and made all women, children, concubines and servants to be stripped and throwne into the flames, afterward ran in himselfe, where all were burned. Ninachetuen, a lord in the East Indies, having had an inking of the King of Portugales viceroys deliberation to dispossesse him, without any apparent cause of the charge he had in Malaca, for to give it unto the King of Campar, of himselfe took this resolution: First, he caused an high scaffold to be set up, somewhat longer than broad, underpropped with pillars, all gorgeously hanged with rich tapestry, strewed with flowers and adorned with precious perfumes. Then, having put on a sumptuous long robe of cloth of gold, richly beset with store of precious stones of inestimable worth, he came out of the

palace into the street, and by certaine steps ascended the scaffold, in one of the corners whereof was a pile of aromatically wood set afire. All the people of the cite were flocked together to see what the meaning of such unaccustomed preparation might tend unto. Ninachetuen, with an undantied, bold, yet seeming discontented countenance, declared the manifold obligations which the Portugal nation was endebted unto him for, expostulated how faithfully and truly he had dealt in his charge; that having so often witnessed, armed at all assayes for others, that his honour was much dearer unto him than life, he was not to forsake the care of it for himselfe; that fortune refusing him all means to oppose himselfe against the injurie intended against him, his courage at the least willed him to remove the feeling thereof, and not become a laughing stocke unto the people, and a triumph to men of lesse worth than himselfe, which words, as he was speaking, he cast himselfe into the fire.

Sextilia, the wife of Scaurus, and Praxea, wife unto Labeo, to encourage their husbands to avoid the dangers which pressed them, wherein they had no share (but in regard of the interest of their conjugal affection), voluntarily engaged their life, in this extreme necessitie, to serve them as an example to imitate and company to regard. What they performed for their husbands, Cocceius Nerva acted for his countrie, and though lesse profitable, yet equall in true love. That famous interpreter of the lawes, abounding in riches, in reputation, in credit, and flourishing in health about the Emperour, had no other cause to rid himselfe of life but the compassion of the miserable estate, wherein he saw the Romane commonwealth.

Nothing can be added unto the daintinesse of the wifes death of Fulvius who was so inward with Augustus. Augustus perceiving he had blabbed a certaine secret of importance, which he on trust had revealed unto him, one morning comming to visit him, he seemed to frowne upon him for it; whereupon as guilty, he returneth home as one full of despair, and in piteous sort told his wife that sithence he was false into such a mischiefe, he was resolved to kill himselfe; shee, as one no whit dismayed, replied unto him: "Thou shalt doe but right, since having so often experienced the incontinence of my tongue, thou hast not learnt to beware of it; yet give me leave to kill my selfe first," and without more ado ran her selfe thorow with a sword.

Vibius Virius despairing of his cities safetie, besieged by the Romans, and mistrusting

their mercie, in their Senates last consultation, after many remonstrances employed to that end, concluded that the best and fairest way was to escape fortune by their owne hands. The very enemies should have them in more honour, and Hanniball might perceive what faithfull friends he had forsaken. Enviting those that should allow of his advice to come and take a good supper, which was prepared in his house, where, after great cheere, they should drinke together whatsoever should be presented unto him; a drinke that shall deliver our bodies from torments, free our mindes from injuries, and release our eyes and eares from seeing and hearing so many horrible mischiefs, which the conquered must endure at the hands of most cruell and offended conquerors. "I have," quoth he, "taken order that men fit for that purpose shall be ready, when we shall be expired, to cast us into a great burning pile of wood." Diverse approved of his high resolution, but few did imitate the same. Seven and twentie Senators followed him, who after they had attempted to stifle so irkesome and suppress so terror-moving a thought, with quaffing and swilling of wine, they ended their repast by this deadly messe: and enter-bracing one another, after they had in common deplored and bewailed their countries misfortunes, some went home to their owne houses, othersome stayed there, to be entombed with Vibius in his owne fire, whose death was so long and lingering, forsomuch as the vapor of the wine having possessed their veines, and slowed the effect and operation of the poyson, that some lived an hour after they had seen their enemies enter Capua, which they carried the next day after, and incurred the miseries and saw the calamities which at so high a rate they had sought to eschue.

Taurea Iubellius, another citizen there, the Consull Fulvius returning from that shameful slaughter which he had committed of 225 Senators, called him churlishly by his name, and having arrested him; "Command," quoth he unto him, "that I also be massacred after so many others, that so thou maiest brag to have murdered a much more valiant man than ever thou wast." Fulvius, as one enraged, disdairing him; forasmuch as he had newly received letters from Rome contrarie to the inhumanitie of his execution, which inhibited him to proceed any further; Iubellius, continuing his speech, said: "Sithence my Countrie is taken, my friends butchered, and having with mine owne hands slaine my wife and children, as the onely meane to free them from the desolation of this, ruine, I may not dye the death

of my fellow citizens, let us borrow the vengeance of this hatefull life from vertue: "And drawing a blade he had hidden under his garments, therewith ran himselfe thorow, and falling on his face, died at the Consuls feet. Alexander besieged a Citie in India, the inhabitants whereof, perceiying themselves brought to a very narrow pinch, resolved obstinately to deprive him of the pleasure he might get of his victorie, and together with their Citie, in despite of his humanitie, set both the Towne and themselves on a light fire, and so were all consumed. A new kinde of warring, where the enemies did all they could, and sought to save them, they to loose themselves, and to be assured of their death, did all a man can possibly effect to warrant his life.

Astapa, a Citie in Spaine, being very weake of wals and other defences, to withstand the Romances that besieged it; the inhabitants drew all their riches and wealth into the market-place, whereof having made a heap, and on the top of it placed their wives and children, and encompassed and covered the same with drie brush wood that it might burne the easier, and having appointed fifty lusty young men of theirs for the performance of their resolution, made a sally, where following their determined vow, seeing they could not vanquish, suffered themselves to be slaine every mothers child. The fifty, after they had massacred every living soule remaining in the Citie, and set fire to the heap, joyfully leaped there-into, ending their generous liberty in a state rather insensible than dolorous and reproachfull; shewing their enemies that, if fortune had beene so pleased, they should as well have had the courage to bereave them of the victory as they had to yeeld it them both vaine and hideous, yea, and mortall to those who allured by the glittering of the gold that moulten ran from out the flame, thicke and threefold approaching greedily unto it, were therein smothered and burned, the foremost being unable to give back, by reason of the throng that followed them.

The Abideans, pressed by Phillip, resolved upon the very same, but being prevented, the King whose heart abhorred to see the fond-rash precipitation of such an execution (having first seized upon and saved the treasure and moveables, which they had diversly condemned to the flames and utter spoyle) retiring all the Souldiers, granted them the full space of three dayes to make themselves away, that so they might doe it with more order and leasure; which three dayes they replenished with bloud and murder beyond all hostile cruelty: And which is strange, there was no one person

saved that had power upon himself. There are infinite examples of such-like popular conclusions, which seeme more violent by how much more the effect of them is more universall. They are lesse than when severall. What discourse would not doe in each one, it doth in all: The vehemence of societie ravishing particular judgements. Such as were condemned to dye in the time of Tiberius, and delaid their execution any while, lost their goods, and could not be buried; but such as prevented the same, in killing themselves, were solemnly enterred, and might at their pleasure bequeath such goods as they had to whom they list. But a man doth also sometimes desire death, in hope of a greater good. "I desire," saith Saint Paul, "to be out of this world, that I may be with Jesus Christ: and who shal release me out of these bonds?" Cleombrotus Ambraciota, having read Platoes Phædon, was so possessed with a desire and longing for an after-life, that without other occasion or more adoe, he went and headlong cast himself into the sea. Whereby it appeareth how improperly we call this voluntarie dissolution despaire; unto which the violence of hope doth often transport us, and as often a peacefull and settled inclination of judgement.

Iaques du Castell, Bishop of Soissons, in the voyage which Saint Lewes undertooke beyond the seas, seeing the King and all his army ready to returne into France, and leave the affaires of Religion imperfect, resolved with himselfe rather to goe to heaven; And having bidden his friends farewell, in the open view of all men, rushed alone into the enemies troops, of whom he was forthwith hewen in pieces. In a certaine kingdome of these late-discovered Indies, upon the day of a solemne procession, in which the Idols they adore are publickly carried up and downe upon a chariot of exceeding greatnesse: besides that, there are many seene to cut and slice great mammoicks of their quicke flesh to offer the said idols; there are numbers of others seene who, prostrating themselves alongst upon the ground, endure very patiently to be mouldred and crushed to death under the chariots wheels, thinking thereby to purchase after their death a veneration of holinesse, of which they are not defrauded. The death of this Bishop, armed as we have said, argueth more generositie and lesse sense: the heat of the combat ammusung one part of it. Some common-wealths there are that have gone about to sway the justice and direct the opportunitie of voluntarie deaths. In our Citie of Marseille they were wont in former ages ever to keepe some poison in store,

prepared and compounded with hemlocke, at the Cities charge, for such as would upon any occasion shorten their daies, having first approved the reasons of their enterprise unto the six hundred Elders of the Towne, which was their Senate: For otherwise it was unlawfull for any body, except by the Magistrates permission, and for very lawfully-urgent occasions, to lay violent hands upon himselfe. The very same law was likewise used in other places. Sextus Pompeius, going into Asia, passed thorow the Iland of Cea, belonging to Negropont; it fortuned whilst he abode there (as one reporteth that was in his companie) that a woman of great authority, having first yielded an accompt unto her Citizens, and shewed good reasons why she was resolved to end her life, earnestly entreated Pompey to be an assistant at her death, that so it might be esteemed more honourable, which he assented unto; and having long time in vaine sought, by vertue of his eloquence (wherein he was exceeding ready) and force of perswasion, to alter her intent and remove her from her purpose, in the end yielded to her request. She had lived foure score and ten yeares in a most happy estate of minde and body, but then lying on her bed, better adorned than before she was accustomed to have it, and leaning on her elbow, thus she bespake: "The Gods, O Sextus Pompeius, and rather those I forgoe than those I goe unto, reward and appay thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to be both a counsellor of my life and a wnesse of my death. As for my part, having hitherto ever tasted the favourable visage of fortune, for feare the desire of living overlong should make me taste of her frownes, with an happy and successfull end I will now depart, and set free the remainder of my soule, leaving behind me two daughters of mine, with a legion of grand-children and nephewes." That done, having preached unto and exhorted all her people and kinsfolks to an unitie and peace, and divided her goods amongst them, and recommended her household Gods unto her eldest daughter, with an assuredly-staide hand she tooke the cup wherein the poyson was, and having made her voves unto Mercurie, and prayers to conduct her unto some happy place in the other world, roundly swallowed that mortall potion; which done, she intainted the companie with the progresse of her behaviour, and as the parts of her body were one after another possessed with the cold operation of that venom: untill such time as shee said shee felt it worke at the heart and in her entrails, shee called her daughter to doe her the last office and close

her eyes. Plinie reporteth of a certaine Ilperborean nation, wherein, by reason of the milde temperature of the aire, the inhabitants thereof commonly never dye, but when they please to make themselves away, and that being weary and tired with living, they are accustomed at the end of a long-long age, having first made merry and good cheare with their friends, from the top of an high-steepy rocke appointed for that purpose, to cast themselves headlong into the sea. Grieving-smart, and a worse death seeme to me the most excusable incitations.

CHAPTER IV.

To-morrow is a New Day.

I DO with some reason, as me seemeth, give pricke and praise unto Iaques Amiot above all our French writers, not only for his natural purity, and pure elegancie of the tongue, wherin he excelleth all others, nor for his indefatigable constancie of so long and toyle-some a labour, nor for the unsearchable depth of his knowledge, having so successfully-happy been able to explaine an Author so close and thorny, and unfold a writer so mysterious and entangled (for, let any man tell me what he list, I have no skill of the Greeke, but I see thorowout al his translation a sense so closely-joynted, and so pithily-continued, that either he hath assuredly understood and inned the very imagination, and the true conceit of the Author, or having through a long and continuall conversion, lively planted in his minde a generall Idea of that of Plutarke, he hath at least lent him nothing that doth belye him, or mis-seeme him) but above all, I kon him thanks that he hath had the hap to chuse, and knowledge to cull-out so worthy a worke, and a booke so fit to the purpose, therewith to make so unvaluable a present unto his Countrie. We that are in the number of the ignorant had beene utterly confounded, had not his booke raised us from out the dust of ignorance: God-a-mercy his endeavours we dare not both speak and write: Even Ladies are therewith able to confront Masters of arts: It is our breviarie. If so good a man chance to live, I bequeath Xenophon unto him, to doe as much. It is an easier peece of worke, and so much the more agreeing with his age. Moreover, I wot not how me seemeth, although he roundly and clearly disintangle himself from hard passages, that

notwithstanding his stile is more close and neerer it selfe when it is not laboured and wrested, and that it glideth smoothly at his pleasure. I was even now reading of that place where Plutarke speaketh of himself, that Rusticus being present at a declamation of his in Rome, received a packet from the Emperour, which he temporized to open until he had made an end: wherein (saith he) all the assistants did singularly commend the gravitie of the man. Verily, being on the instance of curiositie and on the greedy and insatiate passion of newes, which with such indiscreet impatience and impatient indiscretion, induceth us to neglect all things for to entertaine a new-come guest, and forget all respect and countenance whersoever we be, suddenly to break up such letters as are brought us; he had reason to commend the gravitie of Rusticus: to which he might also have added the commendation of his civilitie and curtesie, for that he would not interrupt the course of his declamation: But I make a question whether he might be commended for his wisdome: for receiving unexpected letters, and especially from an Emperour, it might very well have fortuneed that this deferring to read them might have caused some notable inconvenience. Recklessness is the vice contrarie unto curiosity, towards which I am naturally inclined, and wherein I have seen many men so extremely plunged, that three or foure days after the receiving of letters which have been sent them, they have been found in their pockets yet unopened. I never opened any, not only of such as had beene committed to my keeping, but of such as by any fortune came to my hands. And I make a conscience standing neare some great person if mine eyes chance unawares to steale some knowledge of any letters of importance that he readeth. Never was man lesse inquisitive, or pryed lesse into other mens affaires than I. In our fathers time the Lord of Boutieres was like to have lost Turin, forsomuch as being one night at supper in very good company he deferred the reading of an advertisement which was delivered him of the treasons that were practised and com-plotted against that Citie where he commanded. And Plutarke himselfe has taught me that Iulius Cæsar had escaped death, if going to the Senate-house that day wherein he was murdered by the conspirators he had read a memorial which was presented unto him. Who likewise reporteth the storie of Archias, the Tyrant of Thebes, how the night fore-going the execution of the enterprize that Pelopidas had com-plotted to kill him, thereby to set

his Countrie at libertie : another Archias of Athens writ him a letter wherein he particularly related unto him all that was conspired and complotted against him ; which letter being delivered him whilst he sate at supper, he deferred the opening of it, pronouncing this by-word : " To morrow is a new day," which afterward was turned to a Proverb in Greece. A wise man may, in mine opinion, for the interest of others, as not unmannerly to breake companie, like unto Rusticus, or not to discontinue some other affaire of importance, remit and defer to understand such newes as are brought him ; but for his own private interest or particular pleasure, namely, if he be a man having publike charge, if he regard his dinner so much that he will not breake it off, or his sleepe that he will not interrupt it : to doe it, is inexcusable. And in former ages was the Consulare-place in Rome, which they named the most honourable at the table, because it was more free and more accessible for such as might casually come in, to entertaine him that should be there placed. Witnesse, that though they were sitting at the board, they neither omitted nor gave over the managing of other affaires and following of other accidents. But when all is said, it is very hard, chiefly in humane actions, to prescribe so exact rules by discourse of reason, that fortune doe not sway, and keepe her right in them.

CHAPTER V.

Of Conscience.

MY brother the Lord of Brousse and myself, during the time of our civill warres, travelling one day together, we fortun'd to meet upon the way with a Gentleman in outward semblance, of good demeanour : He was of our contrary faction, but forasmuch as he counterfeited himselfe otherwise, I knew it not. And the worst of these tumultuous intestine broyles is, that the cards are so shuffled (your enemy being neither by language nor by fashion, nor by any other apparent marke distinguished from you ; nay, which is more, brought up under the same lawes and customes, and breathing the same ayre) that it is a very hard matter to avoid confusion and shun disorder. Which consideration made me not a little fearefull to meet with our troopes, especially where I was not knowne, lest I should be urg'd to

tell my name, and haply doe worse. As other times before it had befallne me ; for, by such a chance, or rather mistaking, I fortun'd once to lose all my men and horses and hardly escaped myself : and amongst other my losses and servants that were slaine, the thing that most griev'd me was the untimely and miserable death of a young Italian Gentleman whom I kept as my Page, and very carefully brought up, with whom dyed as forward, as budding and as hopefull a youth as ever I saw. But this man seemed so fearfully dismay'd, and at every encounter of horseman and passage by, or thorow any Towne that held for the King, I observed him to be so strangely distracted that in the end I perceived and guessed they were but guilty alarms that his conscience gave him. It seemed unto this seely man that all might apparently, both through his blushing selfe-accusing countenance, and by the crosses he wore upon his upper garments, read the secret intentions of his faint heart. Of such marvellous-working power is the sting of conscience : which often induceth us to bewray, to accuse, and to combat our selves ; and for want of other evidences she produceth our selves against our selves.

*Occultum quatenus animo tortore flagellum.*¹

Their minde, the tormentor of sinne,
Shaking an unscene whip within.

The storie of Bessus the Pæonian is so common, that even children have it in their mouths, who being found fault withall, that in mirth he had beaten downe a nest of young Sparrowes and then killed them, answered, he had great reason to doe it ; forsomuch as those young birds ceased not falsly to accuse him to have murdered his father, which parricide was never suspected to have beene committed by him, and untill that day had layen secret ; but the revengfull furies of the conscience made the same partie to reveale it, that by all right was to do penance for so hatefull and unnaturall a murder. Hesiodus correcteth the saying of Plato, that punishment doth commonly succeed the guilt, and follow sinne at hand : for, he affirmeth, that it rather is borne at the instant and together with sinne it selfe, and they are as twinnes borne at one birth together. " Whosoever expects punishment suffereth the same, and whosoever deserveth it, he doth expect it. Impietie doth invent, and iniquitie doth frame torments against itselfe."—

*Matum consilium consultori pessimum.*²

Bad counsell is worst for the counsellor that gives the counsell,—

¹ JUVEN. *Sat.* xiii. 195.

² ERAS. *Chil.* i. cent. ii. ad. 14.

even as the Waspe stingeth and offendeth others, but herselfe much more; for, in hurting others, she loseth her force and sting for ever.

- *vitasque in vulnere ponunt.*¹

They, while they others sting,
Death to themselves do bring.

The Cantharides have some part in them, which by a contrarietie of nature serveth as an antidot or counterpoison against their poison: so likewise, as one taketh pleasure in vice, there is a certaine contrarie displeasure engendred in the conscience, which by sundryirksome and painfull imaginations, perplexeth and tormenteth us, both waking and asleepe.

*Quippe ubi se multi per somnia sæpe loquentes,
Aut morbo delirantes protraxe ferantur,
Et celata diu in medium peccata dedisse.*²

Many in dreames raving, or unhealed,
In sickness raving have themselves revealed,
And brought to light their sinnes long time
concealed.

Apollodorus dreamed he saw himselfe first fleed by the Scythians, and then boyled in a pot, and that his owne heart murrured, saying: "I only have caused this mischiefe to light upon thee." Epicurus was wont to say, that no lurking hole can shroud the wicked, for they can never assure themselves to be sufficiently hidden, sithence conscience is ever ready to disclose them to themselves.

— *prima est hæc ultio, quod se
Iudice nemo nocens absolvitur.*³

This is the first revenge, no guilty mind
Is quitted, though it selfe be judge assign'd.

Which as it doth fill us with feare and doubt, so doth it store us with assurance and trust. And I may boldly say that I have waded thorow many dangerous hazards with a more untired pace, only in consideration of the secret knowledge I had of mine owne will, and innocencie of my desseignes.

*Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concepit intra
Pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo.*⁴

As each mans minde is guiltie, so doth he
Inlie breed hope and feare, as his deeds be.

Of examples there are thousands: It shall suffice us to alleage three only, and all of one man. Scipio being one day accused before the Romane people of an urgent and capitall accusation, in stead of excusing himselfe, or flattering the Judges; turning to them, he said: "It will well be-see-me you to undertake to judge of his head, by whose meanes you have authoritie to

judge of all the world." The same man, another time, being vehemently urged by a Tribune of the people, who charged him with sundry imputations, in lieu of pleading or excusing his cause, gave him this sudden and short answer: "Let us goe (quoth he), my good Citizens; let us forthwith goe (I say) to give hartie thanks unto the Gods for the victorie, which even upon such a day as this is they gave me against the Carthaginians." And therewith advancing himselfe to march before the people, all the assembly, and even his accuser himselfe did undelayedly follow him towards the Temple. After that, Petilius having beene animated and stirred up by Cato to sollicite and demand a strict accompt of him, of the money he had managed, and which was committed to his trust whilst he was in the Province of Antioch, Scipio, being come into the Senate-house of purpose to answer for himselfe, pulling out the booke of his accompts from under his gowne, told them all that that booke contained truly both the receipt and laying out thereof; and being required to deliver the same unto a Clarke to register it, he refused to doe it, saying he would not doe himselfe that wrong or indignitie; and thereupon with his owne hands, in presence of all the Senate, tore the booke in peeces. I cannot apprehend or beleve that a guiltie-conscience could possibly dissemble or counterfet such an undismayed assurance: His heart was naturally too great, and enured to overhigh fortune (saith Titus Livius) to know how to be a criminall offender, and stoopingly to yeeld himselfe to the basenesse to defend his innocencie. Torture and racking are dangerous inventions, and seeme rather to be trials of patience than Essayes of truth. And both he that can, and he that cannot endure them, conceale the truth. For wherefore shall paine or smart rather compell me to confesse that which is so indeed, than force me to tell that which is not? And contrariwise, if he who hath not done that whereof he is accused, is sufficiently patient to endure those torments, why shall not he be able to tolerate them who hath done it, and is guilty indeed; so deare and worthy a reward as life being proposed unto him? I am of opinion that the ground of his invention proceedeth from the consideration of the power and facultie of the conscience. For, to the guilty, it seemeth to give a kinde of furtherance to the torture, to make him confesse his fault, and weakneth and dismayeth him; and on the other part, it encourageth and strengthneth the innocent against torture. To say truth, it is a meane full of uncertainty and danger. What would not

¹ VIRG. *Georg.* l. iv. 238.

² LUCR. l. v. 1138.

³ JUVEN. *Sat.* xiii. 2.

⁴ OVID. *Fast.* l. i. 487.

a man say, nay, what not doe, to avoid so grievous paines and shun such torments?

*Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor.*¹

Torment to lye sometimes will drive,
Ev'n the most innocent alive.

Whence it followeth that he whom the Judge hath tortured, because he shall not dye an innocent, he shall bring him to his death, both innocent and tortured. Many thousands have thereby charged their heads with false confessions. Amongst which I may well place Phylotas, considering the circumstances of the edictment that Alexander framed against him, and the progresse of his torture. But so it is, that (as men say) it is the least evill humane weaknesse could invent; though, in my conceit, very inhumanely, and there withall most unprofitably. Many Nations lesse barbarous in that than the Græcian or the Romane, who terme them so, judge it a horrible and cruell thing to racke and torment a man for a fault whereof you are yet in doubt. Is your ignorance long of him? What can he doe withall? Are not you unjust, who because you will not put him to death without some cause, you doe worse than kill him? And that it is so, consider but how often he rather chuseth to dye guiltlesse, than passe by this information, much more painfull than the punishment or torment; and who many times, by reason of the sharpnesse of it, preventeth, furthereth, yea, and executeth the punishment. I wot not whence I heard this story, but it exactly hath reference unto the conscience of our Justice. A countrey woman accused a souldier before his Generall, being a most severe Justicer, that he, with violence, had snatched from out her poore childrens hands, the small remainder of some pap or water-gruell, which she had onely left to sustaine them, forsomuch as the Army had ravaged and wasted all. The poore woman had neither wittnesse nor prooff of it: it was but her yea and his no; which the Generall perceiving, after he had summoned her to be well advised what she spake, and that shee should not accuse him wrongfully; for, if shee spake an untruth, shee should then be culpable of his accusation: But shee constantly persisting to charge him, he forthwith, to discover the truth, and to be thoroughly resolved, caused the accused Souldiers belly to be ripped, who was found faulty, and the poore woman to have said true; whereupon shee was discharged. A condemnation instructive to others.

¹ *Ex Minis Publicanis.*

CHAPTER VI.

Of Exercise or Practice.

IT is a hard matter (although our conceit doe willingly apply it selfe unto it) that Discourse and Instruction should sufficiently be powerful to direct us to action, and addresse us to performance, if, over and besides that, we doe not by experience exercise and frame our minde to the traine whereunto we will range it: otherwise, when we shall be on the point of the effects, it will doubtlesse finde it selfe much engaged and empeached. And that is the reason why amongst Philosophers, those that have willed to attaine to some greater excellence, have not bene content, at home and at rest, to expect the rigors of fortune, for feare she should surprise them unexperienced and finde them novices, if she should chance to enterfight with them; but have rather gone to meet and front her before, and wittingly earnestly cast themselves to the triall of the hardest difficulties. Some have thereby voluntarily forsaken great riches, onely to practise a voluntarie povertie; others have willingly found out labour, and an austeritie of a toylesome life, thereby to harden and enure themselves to evill and travell; othersome have frankly deprived themselves of the dearest and best parts of their body, as of their eyes and members of generation, lest their overpleasing and too-too wanton service might in any sort mollifie and distract the constant resolution of their minde. But to dye, which is the greatest worke we have to doe, exercise can nothing avails us thereunto. A man may, by custome and experience, fortifie himselfe against grieffe, sorrow, shame, want, and such like accidents; but concerning death, we can but once feele and trie the same. We are all novices, and new to learne when we come unto it. There have, in former times, bene found men so good husbands and thrifty of time, that even in death they have assayed to taste and savor it; and bent their minde to observe and see what manner of thing that passage of death was; but none did ever yet come backe againe to tell us tidings of it.

*nemo expurgitus extat
Frigida quem semel est vitæ fausta sequuta.*¹
No man doth ever-after wake,
Whom once his lifes cold rest doth take.

Canius Iulius, a noble Romane, a man of singular vertue and constancie, having

¹ LUCRET. l. iii. 973.

beene condemned to death by that lewdly-mischievous monster of men, Caligula: besides many marvelous evident assurances he gave of his matchlesse resolution, when he was even in the nicke to endure the last stroke of the executioner; a Philosopher, being his friend, interrupted him with this question, saying: "Canus, in what state is your soule now? what doth she? what thoughts possesse you now?" "I thought," answered he, "to keepe me ready and prepared with all my force, to see whether in this instant of death, so short and so neere at hand, I might perceive some dislodging or distraction of the soule, and whether it will shew some feeling of her sudden departure; that (if I apprehend or learne any thing of her) I may afterward, if I can, returne and give advertisement thereof unto my friends." Loe-here a Philosopher, not only untill death, but even in death it selfe: what assurance was it, and what fiercenes of courage, to will that his owne death should serve him as a lesson, and have leasure to thinke else where in a matter of such consequence;

— *jus hoc animi morientis habebat.*¹

This power of minde had he,
When it from him did flee.

Me seemeth, neverthesse, that in some sort there is a meane to familiarize our selves with it, and to assay it. We may have some experience of it, if not whole and perfect, at least such as may not altogether be unprofitable, and which may yeeld us better fortified and more assured. If we cannot attaine unto it, we may at least approach it, and discern the same: And if we cannot enter her fort, yet shal we see and frequent the approaches unto it. It is not without reason we are taught to take notice of our sleepe for the resemblance it hath with death. How easily we passe from waking to sleeping; with how little interest we lose the knowledge of light and of our selves. The facultie of sleepe might haply scenicke unprofitable and against nature, sithence it depriveth us of all actions and barreth us of all sense, were it not that nature doth thereby instruct us that she hath equally made us as well to live as to die; and by life presenteth the eternal state unto us which she after the same reserveth for us, so to accustome us thereunto, and remove the feare of it from us. But such as by some violent accident are faine into faintnes of heart, and have lost all senses, they, in mine opinion, have well-nigh beene where they might behold her true and

naturall visage: For, touching the instant or moment of the passage, it is not to be feared it should bring any travell or displeasure with it, forasmuch as we can have nor sense nor feeling without leasure. Our sufferances have need of time, which is so short, and plunged in death, that necessarily it must be insensible. It is the approaches that lead unto it we should feare; and those may fall within the compasse of mans experience. Many things seeme greater by imagination than by effect. I have passed over a good part of my age in sound and perfect health. I say, not only sound, but blithe and wantonly-lustfull. That state full of lust, of prime and mirth, made me deeme the consideration of sicknesses so yrkesome and horrible, that when I came to the experience of them, I have found their fits but weake, and their assaults but faint, in respect of my apprehended feare. Lo here what I daily prove. Let me be under a roofe, in a good chamber, warme-clad, and well at ease, in some tempestuous and stormy night. I am exceedingly perplexed and much grieved for such as are abroad and have no shelter: But let me be in the storme my selfe, I doe not so much as desire to be else-where. Only to be continually pent up in a chamber seemed intolerable to me. I have now enured my selfe to live a whole weeke, yea moneth in my chamber, full of care, trouble, alteration and weaknesse; and have found that in the time of my best health I moaned such as were sicke much more than I can well moane my selfe when I am ill at ease; and that the power of my apprehension did well-nigh halfe endear the essence and truth of the thing it selfe. I am in good hope the like will happen to me of death: and that it is not worth the labour I take for so many preparations as I prepare against her; and so many helpes as I call to sustaine, and assemble to endure the shocke and violence of it. But hab or nab we can never take too much advantage of it. During our second or third troubles (I doe not well remember which) I fortun'd one day, for recreation sake, to goe forth and take the ayre, about a league from my house, who am seated even in the bowels of all troubles of our civil warres of France, supposing to be most safe, so neere mine owne home and retireite, that I had no need of better attendance or equipage. I was mounted upon a very easie-going nag, but not very sure. At my returning home againe, a sudden occasion being offered me to make use of this nag in a peece of service whereto he was neither trained nor accustomed, one of my men (a strong sturdy fellow), mounted upon a young strong-

¹ LUCAN. l. viii. 636.

headed horse, and that a desperate hard mouth, fresh, lusty and in breath, to shew his courage, and to out-goe his fellowes, fortun'd with might and maine to set spurres unto him, and giving him the bridle, to come right into the path where I was, and as a Colossus with his weight riding over me and my nag, that were both very little, he overthrew us both, and made us fall with our heeles upward : so that the nag lay along astonied in one place, and I in a trance groveling on the ground ten or twelfe paces wide of him ; my face all torne and brused, my sword which I had in my hand a good way from me, my girdle broken, with no more motion or sense in me than a stocke. It is the only swooning that ever I felt yet. Those that were with me, after they had assayed all possible meanes to bring me to my selfe againe, supposing me dead, tooke me in their armes, and with much adoe were carrying me home to my house, which was about halfe a French league thence : upon the way, and after I had for two houres space by all beene supposed dead and past all recoverie, I began to stir and breathe : for so great abundance of bloud was false into my stomake, that to discharge it nature was forced to rowse up her spirits. I was immediately set upon my feet, and bending forward, I presently cast up in quantitie as much clottie pure bloud as a bucket will hold, and by the way was constrained to doe the like divers times before I could get home, whereby I began to recover a little life, but it was by little and little, and so long adoe, that my chiefe senses were much more enclining to death than to life.

*Perche dubbia ancor del suo ritorno
Non s'assicura attonita la mente.*¹

For yet the minde doubtfull of it's returne
Is not assur'd, but astonish'd.

The remembrance whereof (which yet I beare deeply imprinted in my minde) representing me her visage and Idea so lively and so naturally, doth in some sort reconcile me unto her. And when I began to see, it was with so dim, so weake and so troubled a sight, that I could not discern anythin' of the light,

*- come quel ch'or apre, or chiude
Gli occhi, mezzo tra 'l sonno e l'esser desto.*²
As he that sometimes opens, sometimes shuts
His eyes, betwene sleepe and awake.

Touching the functions of the soule, they started up and came in the same progresse as those of the bodie. I perceived my selfe all bloudy ; for my doublet was all sullied with the bloud I had cast. The first conceit

I apprehended was that I had received some shot in my head ; and in truth, at the same instant, there were divers that shot round about us. Me thought my selfe had no other hold of me but of my lips-ends. I closed mine eyes to help (as me seemed) to send it forth, and tooke a kinde of pleasure to linger and languishingly to let my selfe goe from my selfe. It was an imagination swimming superficially in my minde, as weake and as tender as all the rest : but in truth, not only exempted from displeasure, but rather commixt with that pleasant sweetnesse which they feel that suffer themselves to fall into a soft-slumbring and sense-entrancing sleepe. I beleeve it is the same state they find themselves in, whom in the agony of death we see to droop and faint thorow weaknesse : and am of opinion we plaine and moane them without cause, esteeming that either they are agitated with grievous pangs, or that their soule is pressed with painful cogitations. It was ever my conceit, against the opinion of many, yea and against that of Estienne de la Boëtie, that those whom we see so overwhelmed and faintly-drooping at the approaches of their end, or utterly cast downe with the lingring tediousnesse of their diseases, or by accident of some apoplexie or falling-evill,

*— (vi morbi saepe coactus
Ante oculos aliquis nostros ut fulminis ictu,
Concidit, et spumas agit, ingemit, et fremit
artus,*

*Desipit, extentat nervos, torquetur, anhelat,
Inconstanter et in jactando membra fatigat,*¹

(Some man by force of sicknesse driv'n doth fall,
As if by thunder stroke, before our eyes ;
He fumes, he grones, he trembles over all,
He raves, he stretches, he's vex't, panting lyes,
He tyr's his limbes by tossing,
Now this now that way crossing,)

or hurt in the head, whom we heare throb and rattle, and send forth grones and gasps, although we gather some tokens from them, whereby it seemeth they have yet some knowledge left and certaine motions we see them make with their body : I say, I have ever thought they had their soule and body buried and asleepe.

*Vivat et est vitæ nescius ipse suæ.*²

He lives yet knows not he,
That he alive should be.

And I could not beleeve that at so great an astonishment of members and deffailance of senses the soule could maintaine any force within, to know herselfe ; and therefore had no manner of discourse tor-

¹ LUCRET. l. iii. 490.

² OVID. *Trist.* l. i. *El.* iii. 12.

¹ TASSO, *Gierns.* xii. 74.

² *Ibid.* viii. 26.

menting them, which might make them judge and feele the misery of their condition, and that consequently they were not greatly to be moaned. As for my selfe, I imagine no state so intolerable nor condition so horrible, as to have a feelingly-afflicted soule, void of meanes to disburthen and declare herselfe: As I would say of those we send to execution, having first caused their tongue to be cut out, were it not that in this manner of death the most dumbe seemes unto me the fittest, namely, if it be accompanied with a resolute and grave countenance. And as those miserable prisoners which light in the hands of those hard-hearted and villenous Souldiers of these times, of whom they are tormented with all manner of cruell entreatie, by compulsion to drawe them unto some excessive and impossible ransom, keeping them all that while in so hard a condition and place, that they have no way left them to utter their thoughts and expresse their miserie. The Poets have fained there were some Gods that favoured the release of such as suffered so languishing deaths.

— *hunc ego Diti*

*Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.*¹

This to death sacred, I, as was my charge,
Doe beare, and from this body thee enlarge.

And the faltering speeches and uncertaine answers, that by continuall ringing in their eares and incessant urging them, are sometimes by force wrested from them, or by the motions which seeme to have some sympathy with that whereof they are examined, is notwithstanding no witnes that they live at least a perfect sound life. We do also in yawning, before sleep fully seize upon us, apprehend as it were in a slumber, what is done about us, and with a troubled and uncertaine hearing, follow the voyces, which seeme to sound but on the outward limits of our soule; and frame answers according to the last words we heard, which taste more of chance than of sense: which thing now I have proved by experience, I make no doubt but hitherto I have well judged of it. For, first lying as in a trance, I laboured even with my nailes to open my doublet (for I was unarmed), and well I wot that in my imagination I felt nothing did hurt me. For, there are severall motions in us which proceed not of our free will.

*Semianimesque micant digiti, forrumque retractant.*²

The halfe-dead fingers stirre, and feele,
(Though it they cannot stirre) for steale.

Those that fall, doe commonly by a

naturall impulsion cast their armes abroad before their falling, which sheweth that our members have certaine offices, which they lend one to another, and possesse certaine agitations, apart from our discourse:

*Falsiferos memorant currus abscondere membra,
Ut tremere in terra videatur ab artubus, id
quod*

*Decidit abscissum, cum mens tamen atque
hominis vis*

*Mobilitate mali non quit sentire dolorem.*³

They say, sith-bearing chariots limbes bereave,
So as on earth, that which cut-off they leave,
Doth seeme to quake; when yet mans force and
minde
Doth not the paine, through so quicke motion,
finde.

My stomacke was surcharged with clotted bloud, my hands of themselves were still running to it, as often they are wont (yea against the knowledge of our will) where we feele it to itch. There are many creatures, yea and some men, in whom after they are dead we may see their muscles to close and stirre. All men know by experience, there be some parts of our bodies which often without any consent of ours doe stirre, stand, and lye down againe. Now these passions, which but exteriorly touch us, cannot properly be termed ours; for, to make them ours, a man must wholly be engaged unto them: And the paines that our feet or hands feele whilst we sleepe are not ours. When I came neere my house, where the tidings of my fall was already come, and those of my household met me, with such outcries as are used in like times, I did not only answer some words to what I was demanded, but some tell me I had the memory to command my men to give my wife a horse, whom I perceived to be over tired, and labouring in the way, which is very hilly, foule, and rugged. It seemeth this consideration proceeded from a vigilant soule: yet was I cleane distracted from it, they were but vaine conceits, and as in a cloud, only moved by the sense of the eyes and eares: They came not from my selfe. All which notwithstanding, I knew neither whence I came nor whither I went, nor could I understand or consider what was spoken unto me. They were but light effects, that my senses produced of themselves, as it were of custome. Whatsoever the soule did assist it with was but a dreame, being lightly touched, and only sprinkled by the soft impression of the senses. In the meane time my state was verily most pleasant and easefull. I felt no manner of care or affliction, neither for my selfe nor others.

¹ Virg. *Æn.* l. iv. 703.

² *Ibid.* l. x. 396.

³ Lucan. l. iii.

It was a slumbering, languishing and extreme weakness, without any pain at all. I saw mine owne house and knew it not; when I was laid in my bed, I felt great ease in my rest, For I had beene vilely hurried and haled by those poore men, which had taken the paines to carry me upon their armes a long and wearysome way, and to say truth, they had all beene wearied twice or thrice over, and were faine to shift severall times. Many remedies were presently offered me, but I tooke none, supposing verily I had beene deadly hurt in the head. To say truth, it had beene a very happy death: For, the weakness of my discourse hindered me from judging of it, and the feeblenesse of my body from feeling the same. Me thought I was yeelding up the ghost so gently, and after so easie and indolent a manner, that I feele no other action lesse burthensome than that was. But when I began to come to life againe and recover my former strength—

*Vt tandem sensus convalesce me.*¹

At last when all the sprites I beare,
Recalled and recollected were—

which was within two or three houres after, I presently felt my selfe full of aches and paines all my body over; for, each part thereof was with the violence of the fall much brused and tainted; and for two or three nights after I found myself so ill, that I verily supposed I shold have had another fit of death: But that a more lively, and sensible one: (and to speak plaine) I feele my bruises yet, and feare me shall do while I live: I will not forget to tell you, that the last thing I could rightly fall into againe was the remembrance of this accident, and I made my men many times to repeat me over and over againe, whither I was going, whence I came, and what houre that chance befell me, before I could thoroughly conceive it. Concerning the manner of my falling, they in favour of him who had beene the cause of it, concealed the truth from me, and told me other flim flam tales. But a while after and the morrow next, when my memorie began to come to itselfe againe, and represent the state unto me wherein I was at the instant, when I perceived the horse riding over me (for being at my heeles, I chanced to espy him and helde my selfe for dead: yet was the conceit so sudden that feare had no leasure to enter my thoughts) me seemed it was a flashing or lightning that smote my soule with shaking, and that I came from another world. This discourse of so slight

an accident is but vaine and frivolous were not the instructions I have drawne from thence for my use: For truly, for a man to acquaint himselfe with death, I finde no better way than to approach unto it. Now, as Plinie saith, every man is a good discipline unto himselfe, alwayes provided he be able to prie into himselfe. This is not my doctrine, it is but my study and not another man's lesson, but mine owne: Yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the same. What serves my turne may haply serve another mans: otherwise I marre nothing; what I make use of is mine owne. And if I play the foole, it is at mine owne cost, and without any other bodies interest, For It is but a kind of folly that dies in me, and hath no traine. We have notice but of two or three former ancients that have trodden this path; yet can we not say, whether altogether like unto this of mine, for we know but their names. No man since hath followed their steps; it is a thorny and crabbed enterprise, and more than it makes show of, to follow so strange and vagabond a path as that of our spirit: to penetrate the shady, and enter the thicke-covered depths of these internall winding cranks; to chuse so many and settle so severall aires of his agitations: And tis a new extraordinary amusing that distracts us from the common occupation of the world, yea, and from the most recommended: Many yeares are past since I have no other aime whereto my thoughts bend, but my selfe, and that I controule and study nothing but my selfe. And if I study anything else, it is immediately to place it upon, or to say better in my selfe. And me thinkes I err not, as commonly men doe in other sciences, without all comparison less profitable. I impart what I have learn't by this, although I greatly content not my selfe with the progresse I have made therein. "There is no description so hard, nor so profitable, as is the description of a mans own life." Yet must a man handsomely trimme-up, yea and dispose and range himselfe to appeare on the Theatre of this world. Now I continually trick up my selfe; for I uncessantly describe my selfe. Custome hath made a mans speech of himselfe vicious, and obstinately forbids it in hatred of boasting, which ever seemeth closely to follow one's selfe witness. Whereas a man should wipe the childs nose, that is now called to un-nose himselfe.

*In vicium ducit culpa fuga.*¹

Some shunning of some sinne,
Doe draw some further in.

¹ OVID. *Trist.* l. i. *El.* iii. 14.

¹ HOR. *Art. Poet.* 31.

I finde more evill than good by this remedy : But suppose it were true, that for a man to entertaine the company with talking of himself were necessarily presumption, I ought not, following my generall intent, to refuse an action that publisheth this crazed quality, since I have it in my selfe : and I should not conceal this fault, which I have not only in use but in profession. Nevertheless, to speak my opinion of it, this custome to condemne wine is much to blame, because many are there withiade drunke. Only good things may be abused. And I believe this rule hath only regard to popular defects : They are snaffles wherewith neither Saints, nor Philosophers, nor Divines, whom we heare so gloriously to speak of themselves, will in any sort be bridled. No more doe I, though I be no more the one than the other. If they write purposely or directly of it, yet when occasion doth conveniently lead them unto it, faine they not headlong to cast themselves into the lists? Whereof doth Socrates treat more at large than of himselfe? To what doth he more often direct his disciples discourses, than to speake of themselves, not for their bookes lesson, but of the essence and moving of their soule? We religiously shrive our selves to God and our Confessor, as our neighbours to all the people. But will some answer me, we report but accusation; wee then report all : For even our virtue it self is faulty and repentable. My art and profession is to live. Who forbids me to speake of it according to my sense, experience, and custome ; let him appoint the Architect to speake of buildings, not according to himselfe, but his neighbours, according to anothers skill, and not his owne. If it be a glory for a man to publish his owne worth himselfe, why does not Cicero prefer the eloquence of Hortensius, and Hortensius that of Cicero? Some may peradventure suppose that by deeds and effects, and not simply by words, I witness of my selfe. I principally set forth my cogitations ; a shapelesse subject, and which cannot fall within the compasse of a workemalike production ; with much adoe can I set it downe in this ayrie bodie of the voice. Wiser men, and more learned and devout, have lived avoiding all apparent effects. Effects would speak more of fortune than of me. They witness their part and not mine, unlesse it be conjecturally and uncertainly : parcels of a particular shew. I wholy set forth and expose my selfe : It is a Sceletos ; where at first sight appeare all the vaines, muskles, gristles, sinnewes, and tendons, each severall part in his due place. The effect of the cough produceth one part, that

of palenesse or panting of the heart another, and that doubtfully. I write not my gests, but my selfe and my essence. I am of opinion that a man must be very wise to esteeme himselfe, and equally consciencious to give testimony of it : be it low, be it high indifferently. If I did absolutely seeme good and wise unto my selfe, I would boldly declare it. To speake lesse of himselfe than he possesseth, is folly and not modesty. To say himself for lesse than he is worth is basenesse and pusillanimity, saith Aristotle. No vertue aids it self with false-hood, and truth is never a matter of errour. And yet for a man to say more of himself than he can well prove, is not ever presumption, though often sottishnesse. For a man to over-weene and please himself exceedingly with what he is, and fall into indiscreet love with himselfe, is in my conceit the substance of this vice. The best remedy to cure him, is to do cleane contrary to that which those appoint, who in forbidding men to speak of themselves, doe consequently also inhibit more to thinke of themselves. Pride consisteth in conceit. The tongue can have no great share in it. For one to amuse on himself is in their imagination to please himselfe : And for a man to frequent and practise himselfe, is at an over-deare rate to please himselfe. But this excess doth only breed in them, that but superficially feele and search themselves that are seen to follow their affaires, which call idlenesse and fondnesse for a man to entertaine, to applaud, and to endear himselfe, and frame Chimeraes or build Castles in the ayre, deeming themselves as a third person and strangers to themselves. If any be besotted with his owne knowledge, looking upon himselfe, let him cast his eyes towards former ages, his pride shall be abated, his ambition shall be quailed ; for there shall he find many thousands of spirits that will cleane suppress and tread him under. If he fortune to enter into any selfe-presumption of his owne worth, let him but call to remembrance the lives of Scipio and Epaminondas ; so many armies, and so many Nations, which leave him so far behind them. No particular quality shall make him proud, that therewith shall reckon so many imperfect and weake qualities that are in him, and at last the nullity of humane conditlon. Forsomuch as Socrates had truly only nibled on the precept of his God to know himself, and by that study had learned to contemne himselfe, he alone was esteemed worthy of the name of Wise. Whosoever shall so know himselfe let him boldly make himself knowne by his own mouth.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Recompenses or Rewards of Honour.

THOSE which write the life of Augustus Cæsar note this in his military discipline, that he was exceeding liberall and lavish in his gifts to such as were of any desert; but as sparing and strait-handed in meere recompences of honour. Yet so it is that himselfe had beene liberally gratified by his Unkle with militarie rewards, before ever he went to warres. It hath beene a witty invention, and received in most parts of the worlds Common-wealths, to establish and ordaine certaine vaine and worthless markes, therewith to honour and recompence vertue: As are the wreathes of Lawrell, the Chaplets of Oake, and the Garlands of Myrtle, the forme of a certaine peculiar garment; the privilege to ride in Coach thorow the City; or by night to have a Torch carried before one: Some particular place to sit-in in common assemblies; the prerogatives of certaine surnames and titles, and proper additions in armes, and such like things; the use whereof hath beene diversly received according to the opinion of nations which continueth to this day. We have for our part, together with divers of our neighbour-nations, the orders of knighthood, which only were established to this purpose. Verily it is a most laudable use and profitable custome, to find means to reward the worth and acknowledge the valour of rare and excellent men, to satisfie and content them with such payments as in no sort charge the commonwealth, and put the prince to no cost at all. And that which was ever knowne by ancient experience, and at other times we have plainly perceived amongst ourselves, that men of qualitie were ever more jealous of such recompences than of others wherein was both gaine and profit, which was not without reason and great apparence. If to the prize, which ought simply to be of honour, there be other commodities and riches joyned, this kinde of commixing, instead of encreasing the estimation thereof, doth empaire, dissipate, and abridge it. The order of the Knights of Saint Michael in France, which of so long continuance hath beene in credit amongst us, had no greater commoditie than that it had no manner of communication with any other advantage or profit, which hath heretofore beene the cause that there was no charge or state of what quality soever, when to the nobilitie pre-

tended with so much desire, or aspired with more affection, as it did to obtaine that order; nor calling that was followed with more respect or greatnesse. Vertue embracing with more ambition, and more willingly aspiring after a recompence, that is meerely and simply her owne, and which is rather glorious than profitable. For, to say truth, other gifts have no use so worthy, inasmuch as they are employed to all manner of occasions. With riches a man doth reward the service of a groomme, the diligence of a messenger, the hopping of a dancer, the tricks of a vaulter, the breath of a lawyer, and the basest offices a man may receive; yea, with the same paulyr pelfe mony, vice is payed and sinne requitted, as flattery, murther, treason, Maquerelage, and what not? It is then no marvell, if vertue doth lesse willingly desire this kinde of common trash, mony, than that which is only proper and peculiar to her selfe, and is altogether noble and generous. Augustus had therefore reason to be much more niggardly and sparing of this last than of the former, forasmuch as honour is a privilege which drawes his principall essence from rarenesse; and so doth vertue it selfe.

*Cui malus est nemo, quis bonus esse potest?*¹

To him who good can seeme,
Who doth none bad esteeme?

We shall not see a man highly regarded, or extraordinarily commended, that is curiously carefull to have his children well nurtured, because it is a common action, how just and worthy praise soever it be, no more than one great tree, where the forrest is full of such. I doe not thinke that any Spartane Citizen did boastingly glorifie himselfe for his valour, because it was a popular vertue in that nation, and as little for his fidelity and contempt of riches. There is no recompence falls unto vertue, how great soever it be, if it once have past into custome; and I wot not whether we might call it great, being common. Since then the rewards of honour have no other prise and estimation than that few enjoy it, there is no way to disannul them but to make a largesse of them. Were there now more men found deserving the same than in former ages, yet should not the reputation of it be corrupted. And it may easily happen that more deserve it, for there is no vertue doth so easily spread it selfe as military valiance. There is another true, perfect, and philosophicall, whereof I speake not (I use this word according to

¹ MART. l. xii. *Epig.* lxxxii. 2.

our custome), farre greater and more full than this, which is a force and assurance of the soule, equally condemning all manner of contrarie accidents, upright, uniforme, and constant, whereof ours is but an easie and glimmering raie. Custome, institution, example and fashion, may effect what ever they list in the establishing of that I speake of, and easily make it vulgare, as may plainly be seene by the experience our civill warres give us of it. And who-soever could now joyne us together, and eagerly flesh all our people to a common enterprise, we should make our ancient military name and chivalrous credit to flourish againe. It is most certaine that the recompence of our order did not in former times only concerne prowis and respect valour; it had a further aime. It was never the reward or payment of a valiant souldier, but of a famous Captaine. The skill to obey could not deserve so honorable an hire; for, cast we back our eyes to antiquity, we shall perceive that for the worthy obtaining thereof, there was required more universall warre-like expertnesse, and which might embrace the greatest part, and most parts of a military man. *Neque enim eadem militares et imperatorie artes sunt,* "For the same arts and parts belong not to a generall and common souldier;" and who besides that should also be of a fit and accommodable condition for such a dignitie. But I say, that if more men should now adayes be found worthy of it than have been heretofore, yet should not our princes be more liberrall of it, and it had beene much better not to bestow it upon all them to whom it was due, than for ever to lose, as of late we have done, the use of so profitable an invention. No man of courage vouchsafeth to advantage himselfe of that which is common unto many. And those which in our dayes have least merited that honourable recompence, seeme, in all apparence, most to disdaine it, by that meanes to place themselves in the ranke of those to whom the wrong is offered by unworthy bestowing and vilifying of that badge which particularly was due unto them. Now by defacing and abolishing this to suppose, suddenly to be able to bring into credit and renew a semblable custome, is no convenient enterprise in so licentious, so corrupted, and so declining an age, as is this wherein we now live. And it will come to passe that the last shall even from her birth incur the incommodities which have lately ruined and overthrowne the other. The rules of this new orders-dispensation had need to be otherwise wrested and constrained for

to give it authority, and this tumultuous season is not capable of a short and ordered bridle. Besides, before a man is able to give credit unto it, it is requisite a man lose the memory of the first, end of the contempt whereinto it is fallen. This place might admit some discourse upon the consideration of valour, and difference betweene this vertue and others. But Plutarch having often spoken of this matter, it were in vaine here for me to repeat what he says of it. This is worthy to be considered, that our nation giveth the chiefe preheminance of all vertue unto valiancie, as the etymology of the word sheweth, which cometh of valour or worth; and that according to our received custome, when after the phrase of our court and nobility we speake of a worthy man, or of an honest man, we thereby inferre no other thing than a valiant man; after the usuall Roman fashion. For the generall denomination of vertue doth amongst them take her etymology of force or might. The only proper and essentiall forme of our nobility in France is military vocation. It is very likely that the first vertue that ever appeared amongst men, and which to some hath given preheminance over others, hath beene this by which the strongest and most courageous have become masters over the weakest, and purchased a particular ranke and reputation to themselves. Whereby this honour and dignity of speech is left unto it: or else these nations, being very warlike, have given the price unto that of vertues, which was the worthiest and more familiar unto them. Even as our passion, and this heart-panting and mind-vexing carefull diligence, and diligent carefulnesse, which we continually apprehend about women's chastity, causeth also that a good woman, an honest woman, a woman of honour and vertue, doth in effect and substance signifie no other thing unto us than a chaste wife or woman; as if to bind them to this duty, we did neglect all others, and give them free liberty to commit any other fault, to covenant with them never to quit or forsake this duty.

CHAPTER VIII.

*Of the Affections of Fathers to their Children.
To the Lady of Estissac.*

MADAME, if strangenesse doe not save or novelty shield mee, which are wont to give things reputation, I shall never, with honesty, quit myselfe of

this enterprise ; yet is it so fantastick, and bears a shew so different from common custome, that that may haply purchase it free passage. It is a melancholy humour, and consequently a hatefull enemy to my naturall complexion, bred by the anxietie and produced by the anguish of carking care, whereinto some years since I cast myselfe, that first put this humorous conceipt of writing into my head. And finding myselfe afterward wholly unprovided of subject, and void of other matter, I have presented myselfe unto myselfe for a subject to write and argument to descant upon. It is the only booke in the world of this kinde, and of a wilde extravagant desigae. Moreover, there is nothing in it worthy the marking but this fantasticalnesse. For, to so vaine a ground and base a subject, the worlds best workman could never have given a fashion deserving to be accompted of. Now (worthy Lady) sithence I must pourtray my selfe to the life, I should have forgotten a part of importance, if therewithall I had not represented the honour I have ever yeelded to your deserts, which I have especially beene willing to declare in the forefront of this chapter ; Forasmuch as amongst your other good parts and commendable qualities, that of loving amity, which you have shewen to your children, holdeth one of the first rankes. Whosoever shall understand and know the age, wherein your late husband the Lord of Estissac left you a Widdow, the great and honorable matches have beene offered you (as worthy and as many as to any other Lady in France of your condition) the constant resolution, and resolute constancie, wherewith so many yeares you have sustained, and even in spight or athwart so manifold thorny difficulties, the charge and conduct of their affaires, which have tossed, turmoyled and removed you in all corners of France, and still hold you besieged ; the happy and successfull forwardnes you, which only through your wisdom or good fortune have given them, he will easily say with mee, that in our age we have no patterne of motherly affection more exemplarie than yours. I praise God (Madam) it hath beene so well employed : For, the good hopes, which the young Lord of Estissac, your sonne, giveth of himselfe, fore-shew an undoubted assurance that when he shall come to yeares of discretion, you shall reape the obedience of a noble, and finde the acknowledgement of a good childe. But because, by reason of his child-hood, he could not take notice of the exceeding kindness and many-fold offices he hath received from you, my meaning is, that if ever these my compositions shall haply one day come into his hands

(when peradventure I shall neither have mouth nor speech to declare it unto him), he receive this testimonie in all veritie from me ; which shall also more lively be testified unto him by the good effects, (whereof, if so it please God, he shall have a sensible feeling) that there is no Gentleman in France more endebted to his mother than he ; and that hereafter he cannot yeeld a more certaine proofe of his goodnes, and testimonie of his vertue, than in acknowledging and confessing you for such. If there be any truly-naturall law, that is to say, any instinct, universally and perpetually imprinted, both in beasts and us, (which is not without controversie) I may, according to mine opinion, say, that next to the care which each living creature hath to his preservation, and to flie what doth hurt him, the affection which the engenderer beareth his off-spring holds the second place in this ranke. And forasmuch as nature seemeth to have recommended the same unto us, ayming to extend, encrease, and advance the successive parts or parcels of this her frame ; it is no wonder if back-again it is not so great from children unto fathers. This other Aristotelian consideration remembred : that hee who doth benefit another, loveth him better than hee is beloved of him againe ; and hee to whom a debt is owing, loveth better than hee that oweth : And every workman loveth his worke better than hee should bee beloved of it againe, if it had sense or feeling. Forasmuch as we love to be, and being consisteth in moving and action ; therefore is every man, in some sort or other, in his owne workmanship. Whosoever doth a good deed, exerciseth a faire and honest action : whosoever receiveth, exerciseth only a profitable action. And profit is nothing so much to be esteemed or loved as honesty. Honesty is firme and permanent, affording him that did it a constant gratification. Profit is very slipperie and easily lost, nor is the memorie of it so sweet or so fresh. Such things are dearest unto us, that have cost us most ; and to give is of more cost that to take. Since it hath pleased God to endow us with some capacite of discourse, that as beasts we should not servily be subjected to common lawes, but rather with judgement and voluntary liberty apply ourselves unto them ; we ought somewhat to yeeld unto the simple auctoritie of Nature, but not suffer her tyrannically to carry us away : only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations. As for me, my tast is strangely distasted to its propensions, which in us are produced without the ordinance and direction of our judgement. As upon this subject I speak of, I cannot receive

this passion, wherewith some embrace children scarcely borne, having neither motion in the soule, nor forme well to be distinguished in the body, whereby they might make themselves lovely or amiable. And I could never well endure to have them brought up or nursed neere about me. A true and well ordered affection ought to be borne and augmented, with the knowledge they give us of themselves; and then, if they deserve it (naturall inclination marching hand in hand with reason) to cherish and make much of them, with a perfect fatherly love and loving friendship, and conformably to judge of them if they be otherwise, alwayes yeelding our selves unto reason, notwithstanding naturall power. For the most part, it goeth cleane contrary, and commonly we feele our selves more moved with the sports, idlenesse, wantonnesse, and infant-trifles of our children, than afterward we do with all their actions, when they bee men: As if we had loved them for our pastimes, as we do apes, monkees, or perokitoes, and not as man. And some that liberally furnish them with sporting babies while they be children, will miserably pinch it in the least expence for necessities when they grow men. Nay, it seemeth that the jelousie we have to see them appeare into, and injoy the world, when we are ready to leave them, makes us more sparing and close-handed toward them. It vexeth and grieveth us when we see them following us at our heels, supposing they sollicite us to be gone hence: And if we were to feare that since the order of things beareth, that they cannot indeed, neither be, nor live, but by our being and life, we should not meddle to be fathers. As for mee, I deeme it a kind of cruelty and injustice, not to receive them into the share and society of our goods, and to admit them as Partners in the understanding of our domestical affaires (if they be once capable of it) and not to cut off and shut-up our commodities to provide for theirs, since we have engendered them to that purpose. It is meere injustice to see an old, crazed, sinnow-shronken, and nigh dead father sitting alone in a Chimny-corner, to enjoy so many goods as would suffice for the preferment and entertainment of many children, and in the meane while, for want of meanes, to suffer them to lose their best dayes and yeares, without thrusting them into publike service and knowledge of men; whereby they are often cast into dispaire, to seeke, by some way how unlawfull soever to provide for their necessities. And in my dayes, I have seene divers yong-men, of good houses so given to stealing and filching, that no correction could divert them from it. I

know one very well alied, to whom, at the instance of a brother of his (a most honest, gallant, and vertuous Gentleman) I spake to that purpose, who boldly answered and confessed unto me, that only by the rigor and covetise of his father he had beene forced and driven to fall into such lewdnesse and wickednesse. And even at that time he came from stealing certaine jewels from a Lady, in whose bed-chamber he fortun'd to come with certaine other Gentlemen when she was rising, and had almost beene taken. He made me remember a tale I had heard of another Gentleman, from his youth so fashioned and inclined to this goodly trade of pilfering, that comming afterward to be heire and Lord of his owne goods, resolved to give over that manner of life, could notwithstanding (if he chanced to come neere a shop, where he saw any thing he stood in need of) not chuse but steale the same, though afterward he would ever send mony and pay for it. And I have seene diverse so inured to that vice, that amongst their companions they would ordinarily steale such things as they would restore againe. I am a Gascoine, and there is no vice wherein I have lesse skill: I hate it somewhat more by complexion than I accuse it by discourse. I doe not so much as desire another mans goods.

And although my Countrey-men be indeed somewhat more taxed with this fault than other Provinces of France, yet have we seene, of late dayes, and that sundry times, men well borne and of good parentage in other parts of France, in the hands of justice, and lawfully convicted of many most horrible robberies. I am of opinion that in regard of these debauches and lewd actions, fathers may, in some sort, be blamed, and that it is only long of them. And if any shall answer mee, as did once a Gentleman of good worth and understanding, that he thriftily endeavoured to hoard up riches, to no other purpose, nor to have any use and commodity of them, than to be honoured, respected and suingly sought unto by his friends and kinsfolkes, and that age having bereaved him of all other forces, it was the only remedy he had left to maintaine himselfe in authority with his household, and keepe him from falling into contempt and disdaine of all the world. And truly according to Aristotle, not only old-age, but each imbecillity, is the promoter, and motive of covetousnesse. That is something, but it is a remedy for an evill, whereof the birth should have beene hindered and breeding avoyded. That father may truly be said miserable that holdeth the affection of his children tied unto him by no other meanes than by the need they have of his

help, or want of his assistance, if that may be termed affection: A man should yeeld himselfe respectable by virtue and sufficiency, and amiable by his goodness, and gentleness of manners. The very cinders of so rich a matter have their value: so have the bones and relics of honourable men, whom we hold in respect and reverence. No age can be so crazed and drooping in a man that hath lived honourably, but must needs prove venerable, and especially unto his children, whose minds ought so to be directed by the parents, that reason and wisdom, not necessity and need, nor rudeness and compulsion, may make them know and performe their dutie.

*- et errat longe, mea quidem sententia,
Qui imperium credat esse gravius aut stabilius,
Vi quod fit, quam illud quod amicitia adiungitur.¹*

In mine opinion he doth much mistake,
Who, that command more grave, more firme
doth take,
Which force doth get, than that which friendships make.

I utterly condemne all manner of violence in the education of a young spirit, brought up to honour and libertie. There is a kind of slavishnesse in churlish rigour, and servility in compulsion; and I hold that that which cannot be compassed by reason, wisdom, and discretion, can never be attained by force and constraint. So was I brought up: they tell me that in all my youth I never felt rod but twice, and that very lightly. And what education I have had myselfe, the same have I given my children. But such is my ill hap, that they dye all very yong; yet hath Leonora my only daughter escaped this misfortune, and attained to the age of six yeares, and somewhat more: for the conduct of whose youth and punishment of her childish faults (the indulgence of her mother applying it selfe very mildely unto it) was never other meanes used but gentle words. And were my desire frustrate there are diverse other causes to take hold of without reprovng my discipline, which I know to be just and naturall. I would also have bene much more religious in that towards male-children, not borne to serve as women and of a freer condition. I should have loved to have stored their minde with ingenuity and liberty. I have seene no other effects in rods, but to make childrens mindes more remisse, or more maliciously headstrong.

Desire we to be loved of our children! Will we remove all occasions from them to wish our death? (although no occasion of so

horrible and unnaturall wishes can either be just or excusable) *nullum scelus rationem habet*, no ill deed hath a good reason. Let us reasonably accommodate their life with such things as are in our power. And therefore should not we marry so young that our age do in a manner confound it selfe with theirs. For, this inconvenience doth unavoidably cast us into many difficulties and encombrances. This I speake chiefly unto nobility, which is of an idle disposition, or loitering condition, and which (as we say) liveth only by her lands, or rents: for else, where life stanceth upon gaine, plurality and company of children is an easefull furtherance of husbandry. They are as many new implements to thrive, and instruments to grow rich. I was married at thirty yeares of age, and commend the opinion of thirty-five, which is said to be Aristotles. Plato would have no man married before thirty, and hath good reason to scoffe at them that will defer it till after fifty-five and then marry; and condemneth their breed as unworthy of life and sustenance. Thales appointed the best limits, who by his mother being instantly urged to marry whilst he was young, answered that it was not yet time; and when he to be old, he said it was no more time. A man must refuse opportunity to every importunate action. The ancient Gauls deemed it a shamefull reproach to have the acquaintance of a woman before the age of twenty yeares; and did especially recommend unto men that sought to be trained up in warres the carefull preservation of their maiden-head until they were of good yeares, forsomuch as by losing it in youth, courages are thereby much weakened and greatly empaired, and by coupling with women diverted from all vertuous action.

*Ma hor congiunto à giovinetta sposa,
Lieto homai de' figli, era invilito
Ne gli affetti di padre et di marito.¹*

But now conjov'n'd to a fresh-springing spou e,
Joy'd in his children, he was thought-abused,
In passions twixt a sire and husband plac'd.

Mulcasses King of Thunes, he whom the Emperour Charles the fifth restored unto his owne state againe, was wont to upbraid his fathers memorie for so dissolutely-frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminate, and a lustfull engenderer of children. The Greek storie doth note Icus the Tarentine, Crisso, Astyllus, Diopompus, and others, who to keep their bodies tough and strong for the service of the Olympicke courses, wrestlings and such bodily exercises they did, as long as they were possessed

¹ TER. *Adelph.* act i. sc. 3, 39.

¹ TASSO, *Clorus.* x. 39.

with that care, heedefully abtaine from all vnerian acts and touching of women. In a certaine country of the Spanish Indies, no man was suffered to take a wife before he were fortie yeares old, and women might marry at ten yeares of age. There is no reason, neither is it convenient, that a Gentleman of five and thirtie yeares should give place to his sonne, that is but twenty: For then is the father as seemly and may as well appear and set himselfe forward, in all manner of voyages of warres as well by land as sea, and doe his prince as good service, in court or elsewhere, as his sonne: He hath need of all his parts and ought truly to impart them, but so that he forget not himselfe for others: And to such may justly that answer serve which fathers have commonly in their mouthes: "I will not put off my clothes before I be ready to go to bed." But a father over-burthend with yeares and crazed through sicknesse and by reason of weaknesse and want of health barred from the common society of men, doth both wrong himselfe, injure his, idly and to no use to hoord up and keepe close a great heape of riches and deal of pelfe. He is in state good enough, if he be wise to have a desire to put off his clothes to goe to bed. I will not say to his shirt, but to a good warme night gowne. As for other pomp and trash whereof hee hath no longer use or need, hee ought willingly to distribute and bestow them amongst those to whom by naturall degree they ought to belong. It is reason he should have the use and bequeath the fruition of them, since nature doth also deprive him of them, otherwise without doubt there is both envy and malice stirring. The worstiest action that ever the Emperour Charles the fifth performed was this, in imitation of some ancients of his quality, that he had the discretion to know that reason commanded us to strip or shift our selves when our clothes trouble and are too heavy for us, and that it is high time to go to bed when our legs faile us. He resigned his meanes, his greatnesse and Kingdome to his Sonne, at what time he found his former undanted resolution to decay, and force to conduct his affaires to droope in himselfe, together with the glory he had thereby acquired.

*Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Pecet ad extremum ridendus, et illa ducat.*¹

If you be wise, the horse growne-old betimes
cast-off,
Lest he at last fall lame, fouler, and breed a
skoffe.

This fault for a man not to be able to

¹ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* i. 8.

know himselfe betimes, and not to feeble the impuissance and extreme alteration that age doth naturally bring, both to the body and the minde (which in my opinion is equall if the mind hath but one halfe), hath lost the reputation of the most part of the greatest men in the world. I have in my dayes both seene and familiarly known some men of great authority, whom a man might easily discern, to be strangely fallen from that ancient sufficiency, which I know by the reputation they had thereby attained unto in their best yeares. I could willingly for their honors sake have wisht them at home about their own businesse, discharged from all negotiations of the commonwealth and employments of war that were no longer fit for them. I have sometimes beene familiar in a Gentleman's house, who was both an old man and a widower, yet lusty of his age. This man had many daughters marriageable and a sonne grown to mans state and ready to appeare in the world; a thing that drew-on and was the cause of great charges and many visitations, wherein he tooke but little pleasure, not only for the continuall care hee had to save, but more by reason of his age, hee had betaken himselfe to a manner of life farre different from ours. I chanced one day to tell him somewhat boldly (as my custome is) that it would better beseeome him to give us place and resigne his chiefe house to his sonne (for he had no other mannor-house conveniently well furnished), and quietly retire himselfe to some farme of his where no man might trouble him or disturbe his rest, since he could not otherwise avoid our importunitie, seeing the condition of his children; who afterward followed my counsell and found great ease by it. It is not to be said that they have any thing given them by such a way of obligation, which a man may not recall againe: I, that am ready to play such a part, would give over unto them the full possession of my house, and enjoying of my goods, but with such libertie and limited condition as if they should give me occasion, I might repent myself of my gift and revoke my deed. I would leave the use and fruition of all unto them, the rather because it were no longer fit for me to weald the same. And touching the disposing of all matters in grosse, I would reserve what I pleased unto my selfe. Having ever judged that it must be a great contentment to an aged father, himselfe to direct his children in the government of his household affaires, and to be able whilst himselfe liveth to checke and controule their demeanors, storing them with instruction and advised counsell, according to the experience he hath had of them, and him-

selfe to address the ancient honour and order of his house in the hands of his successors, and that way warrant himselfe of the hopes hee may conceive of their future conduct and after successe. And to this effect I would not shun their company. I would not be far from them, but as much as the condition of my age would permit, enjoy and be a partner of their sports, mirths, and feasts. If I did not continually live amongst them (as I could not well without offending their meetings and hindering their recreation, by reason of the perversh frowardnesse of my age and the trouble of my infirmities, and also without forcing their rules, and resisting the forme of life I should then follow), I would at least live neere them, in some corner of my house, not the best and fairest in show, but the most easefull and commodious. And not, as some years since I saw a Deane of S. Hillarie of Poitiers, reduced by reason and the incommoditie of his melancholy to such a continuall solitarinesse, that when I entered into his chamber he had never removed one step out of it in two and twenty yeares before ; yet had all his faculties free and easie, onely a rheume excepted that fell into his stomacke. Scarce once a weeke would he suffer any body to come and see him. Hee would ever be shut up in his chamber all alone, where no man should come, except a boy, who once a day brought him meat, and who might not tarry there, but as soone as he was in must go out again. All his exercise was sometimes to walke up and downe his chamber, and now and then reade on some booke (for he had some understanding of letters) but obstinately resolved to live and dye in that course, as he did shortly after. I would endeavour by a kinde of civill demeanour and milde conversation to breede and settle in my children a true-harty loving friendship, and unfained good will towards me : a thing easily obtained amongst well-borne mindes. For if they prove, or be such surly-furious beasts, or given to churlish disobedience, as our age bringeth forth thousands, they must as beasts be hated, as churls neglected, and as degenerate avoided. I hate this custome, to forbid children to call their fathers father, and to teach them another strange name, as of more reverence ; as if nature had not sufficiently provided for our authoritie. We call God Almighty by the name of father, and disdaine our children should call us so. I have reformed this fault in mine owne household. It is also folly and injustice to deprive children, especially being of competent age, of their fathers familiaritie, and ever to shew them a surly, austere, grim, and disdainfull countenance, hoping thereby

to keepe them in awfull feare and duteous obedience. For it is a very unprofitable proceeding, and which maketh fathers yrkesome unto children, and, which is worse, ridiculous. They have youth and strength in their hands, and consequently the breath and favour of the world ; and doe with mockery and contempt receive these churlish, fierce, and tyrannical countenances, from a man that hath no lusty bloud left him, neither in his heart nor in his vaines ; meere bug-beares, and scarecrows, to scare birdes withall. If it lay in my power to make my selfe feared, I had rather make my selfe beloved. There are so many sorts of defects in age, and so much impuissance ; it is so subject to contempt, that the best purchase it can make is the good will, love and affection of others. Commandement and feare are no longer her weapons. I have knowne one whose youth had beene very imperious and rough, but when he came to mans age, although hee live in as good plight and health as may be, yet he chaseth, he scoldeth, he brawleth, he fighteth, he sweareth, and biteth, as the most boistrous and tempestuous master of France ; he frets and consumes himselfe with carke and care and vigilancy (all which is but a juggling and ground for his familiar to play upon, and cozen him the more) as for his goods, his garners, his cellars, his coffers, yea his purse, whilst himselfe keeps the keyes of them close in his bosome and under his boulder, as charily as he doth his eyes, other enjoy and command the better part of them ; whilst he pleaseth and flattereth himselfe with the niggardly sparing of his table, all goth to wracke, and is lavishly wasted in divers corners of his house, in play, in riotous spending, and in soothingly entertaining the accompts or tales of his vaine chasing, foresight, and providing. Every man watcheth and keepeth sentinell against him, if any silly or heedlesse servant doe by fortune apply himselfe unto it, he is presently made to suspect him. A quality on which age doth immediately bite of it selfe. How many times hath he vaunted and applauding himselfe told me of the strict orders of his house, of his good husbandry, of the awe he kept his household in, and of the exact obedience and regardfull reverence he received of all his family, and how cleare-sighted he was in his own businesse :

*Ille solus nescit omnia.*¹

Of all things none but he,
Most ignorant must be.

¹ TER. *Adel.* act. iv. sc. 2, 9.

I know no man ~~that could~~ produce more parts, both naturall and artificiall, fit to preserve his masterie, and to maintaine his absolute nesse, than he doth; yet is hee cleane false from them like a childe. Therefore have I made choice of him, amongst many such conditions that I know, as most exemplare. It were a matter beseeing a scholasticall question, whether it be better so or otherwise. In his presence all things give place unto him. This vaine course is ever left unto his authority, that he is never gain-said. He is had in awe, he is feared, he is beleaved, he is respected his belly-full. Doth he discharge any boy or servant? he presently trusseth up his packe, then he is gone; but whither? onely out of his sight, not out of his house. The steps of age are so slow, the senses so troubled, the minde so distracted, that he shall live and doe his office a whole year in one same house, and never be perceived. And when fit time or occasion serveth, letters are produced from farre places, humbly suing and pittingly complayning, with promises to doe better and to amend, by which he is brought into favour and office again. Doth the master make any bargaine or dispatch that pleaseth not, it is immediately smothered and suppressed, soon after forging causes, and devising colourable excuses, to excuse the want of execution or answer. No forraigne letters being first presented unto him, he seeth but such as are fit for his knowledge. If peradventure they come into his hands, as he that trusteth some one of his men to reade them unto him, he will presently devise what he thinketh good, whereby they often invent that such a one seemeth to aske him forgiveness, that wrongeth him by his letter. To conclude, he never lookes into his owne businesse, but by a disposed, designed and as much as may be pleasing image, so contrived by such as are about him, because they will not stirre up his choler, move his impatience, and exasperate his frowardnesse. I have seene under different formes many long and constant, and of like effect, economies. It is ever proper unto women to be readily bent to contradict and crosse their husbands. They will with might and maine, hand over head, take hold of any colour to thwart and withstand them: the first excuse they meet with serves them as a plenary justification. I have seene some that would in grosse steale from their husbands to the end (as they told their confessors) they might give the greater almes. Trust you to such religious dispensations. They thinke no libertie to have or managing to possesse sufficient authoritie, if it come from their husbands consent: They must

necessarily usurpe it, either by wily craft or maine force, and ever injuriously, thereby to give it more grace and authoritie. As in my discourse, when it is against a poore old man, and for children, then take they hold of this title, and therewith gloriously serve their turne and passion, and as in a common servitude, easily usurpe and monopolize against his government and domination. If they be men-children, tall, of good spirit, and forward, then they presently suborne, either by threats, force, or favour, both Steward, Bailiffe, Clarke, Receiver, and all the Fathers Officers, and Servant. Such as have neither wife nor children, do more hardly fall into his mischief; but yet more cruelly and unworthily. Old Cato was wont to say, "So many servants, so many enemies." Note whether according to the distance that was between the purity of his age, and the corruption of our times, he did not fore-warne us that wives, children, and servants are to us so many enemies. Well fits it decrepitude to store us with the sweet benefit of ignorance and unperceiving facility wherewith we are deceived.

If we did yeeld unto it, what would become of us? Doe we not see that even then if we have any suits in lawe, or matters to be decided before Judges, both Lawyers and Judges will commonly take part with and favour our childrens causes against us, as men interested in the same? And if I chance not to spy or plainly perceive how I am cheated, cozoned, and beguiled, I must of necessitie discover in the end how I am subject, and may be cheated, beguiled, and cozoned. And shall the tongue of man ever bee able to expresse the ynnuable worth of a friend, in comparison of these civill bonds? The lively image and idea whereof I perceive to be amongst beasts so unspotted: Oh, with what religion doe I respect and observe the same! If others deceive me, yet do I not deceive my selfe, to esteeme my selfe capable and of power to looke unto my selfe, nor to trouble my braines to yeeld my selfe unto it. I doe beware and keepe my selfe from such treasons, and cunny-catching in mine owne bosome, not by an unquiet and tumultuary curiosity, but rather by a diversion and resolution. When I heare the state of any one reported or discoursed of, I amuse not my selfe on him, but presently cast mine eyes on my selfe, and all my wits together, to see in what state I am, and how it goeth with me. Whatsoever concerneth him, the same hath relation to me. His fortunes forewarne me, and summon up my spirits that way. There is no day nor houre but we speake that of others we might properly

speake of our selves, could we as well enfold as we can unfold our consideration. And many authours doe in this manner wound the protection of their cause, by over-rashly running against that which they take hold of, thirling such darts at their enemies that might with much more advantage be cast at them. The Lord of Montluc, late one of the Lord Marshals of France, having lost his sonne, who died in the Iland of Madera, a worthy, forward and gallant young gentleman, and truly of good hope, amongst other his griefes and regrets did greatly move me to condole the infinite displeasure and hearts-sorrow that he felt, inasmuch as he had never communicated and opened himselfe vnto him: for, with his austere humour and continuall endeavouring to hold a grime-stern-fatherly gravity over him, he had lost the meanes perfectly to finde and throughly to know his sonne, and so to manifest vnto him the extreme affection he bare him, and the worthy judgement he made of his vertue. "Alas," was he wont to say, "the poore lad saw never any thing in me but a severe-surly countenance, full of disdaine, and haply was possessed with this conceit, that I could neither love nor esteeme him according to his merits. Ay-me, to whom did I reserve, to discover that singular and loving affection which in my soule I bare vnto him? Was it not he that should have had all the pleasure and acknowledgement thereof? I have forced and tormented my selfe to maintain this vaine mask, and have vtterly lost the pleasure of his conversation, and therewithal his good will, which surely was but faintly cold towards me, forsomuch as he never received but rude entertainment of me, and never felt but a tyrannicall proceeding in me towards him." I am of opinion his complaint was reasonable and well grounded. For, as I know by certaine experience, there is no comfort so sweet in the losse of friends, as that our owne knowledge or conscience tels vs we never omitted to tell them everything, and expostulate all matters vnto them, and to have had a perfect and free communication with them. Tell me, my good friend, am I the better or the worse by having a taste of it? Surely I am much the better. His griefe doth both comfort and honour mee. Is it not a religious and pleasing office of my life for ever to make the obsequies thereof? Can there be any pleasure worth this privation? I doe vnfold and open my self as much as I can to mine owne people, and willingly declare the state of my will and judgment towards them, as commonly I doe towards all men: I make haste to produce and present my selfe, for I would

have no man mistake me, in what part soever. Amongst other particular customes which our ancient Gaules had (as Cæsar affirmeth), this was one, that children never came before their fathers, nor were in any publike assembly seene in their company, but when they began to beare armes: as if they would infer that then was the time fathers should admit them to their acquaintance and familiarity. I have also observed another kinde of indiscretion in some fathers of our times, who during their owne life would never be induced to acquaint or impart vnto their children that share or portion which, by the Law of Nature, they were to have in their fortunes: nay, some there are who, after their death, bequeath and commit the same auctority over them and their goods, vnto their wives, with full power and law to dispose of them at their pleasure. And my selfe have known a Gentleman, a chiefe officer of our crowne, that by right and hope of succession (had he lived vnto it) was to inherit above fifty thousand crownes a yeere good land, who at the age of more then fifty yeeres, fell into such necessity and want, and was run so farre in debt, that he had nothing left him, and, as it is supposed, died for very need: whilst his mother, in her extreme decrepitude, enjoyed all his lands and possessed all his goods, by vertue of his fathers will and testament, who had lived very neere fourescore years: a thing (in my conceit) no way to be commended, but rather blamed. Therefore doe I thinke that a man but little advantaged or bettered in estate who is able to lue of himselfe, and is out of debt, especially if he have children, and goeth about to marry a wife that must have a great joynter out of his lands, assuredly there is no other debt that brings more ruine vnto houses than that. My predecessors have commonly followed this counsell, and so have I, and all have found good by it. But those that dissuade vs from marrying of rich wives, lest they might proove over disdainfull and peevish, or lesse tractable and loving, are also deceived to make vs neglect and for-goe a reall commoditie for so frivolous a conjecture. To an vnreasonable woman, it is all one cost to her whether they passe vnder one reason or vnder another. "They love to be where they are most wronged." Injustice doth allure them, as the honour of their vertuous actions enticeth the good. And by how much richer they are, so much more milde and gentle are they; as more willingly and gloriously chaste, by how much fairer they are. Some colour of reason there is, men should leave the administration of their

goods and affaires unto mothers whilst their children are not of competent age, or fit according to the lawes to manage the charge of them: And ill hath their father brought them vp, if he cannot hope, these comming to yeares of discretion, they shal have no more wit, reason, and sufficiencie, than his wife, considering the weaknesse of their sexe. Yet truly were it as much against nature so to order things that mothers must wholly depend of their childrens discretion. They ought largely and competently to be provided wherewith to maintaine their estate according to the quality of their house and age: because "need and want is much more unseemely and hard to be indured in women than in men:" And children rather than mothers ought to be charged therewith. In generall, my opinion is that the best distribution of goods is, when we die, to distribute them according to the custome of the Country. The lawes have better thought vpon them than we: And better is it to let them erre in their election than for vs rashly to hazard to faile in ours. They are not properly our owne, since without vs, and by a civil prescription, they are appointed to certaine successours. And albeit we have some further liberty, I thinke it should be a great and most apparant cause to induce vs to take from one, and barre him from that which Fortune hath allotted him, and the common lawes and Justice hath called him unto: And that against reason we abuse this liberty, by suting the same unto our priuate humours and frivolous fantasies. My fortune hath bene good, inasmuch as yet it never presented me with any occasions that might tempt or divert my affections from the common and lawful ordinance. I see some towards whom it is but labour lost, carefully to endeavour to doe any good offices. A word ill taken defaceth the merit of ten yeeres. Happy he that, at this last passage, is ready to sooth and applaud their will. The next action transporteth him; not the best and most frequent offices, but the freshest and present worke the deed. They are people that play with their wils and testaments as with apples and rods, to gratifie or chastize every action of those who pretend any interest thereunto. It is a matter of over-long pursue, and of exceeding consequence, at every instance to be thus dilated, and wherein the wiser sort establish themselves once for all, chiefly respecting reason and publike observance. We somewhat over-much take these masculine substitutions to hart, and propose a ridiculous eternity unto our names. We also over-weight such vaine future conjectures,

which infant-spirits give vs. It might peradventure have bene deemed injustice to displace me from out my rancke, because I was the dullest, the slowest, the unwillingest, the most leaden-pated to learne my lesson or any good, that ever was, not onely of all my brethren, but of all the children in my cuntry, were the lesson concerning any exercise of the minde or body. It is follie trie anie extraordinarie conclusions vpon the trust of their divinations, wherein we are so often deceived. If this rule may be contradicted, and the destinies corrected, in the choice they have made of our heires, with so much more apparence, may it be done in consideration of some remarkable and enormous corporall deformitie; a constant and incorrigible vice; and according to vs great esteemers of beautie; a matter of important prejudice. The pleasant dialogue of Plato the law-giver, with his citizens, will much honour this passage: "Why then," say they, perceiving their end to approach, "shall we not dispose of that which is our owne to whom and according as we please? O Gods, what cruelty is this? That it shall not be lawfull for us to give or bequeath more or lesse, according to our fantasies, to such as have served us, and taken paines with us in our sicknesses, in our age, and in our business? To whom the Law-giver answereth in this manner: "My friends," saith he, "who doubtlesse shall shortly die, it is a hard matter for you both to know yourselves and what is yours, according to the Delphike inscription: As for me, who am the maker of your lawes, I am of opinion that neither yourselves are your owne, nor that which you enjoy. And both you and your goods, past and to come, belong to your familie; and, moreover, both your families and your goods are the common wealths. Wherefore, lest any flatterer, either in your age or in time of sickness, or any other passion, should unadvisedly induce you to make any unlawfull conveyance or unjust will and testament, I will looke to you and keepe you from it. But having an especial respect both to the universall interest of your Citie, and particular state of your houses, I will establish lawes, and by reason make you perceive and confesse that a particular commoditie ought to yeeld to a publike benefit. Follow that course meereley where-to humane necessitie doth call you." To me it belongeth, who have no more regard to one thing than to another, and who, as much as I can, take care for the general, to have a regardful respect of that which you leave behind you. But to return to my former discourse, me thinkes we seldome see

that woman borne to whom the superiority or majesty over men is due, except the motherly and naturall; unless it be for the chastisement of such as by some fond-fabricant humour have voluntarily submitted themselves unto them: But that doth nothing concerne old women, of whom we speake here. It is the appearance of this consideration hath made us to frame and willingly to establish this law (never seene elsewhere) that barreth women from the succession of this crowne, and there are few principalities in the world where it is not alleaged, as wel as here, by a likely and apparant reason, which authoriseth the same. But fortune hath given more credit unto it in some places than in other some. It is dangerous to leave the dispensation of our succession unto their judgement, according to the choyse they shall make of their children, which is most commonly unjust and fantastick. For the same unrule appetite and distasted relish, or strange longings, which they have when they are great with child, the same have they at all times in their minds. They are commonly seene to affect the weakest, the simplest and most abject, or such, if they have any, that had more need to sucke. For, wanting reasonable discourse to chuse, and embrace what they ought, they rather suffer themselves to be directed where nature's impressions are most single, as other creatures, which take no longer knowledge of their young ones than they are sucking. Moreover, experience doth manifestly shew unto us that the same naturall affection to which we ascribe so much authoritie, hath but a weake foundation. For a very small gaine we daily take mothers owne children from them and induce them to take charge of ours. Doe we not often procure them to bequeath their children to some fond, filthy, sluttish, and unhealthie nurse, to whom we would be very loth to commit ours, or to some brutish goat, not onely forbidding them to nurse and feed their owne children, what danger soever may betide them, but also to have any care of them, to the end they may the more diligently follow and carefully attend the service of ours? Whereby wee soone see through custome a certaine kinde of bastard affection to be engendered in them, more vehement than the naturall, and to be much more tender and carefull for the welfare and preservation of other men's children than for their owne. And the reason why I have made mention of goats is, because it is an ordinarie thing round about me where I dwell to see the cuntry women, when they have not milke enough

to feed their infants with their owne breasts, to call for goats to helpe them. And myselfe have now two lackies wayting upon me, who except it were eight daies never suck't other milk than goats. They are presently to come at call and give young infants sucke, and become so well acquainted with their voice that when they heare them crie they runne forthwith unto them. And if by chance they have any other child put to their teats then their nursing, they refuse and reject him, and so doth the child a strange goat. Myselfe saw that one not long since, from whom the father tooke a goat, which he had sucked two or three daies, because he had but borrowed it of one of his neighbours, who could never be induced to sucke any other, whereby he shortly died, and, as I verily thinke, of meere hunger. Beasts, as well as we, doe soon alter, and easily bastardize their naturall affection. I believe that in that which Herodotus reporteth of a certaine province of Libia, their often followeth great error and mistaking. He saith that men doe indifferently use, and as it were in common frequent women; and that the childe, as soone as he is able to goe, comming to any solemne meetings and great assemblies, led by a naturall instinct, findeth out his owne father; where being turned loose in the midst of the multitude, looke what man the childe doth first addresse his steps unto, and then goe to him, the same is ever afterward reputed to be his right father. Now if we shall duly consider this simple occasion of loving our children, because we have begotten them, for which we call them our other selves; it seemes there is another production coming from us, and which is of no lesse commendation and consequence. For what we engender by the minde, the fruits of our courage, sufficiency, or spirit, are brought forth by a far more noble part than the corporall, and more our owne. We are both father and mother together in this generation; such fruits cost us much dearer and bring us more honour, and chiefly if they have any good or rare thing in them. For the value of our other children is much more theirs than ours. The share we have in them is but little, but of these all the beautie, all the grace, and all the worth is ours. And therefore do they represent and resemble us much more lively than others. Plato addeth, moreover, that these are immortal issues, and immortalize their fathers, yea and desire them, as Licurgus, Solon, and Minos. All histories being full of examples of this mutuall friendship of fathers toward their children, I have not thought it

amisse to set downe some choice ones of this kinde. Heliodorus, that good Bishop of Tricea, loved rather to lose the dignity, profit, and devotion of so venerable a Prelateship, than to forgoe his daughter,¹ a young woman to this day commended for her beautie, but haply somewhat more curiously and wantonly pranked up than beeseemed the daughter of a churchman and a bishop, and of over-amorous behaviour. There was one Labienus, in Rome, a man of great worth and authority, and amongst other commendable qualities, most excellent in all manner of learning, who, as I thinke, was the sonne of that great Labienus, chiefe of all the capitaines that followed and were under Cæsar in the warres against the Gaules, and who afterward taking great Pompey's part, behaved himselfe so valiantly and so constantly, that he never forsooke him untill Cæsar defeated him in Spaine. This Labienus, of whom I spake, had many that envied his vertues: but above all, as it is likely, courtiers, and such as in his time were favored of the Emperors, who hated his franknesse, his fatherly humors, and distaste he bare still against tyrannie, wherewith it may be supposed he had stuffed his bookes and compositions. His adversaries vehemently pursued him before the magistrate of Rome, and prevailed so far that many of his works which he had published were condemned to be burned. He was the first on whom this new example of punishment was put in practice, which after continued long in Rome, and was executed on divers others, to punish learning, studies, and writings with death and consuming fire. There were neither means enough, or matter sufficient of cruelty, unless we had entermingled amongst them things which nature hath exempted from all sense and sufferance, as reputation, and the inventions of our minde: and except we communicated corporall mischiefs unto disciplines and monuments of the muses. Which losse Labienus could not endure, nor brooke to survive those his deare and highly-esteemed issues, and therefore caused himselfe to be carried, and shut up alive within his ancestors monument, where, with a dreadlesse resolution, he at once provided both to kill himselfe and be buried together. It is hard to shew any more vehement fatherly affection than that. Cassius Severus, a most eloquent man, and his familiar friend, seeing his bookes burnt, exclaimed, that by the same sentence hee should therewithall be condemned to be burned alive, for hee still bare and kept in minde what they contained in them. A like

accident happened to Geruntius Cordus, who was accused to have commended Brutus and Cassius in his bookes. That base, servile, and corrupted Senate, and worthe of a farre worse master than Tiberius, adjudged his writings to be consumed by fire; and he was pleased to accompany them in their death, for he pined away by abstaining from all manner of meat. That notable man Lucane, being adjudged by that lewd varlet, Nero, to death, at the latter end of his life, when al his bloud was well-nigh spent from out the veins of his arme, which by his physician he had caused to be opened to hasten his death, and that a chilling cold began to seize the uttermost parts of his limbes, and approach his vital spirits, the last thing he had in memory was some of his owne verses, written in his booke of the Pharsalian warres, which with a distinct voice hee repeated, and so yielded up the ghost, having those last words in his mouth. What was that but a kinde, tender, and fatherly farewell which he tooke of his children? representing the last adiewes, and parting imbracements, which at our death we give vnto our dearest issues? And an effect of that naturall inclination, which in that last extremity puts us in minde of those things which in our life we have held dearest and most precious? Shall we imagine that Epicurus, who (as himselfe said) dying tormented with the extreme paine of the chollik, had all his comfort in the beauty of the doctrine which he left behinde him in the world, would have received as much contentment of a number of well-borne and better-bred children (if he had had any) as he did of the production of his rich compositions? And if it had beene in his choise, to leave behind him, either a counterfeit, deformed, or ill-borne childe, or a foolish, triviall, and idle booke, not onely he, but all men in the world besides of like learning and sufficiency, would much rather have chosen to incurre the former than the latter mischiefe. It might peradventure be deemed impiety in Saint Augustine (for example-sake) if on the one part onesould propose unto him to bury all his bookes, whence our religion receiveth so much good, or to interre his children (if in case he had any) that he would not rather chuse to bury his children, or the issue of his loynes, than the fruits of his minde. And I wot not well, whether my selfe should not much rather desire to beget and produce a perfectly-well-shaped and excellently-qualified infant, by the acquaintance of the Muses than by the acquaintance of my wife. Whatsoever I give to this, let the world allow of it as it please, I

¹ His romance of *Theagenes and Chariclea*.

give it as purely and irrevocable as any man can give it to his corporal children. That little good which I have done him is no longer in my disposition. He may know many things that my selfe know no longer, and hold of me what I could not hold my selfe : and which (if need should require) I must borrow of him as of a stranger. If I be wiser than he, he is richer than I. There are few men given unto Poesie that would not esteeme it for a greater honour to be the fathers of Virgil's *Æneidos* than of the goodliest boy in Rome, and that would not rather endure the losse of the one than the perishing of the other. For, according to Aristotle, "Of all workemen, the Poet is principally the most amorous of his productions and conceited of his Labours." It is not easie to be beleev'd that Epaminondas, who wanted to leave some daughters behind him, which unto all posterity, should one day highly honour their father (they were the two famous victories which he had gained of the Lacedemonians) would ever have given his free consent to change them with the best-borne, most gorgeous, and goodliest damself of all Greece : or that Alexander and Cæsar did ever wish to be deprived of the greatnesse of their glorious deeds of warre, for the commodity to have children and heires of their owne bodies, how absolutely-perfect and well accomplished so ever they might be. Nay, I make a great question whether Phidias, or any other excellent Statuary, would as highly esteeme and dearly love the preservation and successfull continuance of his naturall children, as he would an exquisite and matchlesse-wrought Image, that with long study and diligent care he had perfected according unto art. And as concerning those vicious and furious passions which sometimes have inflamed some fathers to the love of their daughters, or mothers towards their sonnes, the very same and more partially-earnest is also found in this other kinde of childe-bearing and alliance. Witnesse that which is reported of Pigmalion, who having curiously framed a goodly statue of a most singularly-beauteous woman, was so strange-fondly and passionately surpris'd with the lustfull love of his owne workmanship that the Gods through his raging importunity were faine in favour of him to give it life.

*Tentatum mollescit ebur, positoque rigore
Subsidit digitis.*¹

As he assaid it, th' yvorie softned much,
And (hardnesse left) did yeeld to fingers touch.

¹ Quid, *Metam.* l. x. 283.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Parthians Armes.

IT is a vitious, fond fashion of the Nobility and Gentry of our age, and full of nicetendernesse, never to betake themselves to armes, except upon some urgent and extreme necessitie : and to quit them as soone as they perceive the least hope or apparance that the danger is past : Whence ensue many disorders, and inconveniences : For, every one running and calling for his armes when the alarm is given, some have not yet buckled their cuirace when their fellows are already defeated. Indeed our forefathers would have their Caske, Lance, Gantlets, and Shields carried, but so long as the service lasted, themselves would never leave-off their other peeces. Our troopes are now all confounded and disordered, by reason of bag and baggage, of carriages, of lackies, and foot-boies, which because of their masters armes they carry, can never leave them. Titus Livius, speaking of the French, saith, *Intolerantissima laboris corpora vix arma humeris gerebant* : "Thei bodies most impatient of labour could hardly beare armour on their backs." Divers Nations, as they did in former times, so yet at this day, are seene to goe to the warres without any thing about them, or if they had, it was of no defence ; but were all naked and bare.

*Tegmina queis capitum raptus de subere cortex.*²

Whose caske to cover all their head,

Was made of barke from Corke-tree flea'd.

Alexander, the most daring and hazardous Captain that ever was, did very seldome arme himselfe : And those which amongst us neglect them, doe not thereby much enpaire their reputation. If any man chance to be slaine for want of an armour, there are as many more that miscarry with the over-heavy burthen of their armes, and by them are engaged, and by a counterbuffe are brused, or otherwise defeated. For in truth to see the unweildy weight of our and their thicknesse, it seemeth we but endeavour to defend our selves, and we are rather charged than covered by them. We have enough to doe to endure the burthen of them, and are so engiv'd and shackled in them, as if we were to fight but with the shocke or brunt of our armes, and as if we were as much bound to defend them as they to shield us. Cornelius Tacitus doth pleasantly quip and jest at the men of war of our ancient Gaules, so armed, only to

² Liv. *Dec.* l. i. 10.

³ Virg. *Æn.* l. 7. 42.

maintaine themselves, as they that have no means either to offend or to be offended, or to raise themselves being overthrowne. Lucullus seeing certaine Median men at armes, which were in the front of Tigranes Army, heavily and unweildily armed, as in an iron prison, apprehended thereby an opinion that he might easily defeat them, and began to charge them first, and got the victory. And now that our Muskettiers, are in such credit, I thinke we shall have some invention found to immure us up, that so we may be warrant from them, and to traine us to the warres in Skonces and Bastions, as those which our fathers caused to be carried by Elephants. A humour farre different from that of Scipio the younger, who sharply reprooved his souldiers because they had scattered certaine Calthrops under the water alongst a dike, by which those of the Towne that he besieged might sally out upon him, saying, that those which assailed should resolve to enterprise and not to feare: And had some reason to feare that this provision might secure and lull their vigilancy asleepe to guard themselves. Moreover he said to a young man, that shewed him a faire shield he had, "Indeed good youth, it is a faire one; but a Roman souldier ought to have more confidence in his right hand than in his left." It is onely custome that makes the burthen of our armes intolerable unto us.

*L'usbergo in dosso haveano, e l'elmo in testa,
Due di quelli guerrier del quali io canto.
Ne notte o di dopo ch'entraro in questa
Stanza, gi' haveano mai messi da canto:
Che facile a portar come la vesta
Era lor, perche in uso l'havean tanto.¹*

Cuirasse on backe did those two warriors beare,
And caske on head, of whom I make report,
Nor day, nor night, after they entred there.
Had they them laid aside from their support:
They could with ease them as a garment weare;
For long time had they used them in such sort.

The Emperour Caracalla in leading of his Army was ever wont to march affoot armed at all assaies. The Roman footmen caried not their morions, sword, and target only, as for other armies (saith Cicero) they were so accustomed to weare them continually, that they hindered them no more than their limbs: *Arma enim, membra militis esse dicunt*: for they say, armor and weapon are a souldiers limbs; but therewithal such victuals as they should need for a fortnight and a certaine number of stakes to make their rampards or palisadoes with, so much as weighed three score pound weight. And Marius, his souldiers thus loden, marching

in battal array, were taught to march five leagues in five houres, yea six if need required. Their military discipline was much more laboursome than ours: so did it produce far different effects. Scipio the younger, reforming his army in Spaine, appointed his souldiers to eat no meat but standing, and nothing sodden or rosted. It is worth the remembrance how a Lacedemonian souldier being in an expedition of warre, was much noted and blamed because hee was once seene to seeke for shelter under a house. They were so hardened to endure all manner of labour and toyle that it was counted a reprochfull infamy for a souldier to be seene under any other rooffe than that of heavens vault, in what weather soever. Were we to doe so, we should never lead our men far. Marcellinus, a man well trained in the Roman wars, doth curiously observe the manner which the Parthians used to arme themselves, and noteth it so much the more by how much it was far different from the Romans. They had (saith he) certaine armes so curiously enter-wrought as they seemed to be made like feathers, which nothing hindered the stirring of their bodies, and yet so strong, that our darts hitting them did rather rebound, or glance by, than hurt them (they be the scales our ancestors were so much wont to use). In another place they had (saith he) their horses stiffe and strong, covered with thick hides, and themselves armed from head to foot with massie iron plates so artificially contrived that where the joynts are there they furthered the motion and helped the stirring. A man would have said they had been men made of yron, for they had peeces so handsomly fitted, and so lively representing the forme and parts of the face, that there was no way to wound them but at certaine little holes before their eyes, which served to give them some light, and by certaine chinkes about their nostrils by which they hardly drew breath.

*Flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris,
Horribilis visu, credas simulacra moveri
Ferrea, cognatque viros spirare metallo.
Par vestitus equis, ferrata fronte minantur,
Ferratosque movent securi vulneris armos.¹*

The bending plate is hook't on limbes ore-spread,

Fearfull to fight, Steele images seem'd lead,
And men to breathe in mettall with them bred,

Like furniture for horse, with steeld head,
They threat, and safe from wound,
With barr'd limbs tread the ground.

Loe-heere a description much resembling the equipage of a complete French-man-at-

¹ ARIOSTO, *Orl. cant. xii. stan. 30.*

¹ GLAUD. in *Ruff. l. ii. 358.*

armes with all his bards. Plutarke reporteth that Demetrius caused two armours to be made, each one weighing six score pounds: one for himselfe, the other for Alcinus, the chiefe man of war that was next to him: whereas all common armours weighed but three score.

CHAPTER X.

Of Bookes.

I MAKE no doubt but it shall often befall me to speake of things which are better, and with more truth, handled by such as are their crafts-masters. Here is simply an essay of my natural faculties, and no whit of those I have acquired. And he that shall tax me with ignorance shall have no great victory at my hands; for hardly could I give others reasons for my discourses that give none unto my selfe, and am not well satisfied with them. He that shall make search after knowledge, let him seek it where it is: there is nothing I professe lesse. These are but my fantasies by which I endeavour not to make things known, but my selfe. They may haply one day be knowne unto me, or have bin at other times, according as fortune hath brought me where they were declared or manifested. But I remember them no more. And if I be a man of some reading, yet I am a man of no remembering, I conceive no certainty, except it bee to give notice how farre the knowledge I have of it doth now reach. Let no man busie himselfe about the matters, but on the fashion I give them. Let that which I borrow be survaied, and then tell me whether I have made good choice of ornaments to beautifie and set forth the invention which ever comes from mee. For I make others to relate (not after mine owne fantasie, but as it best falleth out) what I cannot so well expresse, either through unskill of language or want of judgement. I number not my borrowings, but I weigh them. And if I would have made their number to prevail, I would have had twice as many. They are all, or almost all, of so famous and ancient names, that me thinks they sufficiently name themselves without mee. If in reasons, comparisons, and arguments, I transplante any into my soile, or confound them with mine owne, I purposely conceale the author, thereby to bridle the rashnesse of these hastie censures that are so headlong cast upon all manner of compositions, namely young writings of men yet living; and in vulgare that admit all the world to

talke of them, and which seemeth to convince the conception and publike designe alike. I will have them to give Plutarch a bob upon mine own lips, and vex themselves in wronging Seneca in mee. My weaknesse must be hidden under such great credits. I will love him that shal trace or unfeather me; I meane through clearnesse of judgement, and by the onely distinction of the force and beautie of my discourses. For my selfe, who for want of memorie am ever to seeke how to trie and refine them by the knowledge of their country, knowe perfectly, by measuring mine owne strength, that my soyle is no way capable of some over-pretious flowers that therein I find set, and that all the fruits of my increase could not make it amends. This am I bound to answer for if I hinder my selfe, if there be either vanitie or fault in my discourses that I perceive not or am not able to discern if they be showed me. For many faults do often escape our eyes; but the infirmities of judgement consisteth in not being able to perceive them when another discovereth them unto us. Knowledge and truth may be in us without judgement, and we may have judgment without them: yea, the acknowledgement of ignorance is one of the best and surest testimonies of judgement that I can finde. I have no other sergeant of hand to marshall my rapsodies than fortune. And looke how my humours or conceits present themselves, so I shuffle them up. Sometimes they prease out thicke and three fold, and other times they come out languishing one by one. I will have my naturall and ordinarie pace seene as loose and as shuffling as it is. As I am, so I goe on plodding. And besides, these are matters that a man may not be ignorant of, and rashly and casually to speake of them. I would wish to have a more perfect understanding of things, but I will not purchase it so deare as it cost. My intention is to passe the remainder of my life quietly and not laboriously, in rest and not in care. There is nothing I will trouble or vex my selfe about, no not for science it selfe, what esteeme soever it be of. I doe not search and tosse over books but for an honest recreation to please, and pastime to delight my selfe: or if I studie, I only endeavour to find out the knowledge that teacheth or handleth the knowledge of my selfe, and which may instruct me how to die well and how to live well.

Has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus. 1

My horse must sweating runne,
That this goale may be wonne.

If in reading I fortune to meet with any difficult points, I fret not my selfe about them, but after I have given them a charge or two, I leave them as I found them. Should I earnestly plod upon them, I should loose both time and my selfe, for I have a skipping wit. What I see not at the first view, I shall lesse see it if I opinionate my selfe upon it. I doe nothing without blithnesse; and an over obstinate continuation and plodding contention doth dazle, dul, and wearie the same: my sight is thereby confounded and diminished. I must therefore withdraw it, and at fittes goe to it againe. Even as to judge well of the lustre of scarlet we are taught to cast our eyes over it, in running over by divers glances, sodaine glimpses and reiterated reprisings. If one booke seeme tedious unto me I take another, which I follow not with any earnestnesse, except it be at such houres as I am idle, or that I am weary with doing nothing. I am not greatly affected to new books, because ancient Authors are, in my judgement, more full and pithy: nor am I much addicted to Greeke books, forasmuch as my understanding cannot well rid his worke with a childish and apprentice intelligence. Amongst moderne bookes meerly pleasant, I esteeme Bocace his Decameron, Rabelais, and the kisses of John the second (if they may be placed under this title), worth the paines-taking to reade them. As for Amadis and such like trash of writings, they had never the credit so much as to allure my youth to delight in them. This I will say more, either boldly or rashly, that this old and heave-pased minde of mine will no more be pleased with Aristotle, or tickled with good Ovid: his facility and quaint inventions, which heretofore have so ravished me, they can now a days scarcely entertaine me. I speake my minde freely of all things, yea, of such as peradventure exceed my sufficiency, and that no way I hold to be of my jurisdiction. What my conceit is of them is told also to manifest the proportion of my insight, and not the measure of things. If at any time I finde my selfe distasted of Platoes Axiochus, as of a forceles worke, due regard had to such an Author, my judgement doth nothing beleeve it selfe: It is not so fond-hardy, or selfe-conceited, as it durst dare to oppose it selfe against the authority of so many other famous ancient judgements, which he reputeth his regents and masters, and with whom hee had rather erre. He chafeth with, and condemneth himselfe, either to rely on the superficial sense, being unable to pierce into the centre, or to view the thing by some false lustre. He is pleased only to warrant himselfe from trouble and unruli-

nesse: As for weaknesse, he acknowledgeth and ingeniously avoweth the same. He thinks to give a just interpretation to the apperances which his conception presents unto him, but they are shallow and imperfect. Most of Æsopes fables have divers senses, and severall interpretations: Those which Mythologize them, chuse some kinde of colour well suting with the fable; but for the most part, it is no other than the first and superficial glosse: There are others more quicke, more sinnowie, more essentiall, and more internall, into which they could never penetrate; and thus thinke I with them. But to follow my course, I have ever deemed that in Poesie, Virgil, Lucretius, Catullus, and Horace, doe doubtles by far hold the first ranke; and especially Virgil in his Georgiks, which I esteeme to be the most accomplished peece of worke of Poesie: In comparison of which one may easily discern, that there are some passages in the Æneidos to which the Author (had he lived) would no doubt have given some review or correction: The fifth booke whereof is (in my mind) the most absolutely perfect. I also love Lucan, and willingly read him, not so much for his stile, as for his owne worth and truth of his opinion and judgement. As for good Terence. I allow the quaintnesse and grace of his Latine tongue, and judge him wonderfull conceited and apt, lively to represent the motions and passions of the minde, and the condition of our manners: our actions make me often remember him. I can never reade him so often but still I discover some new grace and beautie in him. Those that lived about Virgil's time, complained that some would compare Lucretius unto him. I am of opinion that verily it is an unequall comparison; yet can I hardly assure my selfe in this opinion whensoever I finde my selfe entangled in some notable passage of Lucretius. If they were moved at this comparison, what would they say now of the fond, hardy and barbarous stupiditie of those which now adayes compare Ariosto unto him? Nay, what would Ariosto say of it himselfe?

*O seculum insipiens et infacetum.*¹

O age that hath no wit,
And small conceit in it.

I thinke our ancestors had also more reason to cry out against those that blushed not to equall Plautus unto Terence (who makes more show to be a Gentleman) than Lucretius unto Virgil. This one thing doth greatly advantage the estimation and preferring of Terence, that the father of the

¹ CATUL. *Epig.* xl

Roman eloquence, of men of his quality doth so often make mention of him; and the censure which the chiefe Judge of the Roman Poets giveth of his companion. It hath often come unto my minde, how such as in our dayes give themselves to composing of comedies (as the Italians who are very happy in them) employ three or foure arguments of Terence and Plautus to make up one of theirs. In one onely comedy they will huddle up five or six of Bocaces tales. That which makes them so to charge themselves with matter, is the distrust they have of their owne sufficiency, and that they are not able to undergoe so heavie a burthen with their owne strength. They are forced to finde a body on which they may rely and leane themselves; and wanting matter of their owne wherewith to please us, they will have the story or tale to busie and amuse us: where as in my Authors it is cleane contrary: The elegancies, the perfections and ornaments of his manner of speech, make us neglect and lose the longing for his subject. His quaintnesse and grace doe still retaine us to him. He is every where pleasantly concealed,

*Liquidus puroque similis annis,*¹

So clearely-neate, so neatly-cleare,
As he a fine-pure River were,

and doth so replenish our minde with his graces that we forget those of the fable. The same consideration drawes me somewhat further. I perceive that good and ancient Poets have shunned the affectation and enquest, not only of fantastick, new fangled, Spagniolized, and Petrarchistickall elevations, but also of more sweet and sparing inventions, which are the ornament of all the Poeticall workes of succeeding ages. Yet is there no competent Judge that findeth them wanting in those Ancient ones, and that doth not much more admire that smoothly equall neatnesse, continued sweetnesse, and flourishing comelinesse of Catullus his Epigrams, than all the sharpe quips and witty girds wherewith Martiall doth whet and embellish the conclusions of his. It is the same reason I spake of erewhile, as Martiall of himselfe. *Minus illi ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum materia successerat.*² "He needed the lesse worke with his wit, in place whereof matter came in supply." The former without being moved or pricked cause themselves to be heard lowd enough: they have matter to laugh at every where, and need not tickle themselves; where as these must have foraine helpe:

according as they have lesse spirit, they must have more body. They leape on horse-backe, because they are not sufficiently strong in their legs to march on foot. Even as in our dances, those base conditioned men that keepe dancing-schooles, because they are unfit to represent the port and decency of our nobilitie, endeavour to get commendation by dangerous lofty trickes, and other strange tumbler-like frisks and motions. And some Ladies make a better shew of their countenances in those dances, wherein are divers changes, cuttings, turnings, and agitations of the body, than in some dances of state and gravity, where they need but simply to tread a naturall measure, represent an unaffected cariage, and their ordinary grace; And as I have also seene some excellent Lordians, or Clownes, attired in their ordinary worky-day clothes, and with a common homely countenance, afford us all the pleasure that may be had from their art: but prentises and learners that are not of so high a forme, besmeare their faces, to disguise themselves, and in motions counterfeit strange visages and antickes, to enduce us to laughter. This my conception is no where better discerned than in the comparison betwene Virgils *Aeneidos* and Orlando Furioso. The first is scene to soare aloft with full-spread wings, and with so high and strong a pitch, ever following his point; the other faintly to hover and flutter from tale to tale, and as it were skipping from bough to bough, always distrusting his owne wings, except it be for some short flight, and for feare his strength and breath should faile him, to sit downe at every fields-end;

*Excursusque brevis tentat.*¹

Out-lopes sometimes he doth assay,
But very short, and as he may.

Loe here then, concerning this kinde of subjects, what Authors please me best: As for my other lesson, which somewhat more mixeth profit with pleasure, whereby I learne to range my opinions and addresse my conditions, the Bookes that serve me thereunto are Plutarke (since he spake French) and Seneca; both have this excellent commodity for my humour, that the knowledge I seeke in them is there so scatteringly and loosely handled, that whosoever readeth them is not tied to plod long upon them, whereof I am incapable. And so are Plutarques little workes and Senecas Epistles, which are the best and most profitable parts of their writings. It is no great matter to draw mee to them, and I leave them where I list. For

¹ HOR. l. ii. *Epist.* ii. 120.

² MART. *Pref.* l. viii.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iv. 194.

they succeed not and depend not one of another. Both jumpe and suite together, in most true and profitable opinions: And fortune brought them both into the world in one age. Both were Tutors unto two Roman Emperours: Both were strangers, and came from farre Countries; both rich and mighty in the common-wealth, and in credit with their masters. Their instruction is the prime and creame of Philosophy, and presented with a plaine, unaffected, and pertinent fashion. Plutarke is more uniforme and constant; Seneca more waving and diverse. This doth labour, force, and extend himselfe, to arme and strengthen vertue against weaknesse, feare, and vitious desires; the other seemeth nothing so much to feare their force or attempt, and in a manner scorneth to hasten or change his pace about them, and to put himselfe upon his guard. Plutarke's opinions are Platonick, gentle and accomodable unto civill societie; Seneca's Stoicall and Epicurian, further from common use, but in my conceit more proper, particular, and more solid. It appeareth in Seneca that he somewhat inclineth and yeeldeth to the tyrannie of the Emperours which were in his daies; for I verily believe, it is with a forced judgement he condemneth the cause of those noble-minded murderers of Cæsar; Plutarke is every where free and open hearted; Seneca full-fraught with points and sallies; Plutarke stuf with matters. The former doth move and enflame you more; the latter content, please, and pay you better: This doth guide you, the other drive you on. As for Cicero, of all his works, those that treat of Philosophie (namely morall) are they which best serve my turne, and square with my intent. But boldly to confess the truth (for, since the bars of impudencie were broken downe, all curbing is taken away), his manner of writing seemeth verie tedious unto me, as doth all such like stuffe. For his prefaces, definitions, divisions, and Etymologies consume the greatest part of his works; whatsoever quick, wittie, and pithie conceit is in him is surcharged and confounded by those his long and far-fetcht preambles. If I bestow but one hour in reading them, which is much for me, and let me call to minde what substance or juice I have drawne from him, for the most part I find nothing but wind and ostentation in him; for he is not yet come to the arguments which make for his purpose, and reasons that properly concerne the knot or pith I seek after. These Logickall and Aristotelian ordinances are not availfull for me, who onely endeavour to become more wise and sufficient, and not more wittie or elo-

quent. I would have one begin with the last point: I understand sufficiently what death and voluptuousnesse are: let not a man busie himselfe to anatomize them. At the first reading of a booke I seeke for good and solid reasons that may instruct me how to sustaine their assaults. It is neither grammaticall subtilties nor logicall quiddities, nor the wittie contexture of choice words or arguments and syllogismes, that will serve my turne. I like those discourses that give the first charge to the strongest part of the doubt; his are but flourishes, and languish everywhere. They are good for schooles, at the barre, or for Orators and Preachers, where we may slumber: and though we wake a quarter of an hour after, we may finde and traee him soone enough. Such a manner of speech is fit for those judges that a man would corrupt by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, or for children and the common people, unto whom a man must tell all, and see what the event would be. I would not have a man go about and labour by circumlocutions to induce and winne me to attention, and that (as our Heralds or Criers do) they shall ring out their words: Now heare me, now listen, or ho-yes. The Romanes in their religion were wont to say, "*Hoc age*," which in ours we say, "*Sursum corda*." There are so many lost words for me. I come readie prepared from my house. I neede no allurement nor sawce, my stomacke is good enough to digest raw meat: And whereas with these preparatives and flourishes, or preambles, they thinke to sharpen my taste or stir my stomacke, they cloy and make it wallowish. Shall the privilege of times excuse me from this sacrilegious boldnesse, to deem Platoes Dialogismes to be as languishing, by overfilling and stuffing his matter? And to bewaile the time that a man who had so many thousands of things to utter, spends about so many, so long, so vaine, and idle interloquutions, and preparatives? My ignorance shall better excuse me, in that I see nothing in the beautie of his language. I generally enquire after bookes that use sciences, and not after such as institute them. The two first, and Plinie, with others of their ranke, have no *Hoc age* in them, they will have to doe with men that have forewarned themselves; or if they have, it is a materiall and substantiall *Hoc age*, and that hath his bodie apart. I likewise love to read the Epistles and *ad Atticum*, not onely because they containe a most ample instruction of the historie and affaires of his times, but much more because in them I descrie his private humours. For (as I have said elsewhere) I am wonderful curious to discover and know

the minde, the soul, the genuine disposition and naturall judgement of my authors. A man ought to judge their sufficiency and not their customes, nor them by the shew of their writings, which they set forth on this world's theatre. I have sorrowed a thousand times that ever we lost the booke that Brutus writ of Vertue. Oh it is a goodly thing to learne the Theorike of such as understand the practice well. But forso-much as the Sermon is one thing and the Preacher an other, I love as much to see Brutus in Plutarke as in himself: I would rather make choice to know certainly what talk he had in his tent with some of his familiar friends, the night fore-going the battell, than the speech he made the morrow after to his Armie; and what he did in his chamber or closet, than what in the senate or market place. As for Cicero, I am of the common judgement, that besides learning there was no exquisite eloquence in him: He was a good citizen, of an honest, gentle nature, as are commonly fat and burly men: for so was he: But to speake truly of him, full of ambitious vanity and remisse niceness. And I know not well how to excuse him, in that he deemed his Poesie worthy to be published. It is no great imperfection to make bad verses, but it is an imperfection in him that he never perceived how unworthy they were of the glorie of his name. Concerning his eloquence, it is beyond all comparison, and I verily beleve that none shall ever equall it. Cicero the younger, who resembled his father in nothing but in name, commanding in Asia, chanced one day to have many strangers at his board, and amongst others, one Cæstius sitting at the lower end, as the manner is to thrust in at great mens tables: Cicero inquired of one of his men what he was, who told him his name, but he dreaming on other matters, and having forgotten what answer his man made him, asked him his name twice or thrice more: the servant, because he would not be troubled to tell him one thing so often, and by some circumstance to make him to know him better, "It is," said he, "the same Cæstius of whom some have told you that, in respect of his owne, maketh no account of your fathers eloquence." Cicero being suddenly mooved, commanded the said poore Cæstius to be presently taken from the table, and well whipt in his presence: Lo heere an uncivill and barbarous host. Even amongst those which (all things considered) have deemed his eloquence matchlesse and incomparable, others there have been who have not spared to note some faults in it. As great Brutus said, that it was an eloquence broken, halting, and disjoynted,

fractam et elumbem: "Incoherent and sinnowlesse." Those Orators that lived about his age, reproved also in him the curious care he had of a certaine long cadence at the end of his clauses, and noted these words, *esse videatur*, which he so often useth. As for me, I rather like a cadence that falleth shorter, cut like Iambikes: yet doth he sometimes confounde his numbers, but it is seldome: I have especially observed this one place: "*Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallet, quam esse senem, antequam essem*."¹ But I had rather not be an old man, so long as I might be, than to be old before I should be." Historians are my right hand, for they are pleasant and easie; and therewithall the man with whom I desire generally to be acquainted may more lively and perfectly be discovered in them than in any other composition: the varietie and truth of his inward conditions, in grosse and by retale: the diversitie of the meanes of his collection and composing, and of the accidents that threaten him. Now those that write of mens lives, forasmuch as they amusse and busie themselves more about counsels than events, more about that which commeth from within than that which appeareth outward; they are fittest for me: And that's the reason why Plutarke above all in that kind doth best please me. Indeed I am not a little grieved that we have not a dozen of Laertius, or that he is not more knowne, or better understood; for I am no lesse curious to know the fortunes and lives of these great masters of the world than to understand the diversitie of their decrees and conceits. In this kind of studie of historie a man must, without distinction, tosse and turne over all sorts of Authors, both old and new, both French and others, if he will learne the things they so diversly treat of. But me thinks that Cæsar above all doth singularly deserve to be studied, not onely for the understanding of the historie as of himselfe; so much perfection and excellencie is there in him more than in others, although Salust be reckoned one of the number. Verily I read that author with a little more reverence and respects than commonly men reade profane and humane Workes: sometimes considering him by his actions and wonders of his greatnesse, and other times waighting the puritie and inimitable polishing and elegancie of his tongue, which (as Cicero saith) hath not onely exceeded all historians, but haply Cicero himselfe: with such sinceritie in his judgement, speaking of his enemies, that except the false colours wherewith he

goeth about to cloake his bad cause, and the corruption and filthinesse of his pestilent ambition, I am perswaded there is nothing in him to be found fault with : and that he hath been over-sparing to speake of himselfe ; for so many notable and great things could never be executed by him ; unless he had put more of his owne into them than he setteth downe. I love those Historians that are either very simple or most excellent. The simple who have nothing of their owne to adde unto the storie and have but the care and diligence to collect whatsoever come to their knowledge, and sincerely and faithfully to register all things, without choice or culling, by the naked truth leave our judgment more entire and better satisfied.

Such amongst others (for examples sake) plaine and well-meaning Froissard, who in his enterprize hath marched with so free and genuine a puritie, that having committed some oversight, he is neither ashamed to acknowledge nor afraid to correct the same, wheresoever he hath either notice or warning of it : and who representeth unto us the diversitie of the newes then current and the different reports that were made unto him. The subject of an historie should be naked, bare, and formelesse ; each man according to his capacitie or understanding may reap commoditie out of it. The curious and most excellent have the sufficiency to cull and chuse that which is worthie to be knowne and may select of two relations that which is most likely : from the condition of Princes and of their humours, they conclude their counsels and attribute fit words to them : they assume a just authoritie and bind our faith to theirs. But truly that belongs not to many. Such as are betwene both (which is the most common fashion), it is they that spoil all ; they will needs chew our meat for us and take upon them a law to judge, and by consequence to square and encline the storie according to their fantasie ; for, where the judgement bendeth one way, a man cannot chuse but wrest and turne his narration that way. They undertake to chuse things worthy to bee knowne, and now and then conceal either a word or a secret action from us, which would much better instruct us : omitting such things as they understand not as incredible : and haply such matters as they know not how to declare, either in good Latin or tolerable French. Let them boldly install their eloquence and discourse : Let them censure at their pleasure, but let them also give us leave to judge after them : And let them neither alter nor dispense by their abridgements and choice anything

belonging to the substance of the matter ; but let them rather send it pure and entire with all her dimensions unto us. Most commonly (as chiefly in our age) this charge of writing histories is committed unto base, ignorant, and mechanickall kind of people, only for this consideration that they can speake well ; as if we sought to learne the Grammer of them ; and they have some reason, being only hired to that end, and publishing nothing but their tittle-tattle to aime at nothing else so much. Thus with store of choice and quaint words, and wyre drawne phrases, they huddle up and make a hodge-pot of a laboured contexture of the reports which they gather in the market places or such other assemblies. The only good histories are those that are written by such as commanded or were imploied themselves in weighty affaires or that were partners in the conduct of them, or that at least have had the fortune to manage others of like qualitie. Such in a manner are all the Græcians and Romans. For many eye-witnesses having written of one same subject (as it hapned in those times when Greatnesse and Knowledge did commonly meet) if any fault or over-sight have past them, it must be deemed exceeding light and upon some doubtfull accident. What may a man expect at a Phisitions hand that discourseth of warre, or of a bare Scholler treating of Princes secret designes ? If we shall but note the religion which the Romans had in that, wee need no other example : Asinius Pollio found some mistaking or oversight in Cæsars Commentaries, whereinto he was faine, only because he could not possible oversee all things with his owne eyes that hapned in his Armie, but was faine to rely on the reports of particular men, who often related untruths unto him ; or else because he had not been curiously advertized and distinctly informed by his Lieutenants and Captaines of such matters as they in his absence had managed or effected. Whereby may be seen that nothing is so hard or so uncertaine to be found out as the certaintie of the truth, sithence no man can put any assured confidence concerning the truth of a battel, neither in the knowledge of him that was Generall or commanded over it, nor in the soldiers that fought, of anything that hath hapned amongst them ; except after the manner of a strict point of law, the severall witnesses are brought and examined face to face, and that all matters be nicely and thorowly sifted by the objects and trials of the successe of every accident. Truly the knowledge we have of our owne affaires is much more barren and feeble. But this

hath sufficiently been handled by Bodin, and agreeing with my conception. Somewhat to aid the weakness of my memorie and to assist her great defects; for it hath often been my chance to light upon bookes which I supposed to be new and never to have read, which I had not understanding diligently read and run over many years before, and all bescribed with my notes: I have a while since accustomed my selfe to note at the end of my booke (I meane such as I purpose to read but once) the time I made an end to read it, and to set downe what censure or judgement I gave of it; that so it may at least at another time represent unto my mind the aire and generall idea I had conceived of the Author in reading him. I will here set downe the Copie of some of my annotations, and especially what I noted upon my Guicciardine about ten years since: (For what language soever my books speake unto me I speake unto them in mine owne.) He is a diligent Historiographer and from whom in my conceit a man may as exactly learne the truth of such affaires as passed in his time, as of any other writer whatsoever: and the rather because himselfe hath been an Actor of most part of them and in verie honourable place. There is no signe or apparence that ever he disguised or coloured any matter, either through hatred, malice, favour, or vanitie; whereof the free and impartiall judgements he giveth of great men, and namely of those by whom he had been advanced or employed in his important charges, as of Pope Clement the seaventh, beareth undoubted testimony. Concerning the parts wherein he most goeth about to prevaile, which are his digressions and discourses, many of them are verie excellent and enriched with faire ornaments, but he hath too much pleased himselfe in them: for endeavouring to omit nothing that might be spoken, having so full and large a subject, and almost infinite, he proveth somewhat languishing, and giveth a taste of a kind of scholasticall tedious babbling. Moreover, I have noted this, that of so severall and divers armes, successes, and effects he judgeth of; of so many and variable motives, alterations, and counsels, that he relateth, he never referreth any one unto vertue, religion or conscience. as if they were all extinguished and banished the world. and of all actions how glorious soever in apparence they be of themselves, he doth ever impute the cause of them to some vicious and blame-worthie occasion, or to some commoditie and profit. It is impossible to imagine that amongst so infinite a number of actions whereof he

judgeth, some one have not been produced and compassed by way of reason. No corruption could ever possesse men so universally but that some one must of necessity escape the contagion; which makes me to feare he hath had some distaste or blame in his passion, and it hath haply fortified that he hath judged or esteemed of others according to himselfe. In my Philip de Comines there is this: In him you shall find a pleasing-sweet and gently-gliding speech, fraught with a purely sincere simplicitie, his narration pure and unaffected, and wherein the Authours unspotted good meaning doth evidently appeare, void of all manner of vanitie or ostentation speaking of himselfe, and free from all affection or envie-speaking of others; his discourses and perswasions accompanied more with a well-meaning zeale and meere veritie than with any laboured and exquisite sufficiency, and all through with gravitie and authoritie, representing a man well-borne and brought up in high negotiations. Upon the Memoires and historie of Monsieur du Bellay: It is ever a well-pleasing thing to see matters written by those that have assaid how and in what manner they ought to be directed and managed: yet can it not be denied but that in both these Lords there will manifestly appeare a great declination from a free libertie of writing, which clearely shineth in ancient writers of their kind: as in the Lord of Iouinille, familiar unto Saint Lewis; Eginard, Chancellor unto Charlemaine; and of more fresh memorie in Philip de Comines. This is rather a declamation or pleading for king Francis against the Emperour Charles the fifth, than an Historie. I will not beleieve they have altered or changed any thing concerning the generalitie of matters, but rather to wrest and turne the judgement of the events many times against reason, to our advantage, and to omit whatsoever they supposed to be doubtful or ticklish in their masters life: they have made a business of it: witness the recoylings of the Lords of Momorancy and Byron, which therein are forgotten; and which is more, you shall not so much as find the name of the Ladie of Estampes mentioned at all. A man may sometimes colour and haply hide secret actions, but absolutely to conceal that which all the world knoweth, and especially such things as have drawne-on publike effects, and of such consequence, it is an inexcusable defect, or as I may say unpardonable oversight. To conclude, who-soever desireth to have perfect information and knowledge of king Francis the first, and of the things hapned in his time, let him addresse himselfe elsewhere

If he will give any credit unto me. The profit he may reap here is by the particular description of the battels and exploits of warre wherein these gentlemen were present ; some privie conferences, speeches, or secret actions of some princes that then lived, and the practices managed, or negotiations directed by the Lord of Langeay, in which doubtless are verie many things well worthy to be knowne, and diverse discourses not vulgare.

CHAPTER XI.

Of Crueltie.

METHINKS Virtue is another manner of thing, and much more noble than the inclinations unto Goodnesse, which in us are engendered. Mindes well borne, and directed by themselves, follow one same path, and in their actions represent the same visage that the vertuous doe. But Vertue importeth and soundeth somewhat I wot not what greater and more active than by an happy complexion, gently and peaceably, to suffer itself to be led or drawne to follow reason. He that through a naturall facilitie and genuine mildnesse should neglect or contemne injuries received, should no doubt performe a rare action, and worthy commendation : but he who being toucht and stung to the quicke with any wrong or offence received, should arme himselfe with reason against this furiously blind desire of revenge, and in the end after a great conflict yeeld himselfe master over it, should doubtlesse doe much more. The first should doe well, the other vertuously : the one action might be termed Goodnesse, the other Vertue. For it seemeth that the very name of Vertue presupposeth difficultie, and inferreth resistance, and cannot well exercise it selfe without an enemie. It is peradventure the reason why we call God good, mightie, liberrall, and just, but we term him not vertuous. His workes are all voluntarie, unforced, and without compulsion. Of Philosophers, not only Stoicks, but also Epicureans—(which phrasing I borrow of the common received opinion, which is false, whatsoever the nimble saying or wittie quipping of Arcesilaus implied, who answered the man that upbraided him, how divers men went from his schoole to the Epicureans, but none came from thence to him : I easily beleeve it (said he) for of

cocks are many capons made, but no man could ever yet make a cock of a capon. For truly in constancie and rigor of opinion and strictnesse of precepts, the Epicurean sect doth in no sort yeeld to the Stoicke. And a Stoicke acknowledging a better faith than those disputers who, to contend with Epicurus and make sport with him, make him to infer and say what he never meant, wresting and wyre-drawing his words to a contrarie sense, arguing and silogizing, by the Grammarians privilege, another meaning, by the manner of his speech and another opinion than that they knew he had either in his minde or manners, saith that he left to be an Epicurean for this one consideration amongst others, that he findeth their pitch to be over high and inaccessible : *Et ii qui φιλόδοξοι vocantur, sunt φιλόκαλοι et φιλοδίκαιοι omnesque virtutes et volunt et retinent*.¹ " And those that are called lovers of pleasures, are lovers of honestie and justice, and doe reverence and retaine all sorts of vertue.")—Of Stoicke and Epicurean Philosophers, I say, there are divers who have judged that it was not sufficient to have the minde well placed, well ordered, and well disposed unto vertue ; it was not enough to have our resolutions and discourse beyond all the affronts and checks of fortune ; but that, moreover, it was verie requisite to seeke for occasions whereby a man might come to the triall of it. They will diligently quest and seeke out for paine, smart, necessitie, want, and contempt, that so they may combat them, and keepe their minde in breath : *Multum sibi adjicit virtus lacerata* : "Vertue provoked addes much to it selfe." It is one of the reasons why Epaminondas (who was of a third sect) by a verie lawfull way refuseth some riches fortune had put into his hands, to the end (as he saith) he might have cause to strive and resist povertie, in which want and extremitie he ever continued after.

Socrates did in my minde more undauntedly enure himselfe to this humor, maintaining for his exercise the peevish frowardnesse of his wife, than which no essay can be more vexfull, and is a continuall fighting at the sharpe. Metellus of all the Roman senators he onely having undertaken with the power of vertue, to endure the violence of Saturninus Tribune of the people in Rome, who by maine force went about to have a most unjust law passe in favour of the Commualtie : by which opposition, having incurred all the capital paines that Saturninus had imposed on such as should refuse it, intertained those that

¹ SEN. *Epist.* xiii.

led him to the place of execution, with such speeches : That to doe evil was a thing verie easie, and too demissely base, and to doe well where was no danger, was a common thing ; but to doe well where was both perill and opposition, was the peculiar office of a man of vertue. These words of Metellus doe clearly represent unto us what I would have verified ; which is, that vertue rejecteth facilitie to be her companion : And that an easefull, pleasant, and declining way by which the regular steps of a good inclination of nature are directed is not the way of true vertue. She requireth a craggie, rough, and thornie way. She would either have strange difficulties to wrestle withall (as that of Metellus) by whose meanes fortune her selfe is pleased to breake the roughnesse of his course ; or such inward incommbrances as the disordinate appetites and imperfections of our condition bring unto her. Hitherto I have come at good ease ; but at the end of this discourse one thing commeth into my minde, which is that the soule of Socrates, which is absolute the perfectest that ever came to my knowledge, would, according to my accompt, prove a soule deserving but little commendation : For I can conceive no manner of violence or vicious conscupiscence in him : I can imagine no manner of difficultie or compulsion in the whole course of his vertue. I know his reason so powerfull, and so absolute mistress over him, that she can never give him way in any vicious desire, and will not suffer it so much as to breed in him. To a vertue so exquisite and so high raised as his is, I can perswade nothing. Me thinks I see it march with a victorious and triumphant pace, in pompe and at ease, without let or disturbance. If vertue cannot shine but by resisting contrarie appetites, shall we then say it cannot passe without the assistance of vice, and oweth him this, that by his meanes it attaineth to honour and credit ? What should also betide of that glorious and generous Epicurean voluptuousnesse that makes accompt effeminately to pamper vertue in her lap, and there wantonly to entertaine it, allowing it for her recreation, shame, reproch, agues, povertie, death, and tortures ? If I presuppose that perfect vertue is knowne by combating sorrow and patiently undergoing paine, by tolerating the fits and agonies of the gout, without stirring out of his place ; if for a necessarie object I appoint her sharpnesse and difficultie, what shall become of that vertue which hath attained so high a degree, as it doth not only despise all manner of paine, but rather joyceth at it, and when a strong fit of the collicke shall

assaille it, to cause it selfe to be tickled, as that is which the Epicureans have established, and whereof divers amongst them have by their actions left most certaine proofes unto us ? As also others have, whom in effect I finde to have exceeded the verie rules of their discipline ; witness Cato the younger ; when I see him die, tearing and mangling his entrails, I cannot simply content my selfe to beleieve that at that time he had his soule wholly exempted from all trouble or free from vexation : I cannot imagine he did only maintaine himselfe in this march or course which the rule of the Stoike sect had ordained unto him, settled, without alteration or emotion, and impassible. There was, in my conceit, in this mans vertue overmuch cheerefulness and youthfulness to stay there. I verily beleieve he felt a kind of pleasure and sensualitie in so noble an action, and that therein he more pleased himself than in any other he ever performed in his life. *Sic abiit à vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet.*¹ "So departed he his life, that he rejoiced to have found an occasion of death." I doe so constantly beleieve it, that I make a doubt whether he would have had the occasion of so noble an exploit taken from him. And if the goodness which induced him to embrace publike commodities more than his owne did not bridle me, I should easily fall into this opinion, that he thought himselfe greatly beholding unto fortune to have put his vertue unto so noble a triall, and to have favoured that robber to tread the ancient libertie of his countrie under foot. In which action me thinks I read a kinde of unspeakable joy in his minde, and a motion of extraordinary pleasure, joined to a manlike voluptuousnesse, at what time it beheld the worthinesse, and considered the generositie and haughtinesse of his enterprise,

*Deliberata morte ferocior.*²

Then most in fiercenesse did he passe,
When he of death resolved was.

not urged or set-on by any hope of glorie, as the popular and effeminate judgements have judged : For, that consideration is over base, to touch so generous, so haughtie, and so constant a heart ; but for the beautie of the thing it selfe, which he, who managed all the springs and directed all the wards thereof, saw much more clearer, and in its perfection, than we can doe. Philosophie hath done me a pleasure to judge that so honorable an action had been undecently placed in any other life than in Catoes, and

¹ CIC. *Tusc. Qu. l. i.*

² HOR. *l. i. Od. xxvii. xxix.* Cleopatra.

that onely unto his it appertained to make such an end. Therefore did he with reason perswade both his sonne and the Senators that accompanied him, to provide otherwise for themselves. *Cato qui quum incredibilem naturam tribuisset gravitatem, eamque ipse perpetua constantia roboravisset, semperque in proposito consilio permansisset: moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus aspiciendus erat:* "Whereas nature had afforded Cato an incredible gravitie, and he had strengthened it by continuall constancie, and ever had stood firme in his purposed desseignes, rather to die than behold the Tyrants face." Each death should be such as the life hath been. By dying we become no other than we were. I ever interpret a mans death by his life. And if a man shall tell me of any one undanted in apparance, joyned unto a weake life; I imagine it to proceed of some weake cause, and suitable to his life. The ease therefore of his death, and the facilitie he had acquired by the vigor of his minde, shall we say, it ought to abate something of the lustre of his vertue? And which of those that have their spirits touched, be it never so little, with the true tincture of Philosophie, can content himselfe to imagine Socrates, onely, free from feare and passion, in the accident of his imprisonment, of his fetters, and of his condemnation? And who doth not perceive in him, not onely constancie and resolution (which were ever his ordinarie qualities) but also a kinde of I wot not what new contentment, and carelesse rejoycing in his last behaviour, and discourses? By the startling at the pleasure, which he feeleth in clawing of his legges, after his fetters were taken-off; doth he not manifestly declare an equal glee and joy in his soule for being rid of his former incommodities, and entering into the knowledge of things to come? Cato shall pardon me (if he please) his death is more tragical, and further extended, whereas this in a certaine manner is more faire and glorious. Aristippus answered those that bewailed the same, "When I die, I pray the Gods send me such a death. A man shall plainly perceive in the minds of these two men, and of such as imitate them (for I make a question whether ever they could be matched) so perfect an habitude unto vertue, that it was even converted into their complexion. It is no longer a painfull vertue, nor by the ordinances of reason, for the maintaineing of which their minde must be strengthened: It is the verie essence of their soule; it is her naturall and ordinarie habit. They have made it such, by a long exercise and observing the rules and precepts of Philosophie, having lighted upon a faire and rich nature. Those vicious

passions which breed in us find no entrance in them. The vigor and constancie of their soules, doth suppress and extinguish all manner of concupiscences so soone as they but begin to move. Now that it be not more glorious, by an undaunted and divine resolution, to hinder the growth of temptations, and for a man to frame himselfe to vertue, so that the verie seeds of vice be cleane rooted out; than by mayne force to hinder their progresse; and having suffred himselfe to be surprised by the first assaults of passions, to arme and bandie himselfe, to stay their course and to suppress them: And that this second effect be not also much fairer than to be simply stored with a facile and gentle nature, and of it selfe distasted and in dislike with licentiousnesse and vice, I am perswaded there is no doubt. For this third and last manner seemeth in some sort to make a man innocent, but not vertuous: free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well. Seeing this condition is so neere unto imperfection and weaknesse, that I know not well how to cleare their confines and distinctions. The verie names of goodnesse and innocence, are for this respect in some sort names of contempt. I see that many vertues, as chastitie, sobrietie, and temperance, may come unto us by meanes of corporall defects and imbecillitie. Constancie in dangers (if it may be termed constancie) contempt of death, patiencie in misfortunes, may happen, and are often seen in men, for want of good judgement in such accidents, and that they are not apprehended for such as they are indeed. Lacke of apprehension and stupiditie doe sometimes counterfeit vertuous effects. As I have often seen come to passe, that some men are commended for things they rather deserve to be blamed. An Italian gentleman did once hold this position in my presence, to the prejudice and disadvantage of his nation; That the subtiltie of the Italians, and the vivacitie of their conceptions was so great that they foresaw such dangers and accidents as might betide them so far-off that it was not to be deemed strange if in times of warre they were often seene to provide for their safetie, yea, before they had perceived the danger: That we and the Spaniards, who were not so warie and subtil, went further; and that before we could be frighted with any perill, we must be induced to see it with our eyes, and feel it with our hands, and that even then we had no more hold; But that the Germanes and Switzers, more shallow and leaden-headed, had scarce the sense and wit to re-advise themselves, at what times they were even overwhelmed with miserie, and the axe readie to fall on

their heads. It was peradventure but in jest that he spake it, yet is it most true that in the art of warre-fare new trained souldiers, and such as are but novices in the trade, doe often headlong and hand over head cast themselves into dangers, with more inconsideration than afterward when they have seene and endured the first shooke, and are better trained in the schoole of perils.

— *haud ignarus, quantum nova gloria in armis,*

Et prædulce decus primo certamine possit.

Not ignorant, how much in armes new praise,
And sweetest honour, in first conflict weighes.

Lo here the reason why when we judge of a particular action, we must first consider many circumstances, and thoroughly observe the man, that hath produced the same before we name and censure it. But to speake a word of my selfe : I have sometimes noted my friends to terme that wisdom in me which was but meere fortune, and to deeme that advantage of courage and patience that was advantage of judgement and opinion; and to attribute one title for another unto me, sometimes to my profit, and now and then to my losse. As for the rest, I am so far from attaining unto that chiefe and most perfect degree of excellencie, where a habitude is made of vertue, that even of the second I have made no great triall. I have not greatly strived to bridle the desires wherewith I have found my selfe urged and pressed. My vertue is a vertue, or to say better innocencie, accidentall and casuall. Had I been borne with a lesse regular complexion, I imagine my state had been verie pittifull, and it would have gon hard with me : for, I could never perceive any great constancie in my soule, to resist and undergoe passions, had they been any thing violent. I cannot foster quarrels, or endure contentions in my house. So am I not greatly beholding unto my selfe, in that I am exempted from many vices :

— *si vitiiis mediocribus, et mea paucis
Mendosa est natura, aliqui recta, velut si
Egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore navos.¹*

If in a few more faults my nature faile,
Right otherwise : as if that you would raile
On prettie moles well placed,
On bodie seemely graced :

I am more endelited to my fortune than to my reason for it : Shee hath made me to be borne of a race famous for integritie and honestie, and of a verie good father. I wot not well whether any part of his humours have descended into me, or whether the domestike examples and good institu-

tion of my infancie have insensibly set their helping hand unto it ; or whether I were otherwise so borne :

*Seu Libra, seu me Scorpius aspexit
Formidolosus, pars violentior
Natalis hora, seu tyrannus
Hesperia Capricornus unda.¹*

Whether the chiefe part of my birth-houre were Ascendent Libra, or Scorpius full of feare,
Or in my Horoscope were Capricorne,
Whose tyrannic neere western seas is borne :

But so it is, that naturally of my selfe I abhorre and detest all manner of vices. The answer of Antisthenes to one that demanded of him which was the best thing to be learned : To unlearn evill, seemed to be fixed on this image, or to have an ayme at this. I abhorre them (I say) with so naturall and so innated an opinion, that the very same instinct and impression which I sucked from my nurse, I have so kept that no occasions could ever make me alter the same : no, not mine owne discourses, which, because they have been somewhat lavish in noting or taxing something of the common course, could easily induce me to some actions which this my naturall inclination makes me to hate. I will tell you a wonder, I will tell it you indeed : I thereby find in many things more stay and order in my manners than in my opinion : and my concupiscence lesse debauched than my reason. Aristippus established certaine opinions so bold, in favour of voluptuousnesse and riches, that he made all Philosophie to mutinie against him. But concerning his manners, Dionysius the tyrant, having presented him with three faire young wenches, that he might chuse the fairest, he answered he would chuse them all three, and that Paris had verie ill successe, forso-much as he had preferred one above her fellowes. But they being brought to his owne house, he sent them backe againe, without tasting them. His servant one day carrying store of money after him, and being so over-charged with the weight of it that he complained, his master commanded him to cast so much thereof away as troubled him. And Epicurus, whose positions are irreligious and delicate, demeaned himselfe in his life verie laboriously and devoutly. He wrote to a friend of his, that he lived but with browne bread and water, and entreated him to send him a piece of cheese, against the time he was to make a solemne feast. May it be true, that to be perfectly good we must be so by an hidden, naturall, and universall proprietie, without law, reason, and example? The disorders and

¹ HOR. l. viii. Sat. vi. 65.

¹ HOR. l. ii. Od. xvii. 17.

excesses wherein I have found my selfe engaged are not (God be thanked) of the worst. I have rejected and condemned them in my selfe, according to their worth; for my judgement was never found to be infected by them. And on the other side, I accuse them more rigorously in my selfe than in another. But that is all: as for the rest, I applie but little resistance unto them, and suffer my selfe over-easily to encline to the other side of the ballance, except it be to order and empeach them from being commixt with others, which (if a man take not good heed unto himselfe) for the most part entertaine and entertaينه themselves the one with the other. As for mine, I have, as much as it hath laine in my power, abridged them, and kept them as single and as alone as I could:

- nec ultra

*Errorem foveo.*¹

Nor doe I cherish any more,
The error which I bred before.

For, as touching the Stoikes opinion, who say, that when the wise man worketh, he worketh with all his vertues together; howbeit, according to the nature of the action, there be one more apparant than other (to which purpose the similitude of mans bodie might, in some sort, serve their turne; for the action of choler cannot exercise it selfe, except all the humours set to their helping hand, although choler be prædominant) if thence they will draw a like consequence, that when the offender trespasseth, he doth it with all the vices together, I doe not so easily beleeve them, or else I understand them not; for, in effect, I feel the contrarie. They are sharpe-wittie subtilties, and without substance, about which Philosophie doth often busie it selfe. Some vices I shun; but othersome I eschew as much as any saint can doe. The Peripatetikes doe also disavow this connexitie and indissoluble knitting together. And Aristotle is of opinion that a wise and just man may be both intemperate and incontinent. Socrates avowed unto them, who in his physiognomie perceived some inclination unto vice, that indeed it was his naturall propension, but that by discipline he had corrected the same. And the familiar friends of the Philosopher Stilpo were wont to say, that being borne subject unto wine and women, he had, by studie, brought himself to abstaine from both. On the other side, what good I have, I have it by the lot of my birth: I have it neither by law nor prescription, nor by any apprenticeship. The inno-

cencie that is in me is a kinde of simple-plaine innocencie, without vigor or art. Amongst all other vices, there is none I hate more than Crueltie, both by nature and judgement, as the extremest of all vices. But it is with such an yearning and faint-heartednesse, that if I see but a chickens necke puld off, or a pigge stickt, I cannot chuce but grieve, and I cannot well endure a seelie dewbedabled hare to groane when she is seized upon by the houndes, although hunting be a violent pleasure. Those that are to withstand voluptuousnesse doe willingly use this argument, to shew it is altogether vicious and unreasonable: That where she is in her greatest prime and chiefe strength, she doth so over-sway us, that reason can have no accesse unto us, and for a further triall, alleage the experience wee feel and have of it in our acquaintance with women.

— cum iam præsnit gaudia corpus
Atque in eo est Venus, ut multobria conservat
arva.¹

When now the bodie doth light-joyes fore-know,
And Venus set the womans fields to sow,

Where they thinke pleasure doth so far transport us beyond our selves, that our discourse, then altogether overwhelmed, and our reason wholie ravished in the gulfe of sensuality, cannot by any meanes discharge her function. I know it may be otherwise: and if a man but please, he may sometimes, even upon the verie instant, cast his mind on other conceits. But she must be strained to a higher key, and heedfully pursued. I know a man may gourmandize the earnest and thought-confounding violence of that pleasure: for I may with some experience speake of it; and I have not found Venus to be so imperious a Goddess as many, and more reformed than my selfe, witnesseth her to be. I thinke it not a wonder, as doth the Quene of Navarre, in one of the tales of her Heptameron (which, respecting the subject it treateth of, is a verie prettie booke), nor doe I deeme it a matter of extreame difficultie for a man to weare out a whole night, in all opportunitie and libertie, in companie of a faire mistresse, long time before sued-unto, and by him desired; religiously keeping his word, if he have engaged himselfe, to be contented with simple kisses and plaine touching. I am of opinion that the example of the sport in hunting would more fit the same: wherein as there is lesse pleasure, so there is more distraction and surprising, whereby our reason being amazed, looseth the

¹ Juv. Sat. viii. 164.

¹ Lucr. l. iv. 1097.

leasure to prepare her selfe against it : when as after a long questing and beating for some game, the beast doth suddainly start, or rowse up before us, and haply in such a place where we least expected the same. That suddaine motion, and riding, and the earnestnesse of shewing, jubeting and hallowing, still ringing in our eares, would make it verie hard for those who love that kind of close or chamber-hunting, at that verie instant, to withdraw their thoughts else-where. And poets make Diana victoriously to triumph both over the firebrand and arrowes of Cupid.

*Quis non malarum quas amor curas habet
Hæc inter obliviscitur ?*¹

While this is doing, who doth not forget
The wicked cares wherewith Love's heart doth
fret ?

But to returne to my former discourse, I have a verie feeling and tender compassion of other mens afflictions, and should more easily weep for companie sake, if possible for any occasion whatsoever I could shed teares. There is nothing sooner moveth teares in me than to see others weepe, not onely fainedly, but howsoever, whether truly or forcedly. I do not greatly waille for the dead, but rather envie them. Yet doe I much waille and moane the dying. The canibales and savage people do not so much offend me with roasting and eating of dead bodies, as those which torment and persecute the living. Let any man be executed by law, how deservedly soever, I cannot endure to behold the execution with an unrelenting eye. Some one going about to witnesse the clemencie of Iulius Cæsar ; "He was," saith he, "tractable and milde in matters of revenge. Having compelled the pirates to yeeld themselves unto him, who had before taken him prisoner and put him to ransom, forasmuch as he had threatned to have them all crucified, he condemned them to that kind of death, but it was after he had caused them to be strangled. Philemon his secretarie, who would have poysoned him, had no sharper punishment of him than an ordinarie death. Without mentioning the Latin Author, who for a testimonie of clemencie dareth to alleage the onely killing of those by whom a man hath been offended, it may easily be guessed that he is tainted with vile and horrible examples of crueltie, such as Romane Tyrants brought into fashion. As for me, even in matters of justice, whatsoever is beyond a simple death, I deeme it to be meere crueltie : and especially amongst us, who ought to have a regardfull respect that

their soules should be sent to heaven, which cannot be, having first by intolerable tortures agitated, and as it were brought them to dispaire. A souldier, not long since, being a prisoner, and perceiving from a loft a tower, where he was kept, that store of people flocked together on a greene, and carpenters were busie at worke to erect a scaffold, supposing the same to be for him, as one desperat, resolved to kill himselfe, and searching up and downe for something to make himselfe away, found nothing but an old rustie cart-naile, which fortune presented him with ; he tooke it, and therewithall, with all the strength he had, strooke and wounded himselfe twice in the throat, but seeing it would not rid him of life, he then thrust it into his bellie up to the head, where he left it fast-sticking. Shortly after, one of his keepers coming in unto him, and yet living, finding him in that miserable plight, but weltring in his goare-blood and readie to gaspe his last, told the Magistrates of it, which, to prevent time before he should die, hastned to pronounce sentence against him : which when he heard, and that he was onely condemned to have his head cut off, he seemed to take heart of grace againe, and to be sorie for what he had done, and tooke some comfortable drinks, which before he had refused, greatly thanking the Judges for his unhoped gentle condemnation : And told them, that for feare of a more sharply-cruell, and intolerable death by law, he had resolved to prevent it by some violent manner of death, having by the preparations he had seen the carpenters make, and by gathering of people together, conceived an opinion that they would torture him with some horrible torment, and seemed to be delivered from death onely by the change of it. Were I worthie to give counsell, I would have these examples of rigor, by which superior powers goe about to keep the common people in awe, to be onely exercised on the bodies of criminall malefactors : For, to see them deprived of christian buriall, to see them haled, disbowelled, parboyled, and quartered, might haply touch the common sort as much as the paines they make the living to endure : howbeit in effect it be little or nothing, as saith God, *Qui corpus occidunt, et postea non habent quod faciunt.*¹ "Those that kill the bodie, but have afterwards no more to doe : " And Poets make the horror of this picture greatly to prevaile, yea, and above death,

*Hæc reliquias semiassi Regis, donudatis ossibus,
Per terram sanie delibutas sedes divexarier.*²

¹ HOR. *Epid.* ii. 37.

² LUKE xii. 4.

³ CEC. *Tusc. Qu.* i. i.

O that the reliques of an halfe-burnt King,
bones bared,
On earth besmeared with filth, should be so
fouly marred.

It was my fortune to be at Rome upon a day that one Catena, a notorious high-way theefe, was executed: at his strangling no man of the companie seemed to be mooved to any ruth; but when he came to be quartered, the Executioner gave no blow that was not accompanied with a piteous voyce and hartie exclamation, as if every man had had a feeling sympathie, or lent his senses to the poor mangled wretch. Such inhumane outrages and barbarous excesses should be exercised against the rinde, and not practised against the quicke. In a case somewhat like unto this, did Artaxerxes asswage and mitigate the sharpnesse of the ancient lawes of Persia, appointing that the Lords which had trespassed in their estate, whereas they were wont to be whipped, they should be stripped naked, and their clothes whipped for them; and where they were accustomed to have their haire pulled off, they should onely have their hat taken off. The Egyptians, so devout and religious, thought they did sufficiently satisfie divine Justice, in sacrificing painted and counterfeit hogges unto it: An over-hardy invention to go about with pictures and shadowes to appease God, a substance so essentiall and divine. I live in an age wherein we abound with incredible examples of this vice, through the licentiousnesse of our civill and intestine warres: and read all ancient stories, be they never so tragicall, you shall find none to equall those we daily see practised. But that hath nothing made me acquainted with it. I could hardly be perswaded before I had seene it, that the world could have afforded so marble-hearted and savage-minded men, that for the onely pleasure of murder would commit it; then cut, mangle, and hacke other members in pieces: to rouze and sharpen their wits, to invent unused tortures and unheard-of torments: to devise new, and unknowne deaths, and that in cold blood, without any former enmitie or quarrell, or without any gaine or profit; and onely to this end, that they may enjoy the pleasing spectacle of the languishing gestures, pitifull motions, horror-moving yellings, deep fetcht groanes, and lamentable voyces of a dying and drooping man. For that is the extremest point whereunto the crueltie of man may attaine. *Ut homo hominem, non iratus, non timens, tantum spectaturus occidat.*¹ That one man should kill another, neither being angrie nor afeard,

but onely to looke on." As for me, I could never so much as endure, without remorse or griefe, to see a poore, sillie, and innocent beast pursued and killed, which is harmlesse and void of defence, and of whom we receive no offence at all. And as it commcnly hapneth, that when the Stag begins to be embost, and finds his strength to faile him, having no other remedie left him, doth yeeld and bequeath himselfe unto us that pursue him, with teares suing to us for mercie:

— *questique cruentus
Atque imploranti similis:*¹

With blood from throat, and teares from eyes,
It seemes that he for pittie cries:

was ever a grievous spectacle unto me. I seldom take any beast alive but I give him his libertie. Pythagoras was wont to buy fishes of fishers, and birds of fowlers to set them free againe.

— *primoque à cede ferarum
Incaluisse puto maculatum sanguine ferrum.*

And first our blades in blood embrude
deeme

With slaughter of poore beasts did reeking
steeme.

Such as by nature shew themselves bloodie-minded towards harmlesse beasts, wnesse a naturall propension unto crueltie. After the ancient Romanes had once enured themselves without horror to behold the slaughter of wild beasts in their shewes, they came to the murder of men and Gladiators. Nature (I fear me) hath of her owne selfe added unto man a certaine instinct to inhumanitie. No man taketh delight to see wild beasts sport and wantonly to make much one of another: Yet all are pleased to see them tugge, mangle, and enterteare one another. And lest any bodie should jeast at this sympathie, which I have with them, Divinitie itselfe willetth us to shew them some favour: And considering that one selfe-same master (I mean that incomprehensible worlds-framer) hath placed all creatures in this his wondrous palace for his service, and that they, as well as we, are of his household: I say it hath some reason to injoyne us to shew some respect and affection towards them. Pythagoras borrowed Metempsychosis of the Egyptians, but since it hath been received of divers Nations, and especially of our Druides:

*Morte carent anima, semperque priore relicta
Sede, novis domibus vivunt, habitantque recepta.*²

Our death-lesse soules, their former seats re-
frained,

In harbors new live and lodge entertained.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. vii. 521.

² OVID. *Metam.* l. xv. 106.

³ *Ib.* 138.

¹ SEN. *Clem.* l. ii. c. 4.

The Religion of our ancient Gaules transferred, that soules being eternall, ceased not to remove and change place from one bodie to another: to which fantasie was also entermixed some consideration of divine justice. For, according to the soules behaviors, during the time she had been with Alexander, they sayd that God appointed it another bodie to dwell in, either more or lesse painfull, and swable to her condition.

- *muta ferarum*

*Cogit vincla pati, truculentos ingerit ursoris,
Prædonisque lupis, fallaces vulpibus addit.
Atque ubi per varios annos per mille figuras
Egit, lethæo purgatus flumine tandem
Rursus ad humanæ revocat primordia formæ.*¹

Dumbe bands of beasts he makes men's soules endure,
Blood-thirstie soules he doth to Beares enure,
Craffie to Foxes, to Woolves bent to rapes;
Thus when for many yeares, through many shapes,
He hath them driv'n in Lethe lake at last,
Them purg'd he turns to mans forme whence they past.

If the soule had been valiant, they placed in in the bodie of a Lion; if voluptuous, in a Swine; if faint-hearted, in a Stagge or a Hare; if malicious, in a Foxe; and so of the rest, untill that being purified by this punishment, it re-assumed and tooke the bodie of some other man againe.

*Ipsæ ego, nam memini, Troiani tempore belli
Panthoides Euphorbus eram.*²

When Troy was won, I, as I call to mind,
Euphorbus was, and Panthus sonne by kind.

As touching that alliance betweene us and beasts, I make no great accompt of it, nor do I greatly admit it, neither of that which divers Nations, and namely of the most ancient and noble, who have not onely received beasts into their societie and companie, but allowed them a place farre above themselves; sometimes deeming them to be familiars and favored of their Gods, and holding them in a certaine awfull respect and reverence more than humane, and others acknowledging no other God nor no other Divinity than they. *Belluæ à barbaris propter beneficium consecrate:*³ "Beasts by the Barbarians were made sacred for some benefit."

- *crocodilon adornat*

*Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin,
Effigies sacri hic nitet aurea Corcophæci.*⁴

This Country doth the Crocodile adore,
That feares the Storke glutt with Serpents gore,
The sacred Babion here,
In gold shape doth appeare.

- *hic piscem fluminis, illic*

*Oppida tota canem venerantur.*¹

A fish here whole Townes reverence most,
A dog they honour in that coast.

And the very same interpretation that Plutarke giveth unto this error, which is very well taken, is also honourable for them. For, he saith, that (for example sake) it was neither the Cat nor the Oxe that the Ægyptians adored, but that in those beasts they worshipped some image of divine faculties. In this patience and utility, and in that vivacity, or as our neighbours the Burgundians with all Germany the impatience to see themselves shut up: Whereby they represented the liberty which they loved and adored beyond all other divine faculty, and so of others. But when amongst the most moderate opinions I meet with some discourses that goe about and labour to shew the neere resemblance betweene us and beasts, and what share they have in our greatest Privileges, and with how much likely-hood they are compared unto us, truly I abate much of our presumption, and am easily removed from that imaginary soveraigntie that some give and ascribe unto us above all other creatures. If all that were to be contradicted, yet is there a kinde of respect and a generall duty of humanity which tieth us not only unto brute beasts that have life and sense, but even unto trees and plants. Unto men we owe Justice, and to all other creatures that are capable of it, grace and benignity. There is a kinde of interchangeable commerce and mutual bond betweene them and us. I am not ashamed nor afraid to declare the tendernes of my childish Nature which is such that I cannot well reject my Dog if he chance (although out of season) to fawne upon me, or beg of me to play with him. The Turkes have almes and certaine hospitals appointed for brute beasts. The Romans have a publike care to breed and nourish Geese, by whose vigilancy their capital had bene saved. The Athenians did precisely ordaine that all manner of Mules which had served or bene employed about the building of their temple called Hecatompædon, should be free and suffered to feed wheresoever they pleased, without any let or impeachment. The Agrigentines had an ordinary custome seriously and solemnly to bury all such beasts as they had held deare; as horses of rare worth and merit, special dogs, choice or profitable birds, or such as had but served to make their children sport. And the sumptuous magnificence which in all other things was ordinary and peculiar unto

¹ CLAUD. in *Ruff.* l. ii. 482.

² OVID. *Metam.* l. xv. 160.

³ CIC. *Nat. Deor.* l. i. c. 36. ⁴ JUVEN. *Sat.* xv. 2.

¹ JUVEN. *Sat.* xv. 7.

them, appeared also almost notably in the stately sumptuousnesse and costly number of monuments erected to that end, which many ages after have endured and been maintained in pride and state. The Ægyptians were wont to bury their Wolves, their Dogs, their Cats, their Beares, and Crocodiles in holy places, embalming their carcasses, and at their deaths to weare mourning weeds for them. Cymon caused a stately honourable tombe to be erected for the Mares, wherewith he had three times gained the prize at running in the Olimpike games. Ancient Xantippus caused his Dog to be entered upon a hill by the sea shore, which ever since hath bene named by him. And Plutarch (as himselfe saith) made it a matter of conscience, in hope of a small gaine to sell or send an Oxe to the shambles that had served him a long time.

CHAPTER XII.

An Apologie of Raymond Sebond.

KNOWLEDGE is without all contradiction a most profitable and chiefe ornament. Those who despise it declare evidently their sottishnesse: Yet doe not I value it at so excessive a rate as some have done; namely, Herillus the Philosopher, who grounded his chiefe felicitie upon it, and held that it lay in her power to make us content and wise: which I cannot beleieve, nor that which others have said, that Knowledge is the mother of all vertue, and that all vice proceedeth of ignorance. Which if it be it is subject to a large interpretation. "My house hath long since ever stood open to men of understanding, and is very well knowne to many of them: for my father, who commanded the same fifty yeeres and upward, set on fire by that new kinde of earnestnesse wherewith King Francis the first imbraced Letters, and raised them unto credit, did with great diligence and much cost endeavour to purchase the acquaintance of learned men; receiving and entertaining them as holy persons, and who had some particular inspiration of divine wisdom; collecting their sentences and discourses as if they had bene Oracles; and with so much more reverence and religious regard by how much lesse authority hee had to judge of them: for hee had no knowledge of Letters no more than his predecessors before him. As for mee I love them

indeed, but yet I worship them not. Amongst others, Peter Bunei (a man in his time by reason of his learning of high esteeme) having sojourned a few daies at Montaigne with my father and others of his coat being ready to depart thence, presented him with a booke entituled *Theologia naturalis; sive liber creaturarum magistri Raimondi de Sebonde*. And for so much as the Italian and Spanish tongues were very familiar unto him, and that the book was written in a kinde of latinized Spanish, whereof divers words had Latine terminations; he hoped that with little aid he might reape no small profit by it, and commended the same very much unto him, as a booke most profitable, and fitting the dayes in which he gave it him. It was even at what time the new fangles of Luther began to creepe in favour, and in many places to shake the foundation of our ancient beleefe. Wherein he seemed to be well advised, as he who by discourse of reason fore-saw that this budding disease would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme: For the vulgar wanting the faculty to judge of things by themselves, suffering it selfe to be carried away by fortune and led on by outward apparances, if once it be possessed with the boldnesse to despise and malapertnesse to impugne the opinions which tofore it held in awfull reverence (as are those wherein consisteth their salvation) and that some articles of their religion be made doubtfull and questionable, they will soon and easily admit an equal uncertainty in all other parts of their beleefe, as they that had no other grounded authoritie or foundation but such as are now shaken and weakned, and immediately reject (as a tyrannical yoke) all impressions they had in former times received by the authoritie of Lawes, or reverence of ancient custome.

*Nam cupido conculcatur nimis ante metutum.*¹

That which we fear'd before too much,
We gladly scorne when tis not such.

Undertaking thenceforward to allow of nothing, except they have first given their voice and particular consent to the same. My father, a few daies before his death, lighting by chance upon this booke, which before he had neglected, amongst other writings commanded mee to translate the same into French. It is easie to translate such Authors, where nothing but the matter is to be represented; but hard and dangerous to undertake such as have added much to the grace and elegancy of the language,

¹ LUCR. l. v. 1150.

namely to reduce them into a weaker and poorer tongue. It was a strange taske and new occupation for me: but by fortune being then at leisure and unable to gainsay the commandement of the best father that ever was, I came ere long (as well as I could) to an end of it: wherein he tooke singular delight, and commanded the same to be printed, which accordingly was after his deace performed. I found the conceits of the author to be excellent, the contexture of his worke well followed, and his project full of piete. Now forasmuch as divers amuse themselves to reade it, and especially Ladies, to whom we owne most service, it hath often beene my hap to help them, when they were reading it, to discharge the booke of two principall objections, which are brought against the same. His drift is bold, and his scope adventurous; for he undertaketh by humane and naturall reasons, to establish and verifie all the articles of Christian religion against Atheists. Wherein (to say truth) I find him so resolute and so happy, as I deem it a thing impossible to doe better in that argument, and thinke that none equalleth him. Which booke seeming to me both over-rich and exquisite, being written by an author whose name is so little knowne, and of whom all we know is, that he was a Spaniard, who about two hundred yeeres since professed Physicke in Tholouse: I demanded once of Adrianus Turnebus (a man who knew all things) what such a booke might be; who answered, that he deemed the same to be some Quintessence extracted from out Saint Thomas Aquinas: For, in good truth, only such a spirit fraught with so infinite erudition, and so full of admirable subtiltie, was capable of such and so rare imaginations. So it is, that whosoever be the author or deviser of it (the title whereof ought not without further reason to be taken from Sebond) he was a very sufficient-worthie man, and endowed with sundry other excellent qualities. The first thing he is reprov'd for in his Booke is, that Christians wrong themselves much, in that they ground their beleefe upon humane reasons, which is conceived but by faith and by a particular inspiration of God. Which objection seemeth to containe some zeale of piete; by reason whereof we ought, with so much more mildnes and regard, endeavour to satisfie them that propose it. It were a charge more befitting a man conversant, and sutable to one acquainted with the holy Scriptures, than me, who am altogether ignorant in them. Neverthelesse I thinke, that even as to a matter so divine and high, and so much exceeding all humane understanding, as is this verity, wherwith it hath

pleased the goodnesse of God to enlighten us, it is most requisit that he afford, and lend us his helpe; And that, with an extraordinary and privileged favour, that so we may the better conceive and entertaine the same: For, I suppose that meanes meere humane can no way be capable of it; which if they were, so many rare and excellent mindes, and so plenteously stored with naturall faculties, as have beene in times past, would never by their discourse have mist the attayning of this knowledge. It is faith onely which lively and assuredly embraceth the high mysteries of our Religion. And no man can doubt but that it is a most excellent and commendable enterprise, properly to accommodate and fit to the service of our faith, the natural helps and humane implements which God hath bestowed upon us. And no question is to be made but that it is the most honourable employment we can put them unto; and that there is no occupation or intent more worthy a good Christian, than by all meanes, studies, and imaginations, carefully to endeavour how to embellish, amplifie, and extend the truth of his beleefe and religion. It is not enough for us to serve God in spirit and soule; we owe him besides, and wee yeeld unto him, a corporall worshipping; we applie our limbs, our motions, and all externall things, to honour him. The like ought to be done, and we should accompany our faith with all the reason we possesse: Yet alwayes with this proviso, that we thinke it doth not depend of us, and that all our strength and arguments can never attaine to so supernaturall and divine a knowledge: Except it seize upon us, and as it were enter into us by an extraordinarie infusion: And unlesse it also enter into us, not onely by discourse, but also by humane meanes, she is not in her dignitie nor in her glorie. And verily I feare therefore, that except this way, we should not enjoy it. Had we fast-hold on God, by the interposition of a lively faith; had we hold-fast on God by himselfe, and not by us; had we a divine foundation; then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter us, as they have. Our hold would not then yeeld to so weake a batterie: The love of noveltie; the constraint of Princes; the good successe of one partie; the rash and casual changing of our opinions, should not then have the power to shake and alter our beleefe. We should not suffer the same to be troubled at the wil and pleasure of a new argument, and at the perswasion, no, not of all the rhetorike that ever was: we should withstand these boistrous billowes with an inflexible and unmoveable constancie:

*Illius fluctus rupes, ut vasta refundit
Et varias circumlustrantes dissipat undas,
Mole sua.¹*

As huge rocks doe regorge th' invective waves,
And dissipate the billowes brawling braves,
Which these gainst those still bellow out,
Those being big and standing stout.

If this raie of Divinitie did in any sort touch us, it would everie where appeare: Not only our words, but our actions, would beare some shew and lustre of it. Whatsoever should proceed from us, might be seene inlightned with this noble and matchlesse brightnes. We should blush for shame, that in humane sects there was never any so factious, what difficultie or strangenesse soever his doctrine maintained, but would in some sort conforme his behaviors and square his life unto it: Whereas so divine and heavenly an institution never markes christians but by the tongue. And will you see whether it be so? Compare but our manners unto a Turke, or a Pagan, and we must needs yeeld unto them: Whereas in respect of our religious superioritie, we ought by much, yea by an incomparable distance, outshine them in excellencie: And well might a man say, Are they so just, so charitable, and so good? Then must they be Christians. All other outward shewes and exterior apparences are common to all religions: As hope, affiance, events, ceremonies, penitence, and martyrdome. The peculiar badge of our truth should be vertue; As it is the heavenliest and most difficult marke, and worthiest production of Verity it selfe. And therefore was our good Saint Lewis in the right, when that Tartarian King, who was become a Christian, intended to come to Lyons, to kisse the Popes feet, and there to view the sanctitie he hoped to find in our lives and manners, instantly to divert him from it, fearing lest our dissolute manners and licentious kind of life might scandalize him; and so alter his opinion fore-conceived of so sacred a religion. Howbeit the contrary happened to another, who for the same effect being come to Rome, and there viewing the dissolutenesse of the Prelates and people of those dayes, was so much the more confirmed in our religion; considering with himselfe what force and divinity it must of consequence have, since it was able, amidst so many corruptions and so viciously-polluted hands, to maintaine her dignitie and splendor. Had wee but one onely graine of faith, wee should then be able to remove mountains from out their place, saith the Holy Writ. Our actions being guided and accompanied with Divinitie,

should not then be meerey humane, but even as our beliefe, containe some wonder-causing thing. *Brevis est institutio vite honeste beatæque, si credas.* "The institution of an honest and blessed life is but short, if a man beleewe." Some make the world beleewe that they beleewe things they never doe. Others (and they are the greater number) perswade themselves they doe so, as unable to conceive what it is to beleewe. We thinke it strange if in warres, which at this time doe so oppresse our state, we see the events to float so strangely, and with so common and ordinarie a manner to change and alter: The reason is, we adde nothing unto it but our owne. Justice, which is on the one side, is used but for a cloake and ornament; she is indeed alleadged, but not received, nor harboured, nor wedded. She is as in the mouth of a Lawyer, and not as she ought in the heart and affection of the partie. God oweth his extraordinarie assistance unto faith and religion, and not to our passions. Men are but directors unto it and use religion for a shew: It ought to be cleane contrarie. Doe but marke if we doe not handle it as it were a peece of waxe, from out so right and so firme a rule, to draw so many contrary shapes. When was this better scene than now-adayes in France? Those which have taken it on the left, and those who have taken it on the right hand: Such as speake the false, and such who speake the truth of it, do so alike employ and fit the same to their violent and ambitious enterprises, proceede unto it with so conformable a proceeding in riotousnesse and injustice, they make the diversitie they pretend in their opinions doubtfull, and hard to be beleewed, in a thing from which depends the conduct and law of our life. Can a man see from one same Schoole and Discipline, more united and like customes and fashions to proceed? View but the horrible impudencie wherewith we tosse divine reasons to and fro, and how irreligiously wee have both rejected and taken them againe, according as fortune hath in these publike stormes transported us from place to place. This solemne proposition: Whether it be lawfull for a subject, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes against his Prince: Call but to minde in what mouthes but a twelve-moneth agoe the affirmative of the same was the chiefe pillar of the one part; the negative was the maine-underprop of the other: And listen now from whence commeth the voyce and instruction of one and other: and whether armes clatter and clang less for this than for that cause. And we burne those men which say that truth must be made to abide the yoke of our need: And

¹ VIRG. *ÆN.* l. vii. 587.

how much worse doth France than speak it. Let us confesse the truth : he that from out this lawfull arme should cull out first those who follow it for meere zeale of a religious affection than such as only regard the defence and protection of their countries lawes or service of their Prince ; whether hee could ever erect a compleat company of armed men. How comes it to passe that so few are found who have still held one same wil and progresse in our publike revolutions, and that we see them now and then but faintly, and sometimes as fast as they can headlong to runne into the action? And the same men, now by their violence and rashnesse, and now through their slownesse, demisses, and heaviness to spoile, and as it were overthrow our affaires, but that they are thrust into them by casual motives, and particular consideration, according to the diversities wherewith they are moved? I plainly perceive we lend nothing unto devotion but the offices that flatter our passions. There is no hostility so excellent as that which is absolutely Christian. Our zeale worketh wonders, whenever it secondeth our inclinations towards hatred, cruelty, ambition, avarice, detraction, or rebellion. Towards goodnes, benigntie, or temperance it goeth but slowly, and against the haire, except miraculously, some rare complexion leade him unto it, it neither runnes nor flieth to it. Our religion was ordained to root out vices, but it shrowdeth, fostreth, and provoketh them. As commonly we say, "We must not make a foole of God." Did we believe in him, I say not through faith, but with a simple beleefe ; yea (I speak it to our confusion) did we but beleefe and know him, as wee doe another storie, or as one of our companions ; we should then love him above all other things, by reason of the infinite goodnes and unspeakable beauty that is and shines in him : Had he but the same place in our affections that riches, pleasures, glory, and our friends have : The best of us doth not so much feare to wrong him as he doth to injure his neighbour, his kinsman, or his master. Is there so simple a minde who, on the one side having before him the object of one of our vicious pleasures, and on the other to his full view perfect knowledge and assured perswasion, the state of an immortall glorie, that would enter into contention of one for the other? And so we often refuse it through meere contempt : for what drawes us to blaspheming, unless it be at all adventures, the desire it selfe of the offence? The Philosopher Antisthenes, when he was initiated in the mysteries of Orpheus the priest, saying, unto him that such as vowed themselves to

that religion should after death receive eternall and perfect felicities, replied, "If thou beleefe it, why dost thou not die thy selfe?" Diogenes more roughly (as his manner was) and further from our purpose, answered the priest who perswaded him to be one of his order, that so he might come unto and attaine the happinesse of the other world : "Wilt thou have me beleefe that those famous men, Agesilaus and Epaminondas, shall be miserable, and that thou, who art but an asse, and doth nothing of any worth, shalt be happy, because thou art a Priest?" Did we but receive these large promises of everlasting blessednesse with like authoritie as we do a philosophical discourse, we should not then have death in that horror as we have :

*Non jam se moriens dissolvi conquereretur,
Sed magis ire foras, vestemque relinquere ut
anguis*

*Gauderet, prælonga senex aut cornua cervus.*¹

He would not now complaine to be dissolved dying,

But rather more rejoice, that now he is forth-flying,

Or as a Snake his coat out-worne,
Or an old Harts, doth cast his home.

I will be dissolved, should we say, and be with Jesus Christ. The forcible power of Platoes discourse of the immortality of the soule provoked divers of his Schollers unto death, that so they might more speedily enjoy the hopes he told them of. All which is a most evident token that we receive our religion but according to our fashion and by our owne hands, and no otherwise than other religions are received. We are placed in the cuntry where it was in use ; where we regard her antiquity, or the authority of those who have maintained her ; where we feare the menaces wherewith she threatneth all misbeleevers, or follow her promises. The considerations ought to be applied and employed to our beleefe, but as subsidiaries : they be human bonds. Another cuntry, other testimonies, equall promises, alike menaces, might semblably imprint a cleane contrary religion in us : we are Christians by the same title as we are either Perigordins or Germans. And as Plato saith : "There are few so confirmed in Atheisme but some great danger will bring unto the knowledge of God's divine power." The part doth not touch or concerne a good Christian : It is for mortall and worldly religions to be received by a humane convoy. What faith is that like to be which cowardice of heart doth plant and weaknesse establish in us? A goodly faith, that beleeves that which it

¹ LUCRET. l. iii. 630.

beloeveth onely because it wanteth the courage not to beleeeve the same. A vicious passion, as that of inconstancie and astonishment is, can it possibly ground any regular production in our mindes or soules? They establish, saith he, by the reason of their judgement, that whatsoever is reported of hell, or of after-comming paines, is but a fiction: but the occasions to make triall of it, offering itselfe at what time age or sickness doth summon them to death, the error of the same, through the horror of their future condition, doth then replenish them with another kind of beleefe. And because such impressions make mens hearts fearfull, hee by his lawes inhibiteth all instruction of such threats and the perswasion that any evill may come unto man from the Gods, except for his greater good, and for a medicinable effect, whensoever he falleth into it. They report of Bion, that being infected with the Atheismes of Theodorus, he had for a long time made but a mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize upon him he yeelded unto the extremest superstitions: As if the Gods would either be removed or come again, according to Bions businesse. Plato and these examples conclude that we are brought to beleeeve in God either by reason or by compulsion. Atheisme being a proposition as unnaturall and monstrous as it is hard and uneasy to be established in any mans minde, how insolent and unruly soever he may be: many have beene seene to have conceived either through vanitie or fiercenesse, strange and seld-knowne opinions, as if they would become reformers of the world by affecting a profession only in countenance: who though they be sufficiently foolish, yet are they not powerfull enough to ground or settle it in their consciences. Yet will not such leave to lift up their joyned hands to heaven, give them but a stoccado on their breast: and when fear shall have suppress, or sickness vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde, then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed, and discreetly to be perswaded to give credit unto true beleefe and publike examples. A decree seriously digested is one thing, and these shallow and superficial impressions another, which bred by the dissolutenesse of a loose spirit, doe rashly and uncertainly float up and downe the fantasie of a man. Oh men, most braine-sicke and miserable, that endeavour to be worse than they can! The error of Paganisme and the ignorance of our sacred truth, was the cause of this great soules-fall: but onely great in worldly greatnes; also in this next abuse, which is, that children and old men are found to be

more susceptible or capable of religion, as if it were bred and had her credit from our imbecillitie. The bond which should binde our judgement, tie our will, enforce and joyne our soules to our Creator, should be a bond taking his doubling and forces, not from our considerations, reasons, and passions, but from a divine and supernaturall compulsion, having but one forme, one countenance, and one grace; which is the authoritie and grace of God.

Now our heart being ruled and our soule commanded by faith, reason willett that she drawes all our other parts to the service of her intent, according to their power and facultie. Nor is it likely but that this vast worlds-frame must beare the impression of some markes, therein imprinted by the hand of this great wondrous architect, and that even in all things therein created there must be some image, somewhat resembling and having coherencie with the workman that wrought and framed them. He hath left imprinted in these high and misterious works the characters of his divinitie: and onely our imbecillitie is the cause wee can not discover nor read them. It is that which himselfe telleth us, that by his visible operations he doth manifest those that are invisible to us." Sebond hath much travelled about this worthe studie, and sheweth us, that there is no parcell of this world that either belyeth or shameth his Maker. It were a manifest wronging of God's goodness if all this universe did not consent and sympathise with our beleefe. Heaven, earth, the elements, our bodies, our soule, yea all things else, conspire and agree unto it: onely the meanes how to make use of them must be found out: They will instruct us sufficiently, be we but capable to learne and apt to understand. For this world is a most holy Temple, into which man is brought there to behold statues and images not wrought by mortall hand, but such as the secret thought of God hath made sensible, as the Sunne, the Starres, the Waters and the Earth, thereby to represent the intelligible unto us. "The invisible things of God," saith St. Paul, "doe evidently appeare by the creation of the world, judging of his eternall Wisdome and Divinity by his workes.

*Atque adeo faciem cæli non invidet orbi
Ipse Deus, vultusque suos corpusque recludit
Semper voluendo: sequæ ipsium inculcat et offert
Ut bene cognosci possit, doceatque videntio
Qualis eat, doceatque suas attendere leges.¹*

God to the world doth not heav'n's face envie,
But by still moving it doth notifie
His face and essence, doth himselfe applie,

That he may well be known, and teach by seeing.
How he goes, how we should marke his de-
creeing.

Now our reason and humane discourse is as the lumpish and barren matter, and the grace of God is the form thereof. 'Tis that which giveth both fashion and worth unto it. Even as the vertuous actions of Socrates and Cato are but frivolous and unprofitable because they had not their end, and regarded not the love and obedience of the true creator of all things, and namely, because they were ignorant of the true knowledge of God: So is it of our imaginations and discourse; they have a kind of body, but a shapelesse masse, without light or fashion, unlesse faith and the grace of God be joynd thereunto. Faith, giving as it were a tincture and lustre unto Sebonds arguments, make them the more firme and solid: They may well serve for a direction and guide to a young learner, to lead and set him in the right way of this knowledge. They in some sort fashion and make him capable of the grace of God, by meanes whereof our reliefe is afterwards achieved and made perfect. I know a man of authority, brought up in letters, who confessed unto me that he was reclaimed from out the errors of mis-beleeving by the arguments of Sebond. And if it happen they be dispoyle of this ornament, and of the helpe and approbation of faith, and taken but for meere humane fantazies, yet to combat those that headlong are fallen into the dreadfull error and horrible darkenesse of irreligion, even then shall they be found as firme and forcible as any other of that condition that may be opposed against them. So that we shall stand upon terms to say unto our parties,

*Si melius quid habes, accerse, vel imperium ser.*¹

If you have any better, send for me,
Or else that I bid you, contented be.

Let them either abide the force of our proofes, or shew us some others, upon some other subject, better compact and more full. I have in a manner unawares half engaged my selfe in the second objection, to which I had purposed to frame an answer for Sebond. Some say his arguments are weake and simple to verifie what he would, and undertake to front him easily. Such fellowes must somewhat more roughly be handled, for they are more dangerous and more malicious than the first. Man doth willingly apply other mens sayings to the advantage of the opinions he hath fore-judged in him-

selfe. To an Atheist all writings make for Athelisme. He with his owne venome infecteth the innocent matter. These have some preoccupation of judgment that makes their taste wallowish and tastelesse, to conceive the reasons of Sebond. As for the rest, they thinke to have faire play offered them if they have free liberty to combat our religion with meere worldly weapons; which they durst not charge, did they behold her in her majesty, full of authority and commandement. The meanes I use to suppress this frenzy, and which seemeth the fittest for my purpose, is to crush and trample this humane pride and fiercenesse under foot, to make them feeble the emptiuesse, vacuities, and no worth of man: and violently to pull out of their hands the silly weapons of their reason; to make them stoope, and bite and snarle at the ground, under the authority and reverence of God's Majesty. Onely to her belongeth science and wisdome, it is she alone can judge of her selfe; and from her we steale whatsoever we repute, value, and count ourselves to be.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐυφρονέειν ὁ θεὸς μέγα ἄλλον ἢ ἑαυτόν.
Of greater, better, wiser minde than he,
God can abide no mortal man should be.

I let us suppress this over-weening, the first foundation of the tyrannie of the wicked spirit. *Deus superbis resistit: humilibus autem dat gratiam*: "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." Plato saith "that intelligence is in all the Gods, but little or nothing at all in men." Meanewhile it is a great comfort unto a Christian man to see our mortall implements and fading tooles so fitly sorted to our holy and divine faith; that when they are employed to the mortal and fading subjects of their nature, they are never more forcibly nor more joyntlie appropriated unto them. Let us then see whether man hath any other stronger reasons in his power then Sebonds, and whether it lie in him, by argument or discourse, to come to any certainty. For, St. Augustine, pleading against these kind of men, because he would upbraid them with their injustice, in that they hold the parts of our beleeve to be false, and that our reason faileth in establishing them: and to shew that many things may be, and have beene, whereof our discourse can never ground the nature and the causes: he proposeth and setteth downe before them certaine knownen and undoubted experiments, wherein man confesseth to see nothing, which he doth as

¹ HOR. l. i. Epist. v. 6.

¹ Prov. iii. 14; James iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5.

all things else, with a curious and ingenious search. More must be done, and they must be taught, that to convince the weakness of their reason we need not go far to cull out rare examples. And that it is so defective and blinde, as there is no facility so clear that is clear enough unto her; that easie and uneasie is all one to her; that all subjects equally, and Nature in generall disavoweth her jurisdiction and interposition. What preacheth truth unto us, when it biddeth us flie and shun worldly philosophy; when it so often telleth us "that all our wisdom is but folly before God; that of all vanities man is the greatest; that man, who presumeth of his knowledge doth not yet know what knowledge is; and that man, who is nothing, if he but thinke to be something, seduceth and deceiveth himselfe?" These sentences of the Holy Ghost do so lively and manifestly expresse what I would maintaine, as I should neede no other prooffe against such as with all submission and obeysance would yeeld to his authority. But these will needs be whipt to their owne cost, and cannot abide their reason to be combattet, but by itselfe. Let us now but consider man alone without other help, armed but with his own weapons, and unprovided of the grace and knowledge of God, which is all his honour, all his strength, and all the ground of his being. Let us see what hold-fast or freehold he hath in this gorgeous and goodly equipage. Let him with the utmost power of his discourse make me understand upon what foundation he hath built those great advantages and ods he supposeth to have over other creatures. Who hath perswaded him that this admirable moving of heavens vaults, that the eternal light of these lampes so fiercely rowling over his head, that the horror-moving and continuall motion of this infinite vaste ocean were established, and continue so many ages for his commoditie and service? Is it possible to imagine anything so ridiculous as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe, exposed and subject to the offences of all things, and yet dareth call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe? In whose power it is not to know the least part of it, much lesse to command the same. And the privilege, which he so fondly challengeth to be the only absolute creature in this huge worlds frame, perfectly able to know the absolute beautie and several parts thereof, and that he is only of power to yeeld the great architect thereof due thanks for it, and to keepe account both of the receipts and layings out of the world. Who hath sealed him

this patent? Let him shew us his letters of privilege for so noble and so great a charge. Have they been granted onely in favour of the wise? Then concerne they but a few. Are the foolish and wicked worthy of so extraordinary a favour, who being the worst part of the world, should they be preferred before the rest? Shall we believe him: *Quorum igitur causa quis dixerit effectum esse mundum? Eorum scilicet animantium quæ ratione utuntur. Hi sunt dii et homines, quibus profecto nihil est melius.*¹ "For whose cause then shall a man say that the world was made? In sooth, for those creatures sake which have the use of reason; those are Gods and men, than whom assuredly nothing is better." We shall never sufficiently baffle the impudency of this conjoyning. But silly wretch, what hath he in him worthy such an advantage? To consider the incorruptible life of the celestiall bodies, their beauty, greatnesse, and agitation, continued with so just and regular a course,

*cum suspicimus magni cælestia mundi
Templa super, stellisque micantibus Æthera
fixum.*

*Et venit in mentem Lunæ Solisque viarum.*²

When we of this great world the heavenly temples see

Above us, and the skies with shine-starsres
fixt to be,

And marke in our discourse,
Of Sunne and Moone the course.

To consider the power of domination these bodies have not onely upon our lives and condition of our fortune.

*Facta etenim et vitas hominum suspendit ab
astris.*³

For on the stars he doth suspend
Of men, the deedes, the lives, and end,

But also over our dispositions and inclinations, our discourses and wils, which they rule, provoke, and move at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason finds and teacheth us.

*speculataque longè
Deprendit tacitis dominantia legibus astra.
Et totum alternâ mundum ratione moveri,
Fatorumque vices certis discernere signis.*⁴

By speculation it from far discerns,
How stars by secret lawes do guide our sterns,
And this whole world is mov'd by entercourse
And by sure signes of fates to know the course.

Seeing that not a man alone, nor a king only, but monarchies and empires; yea, and all the world below is moved at the

¹ Cic. Nat. Deor. l. ii.

² LUCR. l. v. 1214.

³ MANIL. Astron. l. iii. 58.

⁴ MANIL. Astron. l. i. 62.

shaking of one of the least heavenly motions.

*Quantaeque quam parvi faciant discrimina
motus:
Tantum est hoc regnum quod regibus imperat
ipsis.¹*

How little motions make, how different affection:

So great this Kingdome is, that hath Kings in subjection.

If our vertue, vices, sufficiency and knowledge, and the same discourse we make of the power of the starres, and the comparison between them and us, commeth as our reason judgeth by their meane and through their favour;

*— furit alter amore,
Et pontum tranare potest et vertere Troiam,
Asterius sors est scribendis legibus apta:
Ecce patrem nati perimunt, natosque parentes,
Mutuque armati coeunt in vulnera fratres,
Non nostrum hoc bellum est; coguntur tanta
movere,
Inque suas ferri pœnas, lacerandaque membra:
Hoc quoque fatale est sic ipsum expendere
fatum;²*

One with love madded, his love to enjoy
Can crosse the seas, and overturne all Troy:
Others lot is to set lawes severe.
Loe sonnes kill fathers, fathers sonnes destroy,
Brothers for mutuall wounds their armes doe
beare,
Such war is not our owne, forc't are we to it,
Drawne to our owne paines, our owne limbs to
teare;
Fates so t' observe t'is fatall, we must doe it;

If we hold that portion of reason, which we have from the distribution of heaven, how can she make us equall unto it? How can she submit his essence and conditions unto our knowledge? Whatsoever we behold in those high bodies doth affright us: *Quæ molitio, quæ ferramenta, qui vectes, quæ machinæ, qui ministri tanti operis fuerunt?*³ "What workmanship? What yron-braces? What maine beames, what engines? What masons and carpenters were to so great a worke?" Why doe we then deprive them of soule, of life, and of discourse? Have we discovered or known any unmoveable or insensible stupidity in them? We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them? Shall we say we have seene the use of a reasonable soule in no other creature but in man? What? Have we seene anything comparable to the sunne? Leaveth he to be, because we have seene nothing semblable unto it? And doth he leave his moving because his equall is nowhere to be found? If that which we have not seene is not, our knowledge is

wonderfull abridged. *Quæ sunt tantæ animi angustia?* "What narrownesse of my heart is such?" Be they not dreames of humane vanity, to make a celestiall earth or world of the moone, as Anaxagoras did? And therein to plant habitations, and as Plato and Plutarch doe, erect their colonies for our use. And to make of our knowne earth a bright shining planet? *Inter cætera mortalitatis incommoda, et hoc est caligo mentium: nec tantum necessitas errandi, sed errorum amor.*¹ "Among other discommodities of our mortality this is one, there is darknesse in our minds, and in us not onely necessity of erring, but a love of errors." *Corruptibile corpus aggravat animam, et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem.*² "Our corruptible body doth overlode our soule, and our dwelling on earth weighs downe our sense that is set to thinke of many matters." Presumption is our naturall and originall infirmities. Of all creatures man is the most miserable and fraile, and therewithall the proudest and disdainfullest. Who perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst the filth and mire of the world, fast tied and nailed to the worst, most senselesse, and drooping part of the world, in the vilest corner of the house, and farthest from heavens coape, with those creatures that are the worst of the three conditions; and yet dareth imaginarily place himselfe above the circle of the moon, and reduce heaven under his feet. It is through the vanitie of the same imagination that he dare equall himself to God, that he ascribeth divine conditions unto himself, that he selecteth and separateth himselfe from out the ranke of other creatures; to which his fellow-brethren and compeers he cuts out and shareth their parts, and alloteth them what portions of meanes or forces he thinkes good. How knoweth he by the vertue of his understanding the inward and secret motions of beasts? By what comparison from them to us doth he conclude the brutishnesse he ascribeth unto them? When I am playing with my cat, who knowes whether she have more sport in dallying with me than I have in gaming with her? We entertaine one another with mutuall apish trickes. If I have my houre to begin or to refuse, so hath she hers. Plato in setting forth the golden age under Saturne, amongst the chiefe advantages that man had then, reporteth the communication he had with beasts, of whom enquiring and taking instruction, he knew the true qualities and differences of every one of them: by and

¹ MANIL. Astron. l. i. 57. iv. 93. ² Ib. l. iv. 178.
³ Ib. 70-85, 118. ⁴ CIC. Nat. Deor. l. i.

¹ SEN. Ira. l. ii. c. o.

² Ib. Epist. xcv.

from whom he got an absolute understanding and perfect wisdom, whereby he led a happier life than we can doe. Can we have a better prooffe to judge of mans impudency touching beasts? This notable author was of opinion that in the greatest part of the corporall forme which nature hath bestowed on them, she hath only respected the use of the prognostications, which in his dales were thereby gathered. That defect which hindreth the communication betweene them and us, why may it not as well be in us as in them? It is a matter of divination to guesse in whom the fault is that we understand not one another. For we understand them no more than they us. By the same reason, may they as well esteeme us beasts as we them. It is no great marvell if we understand them not: no more doe we the Cornish, the Welch, or Irish. Yet have some boasted that they understood them, as Apollonius Thyaneus, Melampus, Tiresias, Thales, and others. And if it be (as Cosmographers report) that there are nations who receive and admit a dogge to be their king, it must necessarily follow that they give a certaine interpretation to his voice and moving. We must note the parity that is betweene us. We have some meane understanding of their senses, so have beasts of ours, about the same measure. They flatter and faune upon us, they threat and entreat us, so doe we them. Touching other matters, we manifestly perceive that there is a full and perfect communication amongst them, and that not only those of one same kinde understand one another, but even such as are of different kindes.

*Et mutæ pecudæ, et denique seclæ ferarum
Dissimiles fuerunt voces variasque cluere
Cum metus aut dolor est, aut cum iam gaudia
gliscunt.*

Whole heard's (though dumbe) of beasts, both
wild and tame,
Use divers voices, different sounds to frame,
As joy, or griefe, or feare,
Upspringing passions beare.

By one kinde of barking of a dogge, the horse knoweth he is angrie; by another voice of his, he is nothing dismayd. Even in beasts that have no voice at all, by the reciprocall kindnesse which we see in them, we easily inferre there is some other meane of entercommunication: their jestures treat, and their motions discourse.

*Non alia longè ratione atque ipsa videtur
Protrahere ad gestum, pueros infantia lingua.*

No otherwise, then for they cannot speake,
Children are drawne by signes their mindes
to breake.

And why not, as well as our dumbe men dispute, argue, and tell histories by signes? I have seene some so ready and so excellent in it, that (in good sooth) they wanted nothing to have their meaning perfectly understood. Doe we not daily see lovers, with the lookes and rowling of their eyes, plainly shew when they are angrie or pleased, and how they entreat and thanke one another, assigne meetings, and expresse any passion?

*E'l silentio ancor suole
Haver prieghi e parole.
Silence also hath a way,
Words and prayers to convey.*

What doe we with our hands? Doe we not sue and entreat, promise and performe, call men unto us and discharge them, bid them farewell and be gone, threaten, pray, beseech, deny, refuse, demand, admire, number, confesse, repent, feare, bee ashamed, doubt, instruct, command, incite, encourage, sweare, witness, accuse, condemne, absolve, injurie, despise, defie, despight, flatter, applaud, blesse, humble, mocke, reconcile, recommend, exalt, shew gladnesse, rejoyce, complaine, waile, sorrow, discomfort, dispaire, cry out, forbid, declare silence and astonishment: and what not? with so great variation and amplifying as if they would contend with the tongue. And with our head doe we not invite and call to us, discharge and send away, avow, disavow, belie, welcome, honour, worship, disdain, demand, direct, rejoyce, affirme, deny, complaine, cherish, blandish, chide, yeeld, subinit, brag, boast, threaten, exhort, warrant, assure, and enquire? What doe we with our eye-lids? and with our shoulders? To conclude, there is no motion nor jesture that doth not speake, and speaks in: language very easie, and without any teaching to be understood: nay, which is more, it is a language common and publike to all: whereby it followeth (seeing the varietie and severall use it hath from others) that this must rather be deemed the proper and peculiar speech of humane nature. I omit that which necessitie in time of need doth particularly instruct and suddenly teach such as need it; and the alphabets upon fingers, and grammars by jestures; and the sciences which are onely exercised and expressed by them: and the nations Plinie reporteth to have no other speech. An Ambassador of the Citie of Abderra, after he had talked a long time unto Agis, King of Sparta, said thus unto him: "O King, what answer wilt thou that I beare backe unto our citizens?" "Thus (answered he) that I have suffered thee to speake all thou wouldst, and as long as thou pleasedst,

without ever speaking one word." Is not this a kinde of speaking silence, and easie to be understood? And as for other matters; what sufficiency is there in us that we must not acknowledge from the industry and labours of beasts? Can there be a more formall and better ordered policie, divided into so severall charges and offices, more constantly entertained, and better maintained, than that of Bees? Shall we imagine their so orderly disposing of their actions, and managing of their vocations, have so proportioned and formall a conduct without discourse, reason, and forecast?

*Hic quidam signis atque hæc exempla sequuti,
Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et haustus
Æthereos dixere.*

Some by these signes, by these examples moved,
Said that in Bees there is and may be proved
Some taste of heavenly kinde,
Part of celestiall minde.

The Swallows which, at the approach of spring-time, we see to pry, to search, and ferret all the corners of our houses; is it without judgement they seeke, or without discretion they chuse from out a thousand places, that which is fittest for them to build their nests and lodging? And in that pretty cunning contexture and admirable framing of their houses, would birds rather fit themselves with a round than a square figure, with an obtuse than a right angle, except they knew both the commodities and effects of them? Would they (suppose you) first take water and then clay, unless they guessed that the hardnesse of the one is softened by the moistnesse of the other? Would they floore their palace with mosse or downe, except they foresaw that the tender parts of their young ones shall thereby lie more soft and easie? Would they shie and shelter themselves from stormy weather, and build their cabbins towards the East, unless they knew the different conditions of winds, and considered that some are more healthfull and safe for them than some others? Why doth the Spider spin her artificiall web thicke in one place and thin in another? And now useth one, and then another knot, except she had an imaginary kinde of deliberation, fore-thought, and conclusion? We perceive by the greater part of their workes what excellency beasts have over us, and how weake our art and short our cunning is, if we goe about to imitate them. We see, notwithstanding, even in our grossest workes, what faculties we employ in them, and how our minde employeth the uttermost of her skill and

forces in them: why should wee not thinke as much of them? Wherefore doe we attribute the workes which excell whatever we can performe, either by nature or by art, unto a kinde of unknowne, naturall, and servile inclination? Wherein unawares wee give them a great advantage over us, to infer that nature, led by a certaine loving kindnesse, leadeeth and accompanieth them (as it were by the hand) unto all the actions and commodities of their life; and that she forsaketh and leaveth us to the hazard of fortune; and by art to quest and finde out those things that are behovefull and necessarie for our preservation: and therewithall denieth us the meanes to attaine by any institution and contention of spirit to the naturall sufficiency of brute beasts: So that their brutish stupidity doth in all commodities exceed whatsoever our divine intelligence can effect. Verily, by this account, wee might have just cause and great reason to terme her a most unjust and partiall stepdame: But there is no such thing, our policy is not so deformed and disordered. Nature hath generally imbraced all her creatures: And there is not any but she hath amply stored with all necessary meanes for the preservation of their being. For the daily complaints, which I often heare men make (when the licence of their conceits doth sometimes raise them above the clouds, and then headlong tumble them downe ven to the Antipodes), exclaiming that man is the onely forsaken and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arme himselfe withall but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll, with stings, with bristles, with hides, with mosse, with feathers, with skales, with fleeces, and with silke, according as their quality might need or their condition require: And hath fenced and armed them with claws, with nailes, with talons, with hooves, with teeth, with stings, and with hornes, both to assaile others and to defend themselves: And hath moreover instructed them in everything fit and requisite for them, as to swim, to runne, to creepe, to flie, to roare, to bellow, and to sing: whereas man only (Oh, silly, wretched man) can neither goe, nor speake, nor shift, nor feed himselfe, unless it be to whine and weepe onely, except hee bee taught.

*Tum porro, puer ut sævis projectus ab undis
Narvita, nudus humi jacet infans, indigus omni
Vitali auxilio, cum primum in luminis oras
Nexibus ex alvo matris natura profudit,
Vagilique locum lugubri complet, ut aquum est*

*Cui tantum in vita restet transire malorum :
At varia crescunt pecudes, armenta, feraque,
Nec crepitacula eis opus est, nec cuiquam adhibenda est*

*Almae nutricis blanda atque infracta loquela :
Nec varias quarunt vestes pro tempore cali :
Denique non armis opus est, non manibus altis
Quis sua tulentur, quando omnibus omnia large
Tellus ipsa parit, naturaque dædala rerum.*¹

An infant, like a shipwrecked ship-boy cast
from seas,
Lies naked on the ground and speechlesse,
wanting all
The helpe of vitall spirit, when nature with
small ease
Of throes, to see first light, from her wombe
lets him fall,
Then, as is meet, with mournfull cries he fills
the place,
For whom so many ills remaine in his lives
race.
But divers herds of tame and wild beasts
foreward spring,
Nor need they rattles, nor of Nurces cock-
ring-kind
The flattering broken speech their lullaby
need sing.
Nor seeke they divers coats, as divers sea-
sons bind.
Lastly no armour need they, nor high-rear'd
wall
Whereby to guard their owne, since all things
unto all
Worke-master nature doth produce,
And the earth largely to their use.

Such complaints are false. There is a greater equality and more uniforme relation in the policy of the world. Our skin is as sufficiently provided with hardnesse against the injuries of the weather as theirs. Witness divers nations which yet never knew the use of clothes. Our ancient Gauls were but slightly apparelled, no more are the Irish-men, our neighbours, in so cold a climate : which we may better judge by our selves, for all those parts of our bodie we are pleased to leave bare to winde and wether, are by experience found able to endure it. If there were any weake part in us which in likely-hood should seeme to feare cold, it ought to be the stomacke, where digestion is made. Our forefathers used to have it bare, and our ladies (as dainty-nice as they be) are many times seene to goe open-breasted, as low as their navill. The bandles and swathes about our children are no more necessary ; and the mothers of Lacedæmonia brought up theirs in all liberty and loosenesse of moving their limbs without swathing or binding. Our whining, our puling, and our weeping is common to most creatures, and divers of them are often seene to waille and grone a long time after their birth, forsomuch as it is a countenance

fitting the weaknesse wherein they feeble themselves. As for the use of eating and feeding, it is in us, as in them, naturall and without teaching.

*Sentit enim vim quisque suam quam possit abuti.*²

For every one soone-understanding is Of his owne strength, which he may use amisse.

Who will make question that a child having attained the strength to feed himselfe, could not quest for his meat and shift for his drinke ? The earth without labour or tilling doth sufficiently produce and offer him as much as he shall need. And if not at all times, no more doth she unto beasts ; witness the provision wee see the ants and other silly creatures to make against the cold and barren seasons of the year. The nations that have lately bin discovered, so plenteously stored with all manner of naturall meat and drinke, without care or labor, teach us that bread is not our onely food : and that without toyling our common mother nature hath with great plentie stored us with whatsoever should be needfull for us, yea, as it is most, likely, more richly and amply than now adaies she doth, that we have added so much art unto it.

*Et tellus nitidas fruges vinetaque lata
Sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creavit,
Ipsa dedit dulces fatus, et fabula lata,
Que nunc vix nostro grandescunt æcia labore,
Conterimusque boves et vires agricolarum :*³

The earth it selfe at first of th' owne accord
Did men rich Vineyards, and cleane fruit afford.
It gave sweet of-springs food from sweeter soyle
Which yet scarce greater grow for all our toyle,
Yet tire therein we doe,
Both Plough-mens strength and Oxen too.

The gluttonous excesse and intemperate lavishnesse of our appetite exceeding all the inventions we endeavour to finde out wherewith to glut and cloy the same. As for armes and weapons, we have more that be naturall unto us than the greatest part of other beasts. We have more severall motions of limbs, and naturally without teaching : we reape more serviceable use of them than they doe. Those which are trained up to fight naked, are seene head long to cast themselves into the same hazards and dangers as we doe. If some beasts excell us in this advantage, we exceed many others : and the industrie to enable the skill to fortifie and the wit to shelter and cover our body by artificiall meanes, we have it by a kinde of naturall instinct and teaching. Which to prove, the elephant doth whet and sharpen his teeth he useth

¹ LUCR. l. v. 322.

² LUCR. l. v. 104.

³ LUCR. l. ii. 126.

in warre (for he hath some he only useth for that purpose) which he heedfully spareth and never puts them to other service: When buls prepare themselves to fight, they raise, scatter, and with their feet cast the dust about them: the wilde boare whets his tusks; when the Ichneumon is to grapple with the crocodile, he walloweth his body in the mire, then lets the same drie and harden upon him, which he doth so often that at last the same becomes as hard and tough as well as any compact crust, which serveth him in stead of a cuirace. Why shall we not say that it is as naturall for us to arme our selves with wood and yron? As for speech, sure it is that if it be not naturall it is not necessary. I beleieve, neverthelesse, that if a childe, bred in some uncouth solitarinesse, farre from haunt of people (though it were a hard matter to make triall of it) would no doubt have some kinde of words to expresse, and speech to utter his conceits. And it is not to be imagined that nature hath refused us that meane and barred us that helpe which she hath bestowed upon many and divers other creatures: for what is that faculty we see in them when they seeme to complaine, to rejoyce, to call one unto another for helpe, and bid one another to loving conjunction (as commonly they doe) by the use of their voice, but a kind of speech? And shall not they speake among themselves that speake and utter their minde unto us and we to them? How many waies speake we unto our dogges, and they seeme to understand and answer us? With another language and with other names speake we unto and call them than we doe our birds, our hogges, our oxen, our horses, and such like; and according to their different kindes we change our idiome.

*Così per entro loro schiera bruna
S'ammusa l'una con l'altra formica,
Forse à spiar lor via, et lor fortuna.*¹

So As amidst their sable-coloured band
One with another mouth to mouth confer,
Haply their way, or state to understand.

Me seemeth that Lactantius² doth not only attribute speech unto beasts, but also laughing. And the same difference of

*variaque volucres
Longe alias alio jaciunt in tempore vocis*

¹ DANTE, *Purgatorio*, xxvi. 34.

² *Instit. Divin.* l. iii. c. 10.

*Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus und
Raucos cantus.*¹

And divers birds, send forth much divers sounds
At divers times, and partly change the grounds
Of their hoarse-sounding song,
As seasons change along.

But it would be knowne what language such a child should speake, and what some report by divination, hath no great likelihood. And if against this opinion a man would alleage unto me that such as are naturally deafe, speake not at all: I answer that it is not onely because they could not receive the instruction of the world by their eares, but rather inasmuch as the sense of hearing, whereof they are deprived, hath some affinity with that of speaking, both which with a naturall kinde of ligament or seame hold and are fastned together. In such sort as what we speake we must first speake it unto our selves, and before we utter and send the same forth to strangers we make it inwardly to sound unto our eares. I have said all this to maintaine the coherency and resemblance that is in all humane things, and to bring us unto the generall throng. We are neither above nor under the rest: what ever is under the coape of heaven (saith the wise man) runneth one law, and followeth one fortune.

*Indupedita suis fatalibus omnia vinculis.*²

All things enfolded are,
In fatal bonds as fits their share.

Some difference there is, there are orders and degrees; but all is under the visage of one same nature.

*res quaque suo ritu procedit, et omnes
Federe nature certo discrimina servant.*³

All things proceed in their course, natures all
Keepe difference, as in their league doth fall.

Man must be forced and marshalled within the lists of this policie. Miserable man, with all his wit, cannot in effect goe beyond it: he is embraced and engaged, and as other creatures of his ranke are, he is subjected in like bondes, and without any prerogative or essentiall pre-excellence; what ever privilege he assume unto himselfe, he is of very meane condition. That which

Aristotle to that purpose alleageth the divers calles or purres of partridges, according to the situation of their place of breeding.

alone, above all other creatures, hath this libertie of imagination and this licence of thoughts which represent unto him both what is and what is not, and what him pleaseth, falsehood and truth; it is an advantage bought at a very high rate, and whereof he hath little reason to glorie: for

¹ *Lucr.* l. v. 1088.

² *Id.* 885.

³ *Id.* 932.

thence springs the chiefeſt ſource of all the miſchiefs that oppreſſe him, as ſinne, ſickeſſe, irreſolution, trouble and deſpaire. But to come to my purpoſe, I ſay therefore, there is no likelyhood, we ſhould imagine, the beaſts doe the very ſame things by a naturall inclination and forced genuitie, which we doe of our owne freewill and induſtrie. Of the very ſame effects we muſt conclude alike faculties; and by the richeſt effects infer the nobleſt faculties, and conſequently acknowledge that the ſame diſcoure and way we hold in working, the very ſame, or perhaps ſome other better, doe beaſts hold. Wherefore ſhall we imagine that naturall compulſion in them, that prove no ſuch effect our ſelves? Since it is more honourable to be addreſſed to act, and tyed to worke orderly, by and through a naturall and unavoideable condition and moſt approaching to Divinitie, than regularly to worke and act by and through a caſuall and raſh libertie; and it is ſafer to leave the reignes of our conduct unto nature than unto ourſelves. The vanitie of our preſumption maketh us rather to be beholding and as it were ended into our owne ſtrength, for our ſufficiency, than unto her liberalitie; and we enrich other creatures with naturall gifts, and yeeld thoſe unto them, that ſo we may ennoble and honour our ſelves with gifts purchaſed, as me thinketh, by a very ſimple humour: for I would prize graces and value gifts that were altogether mine owne, and naturall unto me, as much as I would thoſe I had begged, and with a long prentiſhip, ſhifted for. It lyeth not in our power to obtaine a greater commendation than to be favoured both of God and Nature. By that reaſon, the fox, which the inhabitants of Thrace uſe when they will attempt to march upon the yce of ſome frozen river, and to that end let her go looſe afore them, ſhould we ſee her running alongſt the river ſide, approach her eare cloſe to the yce, to liſten whether by any farre or neere diſtance ſhe may heare the noiſe or roaring of the water running under the ſame, and according as ſhe perceiveth the yce thereby to be thicke or thinne, to goe either forward or backward; might not we lawfully judge that the ſame diſcoure poſſeſſeth her head as in like caſe it would ours? And that it is a kinde of debating reaſon and conſequence drawn from naturall ſenſe? Whatſoever maketh a noiſe moveth, whatſoever moveth is not frozen, whatſoever is not frozen is liquid, whatſoever is liquid yeelds under any weight? For to impute that only to a quickneſſe of the ſenſe of hearing, without diſcoure or

conſequence, is but a fond concept, and cannot enter into my imagination. The like muſt be judged of ſo many wiles and inventions wherewith beaſts ſave themſelves from the ſnares and ſcape the baits we lay to entrap them. And if we will take hold of any advantage tending to that purpoſe, that it is in our power to ſeiſe upon them, to employ them to our ſervice, and to uſe them at our pleaſure; it is but the ſame oddes we have one upon another. To which purpoſe we have our ſlaves or bond-men; and were not the Climacides certain women in Syria, which creeping on al foure upon the ground, ſerved the ladies in ſteed of footſtoles or ladders to get up into their coachs? Where the greater part of free men, for very ſlight cauſes, abandon both their life and being to the power of others. The wives and concubines of the Thracians ſtrive and contend which of them ſhall be choſen to bee ſlaine over her husbands or lovers tombe. Have tyrants ever failed to find many men vowed to their devotion? Where ſome for an over-plus or ſupererogation have added this neceſſity, that they muſt neceſſarily accompany them as well in death as in life. Whole hoſtes of men have thus tyed themſelves unto their captaines. The tenor of the oath miniſtered unto the ſchollars that entered and were admitted the rude ſchoole of Roman Gladiators emplied theſe promiſes, which was this: 'We vow and ſweare to ſuffer our ſelves to be enchained, beaten, burned, and killed with the ſword, and endure whatſoever any lawfull ſenſer ought to endure for his maſter: moſt religiously engaging both our bodie and ſoule to the uſe of his ſervice.'

*Ure memm, ſi vis, flamma caput, et pete ferro
Corpus, et intorto verbere terga ſeca.*

Burne tyrant (if thou wilt) my head with fire,
with ſword
My body ſtrike, my backe cut with hard-
twiſted cord.

Was not this a very ſtrict covenant? Yet were there ſome yeares ten thouſand found that entered and loſt themſelves in thoſe ſchooles. When the Scythians buried their king, they ſtrangled over his dead body firſt the chiefeſt and beſt beloved of his concubines, then his cup-bearer, the maſter of his horſe, his chamberlaine, the uſher of his chamber, and his maſter cooke. And in his anniversary killed fiftie horſe, mounted with fifty pages, whom before they had ſlaine with thruſting ſharpe ſtokes into their fundament, which, going up along their chine-bone, came out at their throat;

whom thus mounted ; they set in orderly ranks about the tombe. The men that serve us doe it better cheape, and for a lesse curious and favourable entreating than we use unto birds, unto horses, and unto dogges. What carke and toile apply we not ourselves unto for their sakes? Me thinks the vilest and basest servants will never doe that so willingly for their masters which princes are glad to doe for their beasts. Diogenes, seeing his kinsfolks to take care how they might redeeme him out

fish be so neere that, with a soudaine leape, she may catch it. Touching strength, there is no creature in the world open to so many wrongs and injuries as man : we need not a whale, an elephant, nor a crocodile, nor any such other wilde beast, of which one alone is of power to defeat a great number of men ; seely lice are able to make Silla give over his Dictatorship : the heart and life of a mighty and triumphant emperor is but the break-fast of a seely little worme. Why say we that skill to discern

keepe or entertaine beasts may rather say they serve them than that they are served of them. And yet they have that naturall greater magnanimity, that never lyon was seen to subject himselfe unto another lyon, nor one horse unto another horse, for want of heart. As wee hunt after beasts, so tygers and lyons hunt after men, and have a like exercise one upon another : hounds over the hare ; the pike or luce over the tench ; the swallowes over the grasse-hoppers, and the sparrow-hawkes over blacke-birds and larkes.

— serpente ciconia pullos
Nutrit, et inventa per devia rura lacerta,
Et leporem aut capream famule Iovis, et gene-
rosa
In saltu venantur aves.¹

The storke her young-ones feeds with serpents prey,

And lyzarts found somewhere out of the way,
Joves servants-Eagles, hawkes of nobler kinde,
In Forrests hunt, a hare or kid to finde.

We share the fruits of our prey with our dogges and hawkes, as a meed of their paine and reward of their industry. As about Amphipolis, in Thrace, faulkners and wilde hawks divide their game equally : and as about the Mæotid fennes, if fishers doe not very honestly leave behind them an even share of their fishings for the woolves that range about those coasts, they presently run and tenre their nets. And as we have a kinde of fishing rather managed by sleight than strength, as that of hooke and line about our angling-rods, so have beasts amongst themselves, Aristotle reporteth that the cuttle-fish casteth a long gut out of her throat, which like a line she sendeth forth, and at her pleasure pulleth it in againe, according as she perceiveth some little fish come neere her, who being close hidden in the gravell or stronde, letteth him nible or bite the end of it, and then by little and little drawes it in unto her, untill the

sickness, and to distinguish of those which are hurtfull, and to know the vertue of reubarb, qualitie of oake ferne, and operation of polipodie, is only peculiar unto man? When we see the Goats of Candia being shot with an arrow to choose from out a million of simples the herb Dittany or Garden-ginger, and therewith cure themselves ; and the Tortoise having eaten of a Viper immediately to seek for Origion or wild Marjoram to purge herselfe : the Dragon to run and cleare his eies with Fenel : the Cranes with their bills to minister glisters of sea-water unto themselves ; the Elephants to pull out, not only from themselves and their fellowes, but also from their masters (witness that of King Porus, whom Alexander defeated) such javelins or darts as in fight have beene hurled or shot at them, so nimbly and so cunningly as ourselves could never do it so easily and with so little paine : Why say wee not likewise that that is science and prudence in them? For, if to depress them some would allage it is by the onely instruction and instinct of Nature they know it, that will not take the name of science and title of prudence from them ; it is rather to ascribe it unto them than unto us for the honour of so assured a schoole-mistris. Chrysippus, albeit in other things as disdainfull a judge of the condition of beasts as any other Philosopher, considering the earnest movings of the dog, who comming into a path that led three severall wayes in search or quest of his Master, whom he had lost, or in pursuit of some prey that hath escaped him, goeth sending first one way and then another, and having assured himself of two, because he findeth not the tracke of what he hunteth for, without more adoe furiously betakes himselfe to the third ; he is enforced to confesse that such a dog must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe, " I have followed my Masters footing hitherto, hee must of necessity pass by one of these three wayes ; it is neither this nor that, then con-

¹ Juv. Sat. xiv. 74.

sequently hee is gone this other." And by this conclusion or discourse assuring himselfe, comming to the third path, hee useth his sense no more, nor sounds it any longer, but by the power of reason suffers himselfe violently to be carried through it. This meere logicall tricke, and this use of divided and conjoynd propositions, and of the sufficient numbering of parts: is it not as good that the dog know it by himselfe, as by Trapezuntius his logicke? Yet are not beasts altogether unapt to be instructed after our manner. We teach Blacke-birds, Starlings, Ravens, Piots, and Parots to chat; and that facilitie we perceive in them to lend us their voyce so supple and their wind so tractable, that so wee may frame and bring it to a certaine number of letters and silables, witnesseth they have a kinde of inward reason which makes them so docile and willing to learne. I thinke every man is cloied and wearied with seeing so many apish and mimmiike trickes that juglers teach their Dogges, as the dances, where they misse not one cadence of the sounds or notes they heare: Marke but the divers turnings and severall kinds of motions which by the commandement of their bare words they make them performe: But I wonder not a little at the effect, which is ordinary amongst us; and that is, the dogs which blind men use, both in Citie and Country: I have observed how sodainly they will stop when they come before some doores where they are wont to receive almes; how carefully they will avoyd the shooke of Carts and Coaches, even when they have roome enough to passe by them selves. I have seene some going along a Towne-ditch leave a plaine and even path and take a worse, that so they might draw their Master from the ditch. How could a man make the dog conceive his charge was only to looke to his masters safetie, and for his service to despise his owne commoditie and good? And how should he have the knowledge that such a path would be broad enough for him, but not for a blind man? Can all this be conceived without reason? We must not forget what Plutarke affirmeth to have seene a dog in Rome doe before the Emperour Vespasian the father in the Theatre of Marcellus. This Dog served a jugler, who was to play a fiction of many faces and sundry countenances, where he also was to act a part. Amongst other things he was for a long while to counterfeit and faine himself dead, because he had eaten of a certain drugg: having swallowed a peece of bread, which was supposed to be the drug, he began sodainly to stagger and shake as if he had bene giddie, then stretching and laying

himselfe along as stiffe as if hee were starke dead, suffered himself to be dragged and haled from one place to another, according to the subject and plot of the play, and when he knew his time, first he began faire and softly to stirre, as if he were roused out of a dead slumber, then lifting up his head hee looked and stared so gastly that all the by-standers were amazed. The Oxen, which in the Kings gardens of Susa were taught to water them and to draw water out of deepe wells, turned certaine great wheeles, to which were fastned great buckets (as in many places of Languedoke is commonly scene) and being every one appoynted to draw just a hundred turnes a day, they were so accustomed to that number as it was impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which taske ended they would suddenly stop. We are growne striplings before we can tell a hundred; and many nations have lately bene discovered that never knew what numbers meant. More discourse is required to teach others than to be taught. And omitting what Democritus judged and proved, which is, that beasts have instructed us in most of our Arts: As the Spider to weave and sew, the Swallow to build, the Swan and the Nightingale musicke, and divers beasts, by imitating them, the Art of Physicke: Aristotle is of opinion that Nightingales teach their young ones to sing, wherein they employ both long time and much care: whence it followeth that those which we keepe tame in cages and have not had leasure to go to their parents schoole, lose much grace in their singing. Whereby we may conclude they are much amended by discipline and study. And amongst those that run wilde, their song is not all one nor alike. Each one hath learnt either better or worse, according to his capacity. And so jealous are they in their prentisship, that to excell one another they will so stoutly contend for the mastery that many times such as are vanquished die; their winde and strength sooner failing than their voice. The young-ones wil very sadly sit recording their lesson, and are often seene labouring how to imitate certaine song-notes: The Scholler listeneth attentively to his Masters lesson, and carefully yeeldeth account of it; now one and then another shall hold his peace: Marke but how they endeavour to amend their faults, and how the elder striveth to reprove the youngest. Arrius protesteth to have seene an Elephant who on every thigh had a cimball hanging and one fastned to his truncke, at the sound of which all other Elephants danced in a round, now rising aloft,

then lowting full low at certaine cadences, even as the instrument directed them, and was much delighted with the harmony. In the great shewes of Rome Elephants were ordinarily scene, taught to move and dance at the sound of a voice, certaine dances, wherein were many strange shifts, entchanges, caprings, and cadences, very hard to be learned. Some have bene noted to konne and practise their lessons, using much study and care, as being loath to be chidden and beaten of their masters. But the tale of the piot is very strange, which Plutarke confidently witnesseth to have seene : " This juy was in a Barbers shop of Rome, and was admirable in counterfeiting with her voice whatsoever she heard : It fortun'd one day that certaine Trumpeters staid before this shop and there sounded a good while ; and being gone, all that day and the next after the piot began to be very sad, silent, and melancholy, whereat all men marvelled, and surmized that the noise or clang of the trumpets had thus affrighted and dizzied her, and that with her hearing she had also lost her voice. But at last they found she was but in a deep study and dumpish, retracting into herself, exercising her minde, and preparing her voice to represent the sound, and expresse the noise of the Trumpets she had heard. And the first voice she uttered was that wherein she perfectly expressed their straines, their closes, and their changes : having by her new prentiship altogether quit, and as it were scorned whatever she could prattle before. I will not omit to allenge another example of a Dogge, which Plutarke also saith to have seen (as for any order or method I know very well I do but confound it, which I observe no more in ranging these examples than I doe in all the rest of my business), who being in a ship, noted that his Dogge was in great perplexity how to get some Oyle out of a deepe Pitcher, which by reason of its narrow mouth he could not reach with his tongue, got him presently some Pibble stones, and put so many into the jarre that he made the Oyle come up so neare the brimme as he could easily reach and licke some. And what is that but the effect of a very subtil spirit ? It is reported that the ravens of Barbary will doe the like, when the water they would drinke is too low. This action doth somewhat resemble that which Iuba, a King of that Nation, relateth of their Elephants ; that when through the wiles of those that chafe them, anyone chanceth to fall into certaine deepe pits which they prepare for them, and to deceive them they cover over with reeds, shrubs, and boughes, his fellowes will speedily with all diligence

bring great store of stones and peeces of of timber that so they may helpe to recover him out againe. But this beast hath in many other effects such affinity with mans sufficiency, that would I particularly trace out what experience hath taught, I should easily get an affirmation of what I so ordinarily maintaine, which is, that there is more difference found betweene such aud such a man, than betweene such a beast and such a man. An Elephants keeper in a private house of Syria was wont every meale to steele away halfe of the allowance which was allotted him ; it fortun'd on a day his master would needs feed him himselfe, and having poured that just measure of barley which for his allowance he had prescribed him, into his manger, the elephant, sternely eying his master, with his trunkke divided the provender in two equal parts, and laid the one aside, by which he declared the wrong his keeper did him. Another having a keeper, who to encrease the measure of his provender was wont to mingle stones with it, came one day to the pot which with ment in it for his keepers dinner was seething over the fire, and filled it up with ashes. These are but particular effects, but that which all the world hath seene, and all men know, which is, that in all the armies that came out of the East, their chiefest strength consisted in their elephants, by whom they reaped, without comparison, farre greater effects than now adaies we do by our great ordnance, which in a manner holds their place in a ranged battel (such as have any knowledge in ancient histories may easily guesse it to be true).

— *si quidem Tyrio servire solebant Anibali, et nostris ducibus, regique Molosso Horum majores, et dorso ferre cohortes. Partem aliquam belli, et euntem in prælia curriam.*

Their elders usde great Hannibal to steed
Our Leaders, and Molossoian Kings at need,
And on their backe to beare strong guarding
Knights,
Part of the warre, and troupes address to
fights.

A man must needs rest assured of the confidence they had in these beasts, and of their discourse, yeelding the front of a battel unto them ; where the least stay they could have made, by reason of their hugeness and weight of their bodies, and the least amazement that might have made them turne head upon their owne men, had bin sufficient to lose all. And few examples have been noted that ever it fortun'd they turned upon their owne troupes, whereas we head-long

throng one upon another, and so are put to rout. They had charge given them, not onely of one simple moving, but of many and severall parts in the combat. As the Spaniards did to their dogges in their new conquest of the Indias, to whom they gave wages and imparted their booties, which beasts shewed as much dexteritie in pursuing and judgement in staying their victorie, in charging or retreating, and, as occasion served, in distinguishing their friends from their enemies, as they did earnestnesse and eagernes. We rather admire and consider strange than common things, without which I should never so long have amused my selfe about this tedious catalogue. For, in my judgement, he that shall meere check what we ordinarily see in those beasts that live amongst us shall in them finde as wonderful effects as those which with so much toyle are collected in far countries and passed ages. It is one same nature which still doth keep her course. He that thoroughly should judge her present estate might safely conclude both what shall happen and what is past. I have seen amongst us men brought by sea from distant countries, whose language, because we could in no wise understand, and that their fashions, their countenance, and their clothes did altogether differ from ours, who of us did not deem them brutish and savage? Who did not impute their muteness unto stupiditie or beastlines, and to see them ignorant of the French tongue, of our kissing the hands, of our low-lowing courtesies, of our behaviour and carriage, by which, without contradiction, humane nature ought to take her patterne? Whatsoever seemeth strange unto us, and we understand not, we blame and condemne. The like befalleth us in our judging of beasts. They have diverse qualities, which somewhat simbolize with ours, from which we may comparatively draw some conjecture, but of such as are peculiar unto them what know we what they are? Horses, dogges, oxen, sheepe, birds, and the greater number of sensitive creatures that live amongst us, know our voyce, and by it suffer themselves to be directed. So did the lamprey which Crassus had, and came to him when he called it: so do the eeles that breed in Arethusa's fountaine. And my selfe have seene some fish-ponds where at a certaine crie of those that kept them, the fish would presently come to shoare, where they were wont to be fed.

They have their proper names, and every one Comes at his masters voyce, as call'd upon.

By which we may judge and conclude that elephants have some apprehension of religion, forsomuch as after diverse washings and purifications, they are seene to lift up their truncke as we doe our armes, and at certaine houres of the day, without any instruction, of their owne accord, holding their eyes fixed towards the sunne-rising, fall into a long meditating contemplation; yet, because we see no such appearance in other beasts, may wee rightly conclude that they are altogether void of religion, and may not take that in payment which is hidden from us. As we perceive something in that action which the Philosopher Cleanthes well observed, because it somewhat draws neere unto ours. He saw (as himselfe reporteth) a company of emmets, goe from their nest, bearing amongst them the body of a dead ant, toward another emmets nest, from which many other ants came, as it were to meet them by the way to parly with them, who after they had continued together awhile, they which came last, returned backe to consult (as you may imagine) with their fellow-citizens, and because they could hardly come to any capitulation, they made two or three voyages to and fro. In the end, the last come brought unto the other a worrne from their habitation, as for a ransom of the dead, which worrne the first company tooke upon their backes, and carried it home, leaving the dead body unto the other. Loe, here the interpretation that Cleanthes gave it: Witnessing thereby that those creatures which have no voice at all, have nevertheless mutual commerce and interchangeable communication, whereof if we be not partakers, it is onely our fault; and therefore doe we fondly to censure it. And they yet produce divers other effects, farre surpassing our capacity, and so farre out of the reach of our imitation that even our thoughts are unable to conceive them. Many hold opinion that in the last and famous sea-fight which Antonie lost against Augustus, his admiral-galley was in her course staied by that little fish the Latines call Remora, and the English a Suck-stone, whose property is to stay any ship he can fasten himselfe unto. And the Emperour Caligula, sailing with a great fleet along the coast of Romania, his owne galley was suddenly staied by such a fish, which he caused to be taken sticking fast to the keele, moodily raging that so little a creature had the power to force both sea and winde, and the violence of all his cares, onely with her bil sticking to his galley (for it is a kinde of

— *nomen habent, et ad magistri Vocem quisque sui venit citatus.*¹

¹ MART. l. iv. *Epig.* xxx. 6.

shellfish), and was much more amazed when he perceived the fish being brought aboard his ship to have no longer that powerfull vertue which it had being in the sea. A certaine citizen of Cyzicum, whilom purchased unto himselfe the reputation to be an excellent mathematician, because he had learn't the quality of the hedge-hogge, whose property is to build his hole or denne open diverse waies, and toward severall winds, and fore-seeing rising stormes, he presently stoppeth the holes that way, which thing the foresaid citizen heedfully observing, would in the City foretell any future storm, and what wind should blow. The camelcon taketh the colour of the place wherein he is. The fish called a pourcontrell, or manie-feet, changeth himselfe into what colour he lists as occasion offereth it selfe, that so he may hide himselfe from what he feareth, and catch what he seeketh for. In the camelcon it is a change proceeding of passion, but in the pourcontrell a change in action; we our selves doe often change our colour and alter our countenance through sudden feare, choler, shame, and such like violent passions, which are wont to alter the hew of our faces, but it is by the effect of sufferance, as in the camelcon. The jaundise hath power to make us yelow, but it is not in the disposition of our wils. The effects we perceive in other creatures, greater than ours, wisse some more excellent faculty in them, which is concealed from us; as it is to be supposed diverse others of their conditions and forces are, whereof no appearance or knowledge commeth to us. Of all former prædictions, the ancientest and most certaine were such as were drawn from the flight of birds; we have nothing equall unto it, nor so admirable. The rule of fluttering, and order of shaking their wings, by which they conjecture the consequences of things to ensue, must necessarily be directed to so noble an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meane. For it is a wresting of the letter to attribute so wondrous effects to any naturall decree, without the knowledge, consent, or discourse of him that causeth and produceth them, and is a most false opinion, which to prove, the torpedo or cramp-fish hath the property to benumme and astonish, not onely the limbs of those that touch it, but also theirs that with any long pole or fishing line touch any part thereof, shee doth transmit and convey a kinde of heave numming into the hands of those that stirre or handle the same. Moreover, it is averred that if any matter be cast upon them the astonishment is sensibly felt to gaine upward, untill

it come to the hands, and even through the water it astonisheth the feeling-sence. Is not this a wonderfull power? Yet is it not altogether unprofitable for the Cramp-fish, she both knowes and makes use of it: for to catch prey she pursueth, she is seene to hide herselfe under the mud, that, other fishes swimming over her, stricken and benumbed with her exceeding coldnesse, may fall into her claws. The Cranes, Swallowes, and other wandering birds, changing their abode according to the seasons of the yeare, shew evidently the knowledge they have of their fore-divining faculty, and often put the same in use. Hunters assure us that to chuse the best dog, and which they purpose to keepe from out a litter of other young whelps, there is no better meane than the damme herselfe: for, if they be removed from out their kennell, him that she first brings thither againe shall alwaies prove the best; or if one but encompass her kennell with fire, looke which of her whelps she first seeketh to save, is undoubtedly the best: whereby it appeareth they have a certaine use of prognosticating that we have not; or else some hidden vertue to judge of their young ones, different and more lively than ours. The manner of all beasts breeding, engendering, nourishing, working, moving, living, and dying, being so neere to ours, what ever we abridge from their moving causes, and adde to our condition above theirs, can no way depart from our reasons discourse. For a regiment of our health, Physitians propose the example of beasts manner of life and proceeding unto us: for this common saying is alwaies in the people's mouth:

*Tenez chauds les pieds et la teste,
Au demeurant vivez en beste.¹*

Keepe warme (t'is meete) they head and feete:
In all the rest, live like a beast.

Generation is the chiefest naturall action: we have a certaine disposition of some members fittest for that purpose; nevertheless, they bid us range our selves unto a brutish situation and disposition, as most effectuell:

— more ferarum,
*Quadrupedumque magis ritu, plerumque
putantur
Concipere uxores: quia sic loca sumere possunt,
Pectoribus posititis, sublatiis semina lumbis.²*

And reject those indiscreet and insolent motions which women have so luxuriously found out, as hurtfull: conforming them to the example and use of beasts of their sex, as more modest and considerate.

¹ JOUB. *Err Pop.* ii. 140.

² LUCR. l. iv. 1256.

*Nam mulier prohibet se concipere, atque
repugnat,
Clunibus ipsa viri Venerem si lata retractet,
Atque exossato ciet omni pectore fluctus,
Eficet enim sulci recta regione viaque
Venerem, quod locis avertit seminis ictum.*¹

If it be justice to give every one his due, beasts which serve, love, and defend their benefactors, pursue and outrage strangers, and such as offend them, by so doing they represent some shew of our justice, as also in reserving a high kinde of equality in dispensing of what they have to their young ones. Touching friendship, without all comparison, they professe it more lively and shew it more constantly than men. Hircanius, a dog of Lysimachus the King, his master being dead, without eating or drinking, would never come from off his bed, and when the dead corps was removed thence he followed it, and lastly flung himself into the fire where his master was burned. As did also the dogge of one called Pyrrhus, who after he was dead would never budge from his masters couch, and when he was removed suffered himselfe to be carried away with him, and at last flung himselfe into the fire wherein his master was consumed. There are certaine inclinations of affection which, without counsell of reason, arise sometimes in us, proceeding of a casual temerity, which some call sympathie: beasts as wel as men are capable of it. We see horses take a kinde of acquaintance one of another, so that often, traveling by the highway or feeding together, we have much ado to keep them asunder; wee see them bend and applie their affections to some of their fellowes colours, as if it were upon a certaine visage; and when they meet with any such, with signes of joy and demonstration of good will to joine and accost them, and to hate and shunne some other formes and colours. Beasts as well as wee have choice in their loves, and are very nice in chusing of their mates. They are not altogether void of our extreme and unappeasable jealousies. Lustfull desires are either naturall and necessary as eating and drinking; or else naturall and not necessary, as the acquaintance of males and females; or else neither necessary nor naturall: of this last kinde are almost all mens, for they are all superfluous and artificiall. It is wonderfull to see with how little nature will be satisfied, and how little she hath left for us to be desired. The preparations in our kitchens doe nothing at all concerne her lawes. The Stoikes say that a man might very well sustaine himselfe with one olive a

day. The delicacy of our wines is no part of her lesson, no more is the surcharge and relishing which we adde unto our litcherous appetites.

— *neque illa
Magno prognatum deposcit consule cunnum.*¹

These strange lustfull longings which the ignorance of good, and a false opinion, have posset us with, are in number so infinite that in a manner they expell all those which are naturall, even as if there were so many strangers in a city, that should either banish and expell all the naturall inhabitants thereof, or utterly suppress their ancient power and authority, and absolutely usurping the same, take possession of it. Brute beastes are much more regular than we, and with more moderation containe themselves within the compasse which nature hath prescribed them; but not so exactly but that they have some coherency with our riotous licentiousnesse. And even as there have beene found certaine furious longings and unnaturall desires which have provoked men unto the love of beasts, so have diverse times some of them beene drawn to love us, and are possessed with monstrous affections from one kind to another: witness the elephant that in the love of an herb-wife, in the city of Alexandria, was corivall with Aristophanes the Grammarian, who in all offices pertayning to an earnest woer and passionate sunter yielded nothing unto him; for, walking thorow the fruit-market, he would here and there snatch up some with his trunkce, and carry them unto her: as neere as might be he would never loose the sight of her, and now and then over her band put his trunkce into her bosome, to feele her breasts. They also report of a dragon that was exceedingly in love with a young maiden, and of a goose in the city of Asope which dearly loved a young childe; also of a ram that belonged to the musitian Glausia. Do we not daily see munkies ragingly in love with women, and furiously to pursue them? And certaine other beasts given to love the males of their owne sex? Oppianus and others report some examples to shew the reverence and manifest the awe some beasts in their marriages beare unto their kindred; but experience makes us often see the contrary:

*nec habetur turpe juvenca
re patrem tergo: fit equo sua filia coniux:
Quasque creavit, inuit pecudes caper: ipsaque
cuius
Semine concepta est, ex illo concipit ales.*²

¹ HOR. l. i. Sat. ii. 30.

² OVID. Metam. l. x. 395.

¹ LUCR. l. iv. 1260.

To beare her Sire the Heifer shameth not :
 The Horse takes his owne Fillies maiden-head :
 The Goat gets them with young whom he begot :
 Birds breed by them, by whom themselves were
 bred.

Touching a subtil pranke and witty trickes, is there any so famous as that of Thales the philosopher's mule, which, laden with salt, passing thorow a river chanced to stumble, so that the sacks she carried were all wet, and perceiving the salt (because the water had melted it) to grow lighter, ceased not, as soone as she came neere any water, together with her load, to plunge herself therein, untill her master, being aware of her craft, commanded her to be laden with wooll, which being wet became heavier ; the mule finding herself deceived, used her former policy no more. There are many of them that lively represent the visage of our avarice, who with a greedy kinde of desire endeavour to surpris whatsoever comes within their reach, and though they reap no commodity, nor have any use of it, to hide the same very curiously. As for husbandry, they exceed us, not onely in fore-sight to spare and gather together for times to come, but have also many parts of the skill belonging thereunto. As the ants, when they perceive their come to grow mustie and graine to be sowre, for feare it should rot and putrifie, spread the same abroad before their nests, that so it may aire and drie. But the caution they use in gnawing, and prevention they employ in paring their graines of wheat, is beyond all imagination of mans wit : Because wheat doth not alwaies keep drie nor wholesome, but moisten, melt, and dissolve into a kind of whey, namely, when it beginneth to bud, fearing it should turne to seed, and lose the nature of a storehouse, for their sustenance, they part and gnaw off the end whereat it wents to bud. As for warre, which is the greatest and most glorious of all humane actions, I would faine know if we will use it for an argument of some prerogative, or otherwise for a testimonie of our imbecillitie and imperfection, as in truth the science we use to defeat and kill one another, to spoile and utterly to overthrow our owne kind, it seemeth it hath not much to make it selfe to be wished for in beasts, that have it not.

— quando leoni
*Fortior eripuit vitam leo, quo nemore unquam
 Exspiravit aper maioris dentibus apri !*¹

When hath a greater Lion damnside
 A Lions life ? in what wood ever di'de,
 A boare by tusks and gore,
 Of any greater boare ?

¹ JUVEN. Sat. xv. 160.

Yet are not they altogether exempted from it : witness the furious encounters of Bees, and the hostile enterprises of the Princes and Leaders of the two contrary Armies.

— saepe duobus
*Regibus incessit magno discordia motu,
 Continuoque animos vulgi et trepidantia bello
 Corda licet longe praesciscere.*¹
 Oft-times twixt two so great Kings great dissen-
 tion

With much adoe doth set them at contention ;
 The vulgare mindes strait may you see from farre,
 And hearts that tremble at the thought of warre.

I never marke this divine description but mee thinkes I read humane foolishnesse and worldly vanitie painted in it. For these motions of warre, which out of their horror and astonishment breed this tempest of cries and clang of sounds in us :

*Fulgur ubi ad caelum se tollit, totaque circum
 Ære renidescit tellus, subterque virum vi
 Excitur pedibus sonitus, clamoreque montes
 Icti rejectant voces ad sidera mundi.*²
 Where lightning raiseth it selfe to the skies,
 The earth shines round with armour, soundes doe
 rise

By mens force under feet, wounded with noyse
 The hills to heav'n reverberate their voyce.

This horror-causing aray of so many thousands of armed men, so great furie, earnest fervor, and undaunted courage, it would make one laugh to see by how many vaine occasions it is raised and set on fire, and by what light meanes it is again suppressed and extinct.

— Paridis propter narratur amorem
*Græcia Barbaria diro collisa duello.*³
 For Paris lustfull love (as Stories tell)
 All Greece to direfull warre with Asia fell.

The hatred of one man, a spight, a pleasure, a familiar suspect, or a jealousy, causes which ought not to move two scolding fish-wives to scratch one another, is the soule and motive of all this hurly-burly. Shall we beleve them that are the principall authors and causes therof? Let us but hearken unto the greatest and most victorious Emperour, and the mightiest that ever was, how pleasantly he laughs and wittily he plaies at so many battells and bloody fights, hazarded both by sea and land, at the blood and lives of five hundred thousand soules which followed his fortune, and the strength and riches of two parts of the world consumed and drawne drie for the service of his enterprise :

*Quod fuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi
 Poenam
 Fuita constituit, se quoque uti futuam*

¹ VIRG. Georg. I. iv. 67.

² LUCI. I. ii. 326.

³ HOR. I. I. Epist. ii. 6.

*Futuram ego ut futuam? quid si me Manius oret
Padiem, faciam? non puto, si sapiam.
Aut futuræ, aut pugnemus, ait: quid si mihi vita
Charior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant.*¹

(I use my Latine somewhat boldly, but it is with that leave which you have given mee.) This vast huge bodie hath so many faces and severall motion, which seeme to threat both heaven and earth.

*Quam multi Lybico voluuntur marmore fluctus
Sævus ubi Orion hybernus conditur undis:
Vel cum sole novo densæ torrentur arista,
Aut Hermi campo, aut Lyciæ flaventibus arvis,
Scuta sonant, pulsque pedum tremit excita
tellus.*²

As many waves as rowle in Affricke marble bounds,
When fierce Oryon hides in Winter waves his head:
Or when thicke-earres of Corne are parch't by Sunne new-spread.
In Hermus fruitfull fields, or Lycaes yellow grounds,
With noyse of shields and feet, the treimbling earth so sounds.

"This many-headed, divers-armed, and furiously-raging monster, is man, wretched, weake and miserable man; whom, if you consider well, what is he but a crawling and ever-moving ants-nest?"

*It nigrum campis agmen:*³
The sable-coloured band,
Marches along the Land.

A gust of contrarie winds, the croking of a flight of Ravens, the false pase of a Horse, the casual flight of an Angell, a dream, a sodaine voyce, a false signe, a mornings mist, an evening fogge, are enough to overthrow, sufficient to overwhelme and able to pull him to the ground. Let the Sunne but shine hot upon his face, hee faints and swelters with heat: cast but a little dust in his eyes, as to the Bees mentioned by our Poet, all our ensignes, all our legions, yea great Pompey himselfe, in the forefront of them is overthrowne and put to rout. (For as I remember it was he whom Sertorius vanquished in Spaine, with all those goodly armes.) This also served Eumenes against Antigonus, and Surena against Crassus:

Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,

*Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent.*⁴

Their stomacke-motions, these contentions great,
Clam'd with a little dust, strait lose their heat.

Let us but uncouple some of our ordinary flies, and let loose a few gnats amongst

them, they shall have both the force to scatter and courage to consume him. The Portugals not long since beleaguering the City of Tamly, in the territory of Xiatine, the inhabitants thereof brought great store of hives (whereof they have plenty) upon their walls; and with fire drove them so forcible upon their enemies, who as unable to abide their assaults and endure their stings, left their enterprize. Thus by this new kinde of help was the libertie of the towne gained and victory purchased; with so happy successe, that in their retreating there was not one townes-man found wanting. The soules of Emperours and Coblers are all cast in one same mould. Considering the importance of Princes actions, and their weight, wee perswade ourselves they are brought forth by some as weighty and important causes; wee are deceived: They are moved, stirred and removed in their motions by the same springs and wards that we are in ours. The same reason that makes us hide and braule and fall out with any of our neighbours, causeth a warre to follow betwene Princes; the same reason that makes us whip or beat a lackey maketh a Prince (if hee apprehend it) to spoyle and waste a whole Province. They have as easie a will as we, but they can doe much more. Alike desires perturb both a skinnie-worme and an Elephant. Touching trust and faithfulness, there is no creature in the world so trecherous as man. Our histories report the earnest pursuit and sharpe chase that some dogges have made for the death of their masters. King Pirrlus, finding a dog that watched a dead man, and understanding he had done so three daies and nights together, commanded the corps to be enterred and tooke the dog along with him. It fortun'd one day, as Pirrlus was surveying the generall musters of his army, the dog perceiving in that multitude the man who had murdered his maister, loud-barking and with great rage ran furiously upon him; by which signes he furthered and procured his masters revenge, which by way of justice was shortly executed. Even so did the dogge belonging to Hesiodus, surnamed the wise, having convicted the children of Canister of Naupactus of the murder committed on his Masters person. Another Dogge being appointed to watch a Temple in Athens, having perceived a sacrilegious theefe to carrie away the fairest jewels therein, barked at him so long as he was able, and seeing he could not awaken the Sextons or Temple-keepers, followed the theefe whither-soever he went; daie-light being come, he kept himselfe a loof-off, but never lost the sight of him: if

¹ MART. l. xi. *Epig.* xxi.

² VIRG. *Æn.* l. vii. 717.

³ *Ib.* l. iv. 404.

⁴ VIRG. *Georg.* l. iv. 86. 87.

he offered him meat, he utterly refused it ; but if any passenger chanced to come by, on them he fawned, with wagging his taile, and tooke what-ever they offered him ; if the theefe staid to rest himselfe, he also staid in the same place. The newes of this Dogge being come to the Temple-keepers, they as they went along, enquiring of the Dogs haire and colour, pursued his tracke so long that at last they found both the Dog and the theefe in the Citie of Cromyon, whom they brought backe to Athens, where for his offence he was severely punished. And the judges in acknowledgement of the Dogges good office, at the Cities charge appointed him for his sustenance a certaine daily measure of Corne, and enjoined the Priests of the Temple, carefully to looke unto him. Plutarke affirmeth this storie to be most true, and to have hapned in his time. Touching gratitude and thankfulnessse (for me thinks we have need to further this word greatly), this onely example shall suffice, of which Appion reporteth to have been a spectator himself. One day (saith he) that the Senate of Rome (to please and recreate the common people) caused a great number of wilde beasts to be baited, namely huge great Lions, it so fortuneed that there was one amongst the rest, who by reason of his furious and stately carriage, of his unmatched strength, of his great limbs, and of his loud and terror-causing roaring, drew all by-standers eyes to gaze upon him. Amongst other slaves, that in sight of all the people were presented to encounter with these beasts, there chanced to be one Androclus of Dacia, who belonged unto a Roman Lord who had been Consull. This huge Lion, having eyed him afar off, first made a suddaine stop, as stricken into a kind of admiration, then with a milde and gentle contenance, as if he would willingly have taken acquaintance of him, faire and softly approached unto him : Which done, and resting, assured he was the man he tooke him for, begun fawningly to wagge his taile, as dogges doe that fawne upon their new-found masters, and likke the poore and miserable slaves hands and thighes, who through feare was almost out of his wits and halfe dead. Androclus at last taking hart of grace, and by reason of the Lions mildnesse having rouzed up his spirits, and wishly fixing his eies upon him, to see whether he could call him to remembrance, it was to all beholders a singular pleasure to observe the love, the joy, and blandishment each endeavored to enter-shew one another. Whereat the people raising a loud crie, and by their shouting and clapping of hands seeming to be much

pleased, the Emperour willed the slave to be brought before him, as desirous to understand of him the cause of so strange and seld-seene an accident, who related this new and wonderfull storie unto him.

My Master (said he) being Proconsull in Africa, forso much as he caused me every day to be most cruelly beaten, and held me in so rigorous bondage, I was constrained, as being wearie of my life, to run away ; and safely to scape from so eminent a person, and who had so great authoritie in the Countrie, I thought it best to get me to the desert and most unfrequented wildernesses of that region, with a full resolution, if I could not compass the meanes to sustaine my selfe, to finde one way or other with violence to make my selfe away. One day, the Sunne about noone-tide being extremely hote, and the scorching heat thereof intolerable, I fortuneed to come unto a wilde un-hunted cave, hidden amongst crags and almost inaccessible, and where I imagined no footing had ever been ; therein I hid my selfe. I had not long been there but in comes this Lion, with one of his pawes sore hurt, and bloody-goared, wailing for the smart, and groaning for the paine he felt ; at whose arrivall I was much dismayed, but he seeing me lie close-cowering in a corner of his den, gently made his approaches unto me, holding forth his goared paw toward me, and seemed with shewing the same humbly to sue and suppliantly to beg for help at my hands. I, moved with ruth, taking it into my hand, pulled out a great splint which was gotten into it, and shaking-off all feare, first I wrung and crusht his sore, and caused the filth and matter, which therein was gathered, to come forth ; then, as gently as for my heart I could, I cleansed, wiped, and dried the same. He feeling some ease in his griefe, and his paine to cease, still holding his foot betweene my hands, began to sleep and take some rest. Thence forward he and I lived together the full space of three yeares in his den, with such meat as he shifted-for ; for what beasts he killed, or what prey soever he tooke, he ever brought home the better part and shared it with me, which for want of fire I rosted in the Sunne, and therewith nourished my selfe all that while. But at last, wearied with this kinde of brutish life, the Lion being one day gone to purchase his wonted prey, I left the place, hoping to mend my fortunes, and having wandred up and downe three dayes, I was at last taken by certaine Souldiers, which from Africa brought me into this Citie to my Master againe, who immediately condemned me to death, and to be devoured by wilde beasts,

And as I now perceive, the same Lion was also shortly after taken, who as you see hath now requited me of the good turne I did him, and the health which by my meanes he recovered. Behold here the historie Androclus reported unto the Emperour, which after he caused to be declared unto all the people, at whose generall request he was forthwith set at libertie, and quit of his punishment, and by the common consent of all had the Lion bestowed upon him. Appion saith further, that Androclus was daily seen to lead the Lion up and downe the streets of Rome, tied onely with a little twine, and walking from taverne to taverne, received such money as was given him, who would gently suffer himselfe to be handled, touched, decked, and strowed with flowers, all over and over, many saying when they met him: "Yonder is the Lion that is the mans hoste, and yonder is the man that is the Lions Physitian." We often mourne and weepe for the losse of those beasts we love, so doe they many times for the losse of us.

*Post bellator equus positus insignibus Æthon
It lacrimans, guttisq; humectat grandibus
ora.¹*

Next Æthon horse of warre, all ornaments
laid downe,
Goes weeping, with great drops bedewes his
cheeckes adowne.

As some of our nations have wives in common and some in severall, each man keeping himselfe to his owne, so have some beasts; yet some there are that observe their marriage with as great respect as we doe ours. Touching the mutual societie and reciprocall confederation which they devise amongst themselves, that so they may be fast combined together, and in times of need help one another, it is apparant that if Oxen, Hogs, and other beasts, being hurt by us, chance to crie, all the heard runnes to aid him, and in his defence will joine all together. The fish, called of the Latines Scarus, having swallowed the fishers hooke, his fellows will presently flocke about him, and nibble the line in sunder; and if any of them happen to be taken in a bow-net, some of his fellows, turning his head away, will put his taile in at the neck of the net, who with his teeth fast-holding the same, never leave him untill they have pulled him out. The Barbel fishes, if one of them chance to be engaged, will set the line against their backs, and with a fin they have, toothed like a sharp saw, presently saw and fret the same asunder. Concerning particular offices, which we for the benefit of our life draw one from an other, many like

examples are found amongst them. It is assuredly beleeveth that the Whale never swimmeth unlesse she have a little fish going before her as her vanguard; it is in shape like a Gudgeon, and both the Latines and we call it the Whales-guide; for she doth ever follow him, suffering herselfe as easily to be led and turned by him as the ship is directed and turned by a sterne: for requital of which good turne, whereas all things else, be it beast, fish, or vessell, that comes within the horrible Chaos of this monstrous mouth, is presently lost and devoured, this little fish doth safely retire himselfe therein, and there sleepes verie quietly, and as long as he sleeps the Whale never stirs; but as soone as he awaketh and goeth his way, wherever he takes his course she alwaies followeth him, and if she fortune to lose him, she wanders here and there, and often striketh upon the rocks, as a ship that hath nor mast nor rudder. This Plutarke witnesseth to have seen in the Iland of Anticyra. There is such a like societie betweene the little bird called a Wren and the Crocodill; for the Wren serveth as a sentinel to so great a monster: And if the Ichneumon, which is his mortall enemy, approach to fight with him, the little birdlet, lest he might surprise him whilst he sleepeth, with his singing, and pecking him with his bill, awakens him, and gives him warning of the danger he is in. The bird liveth by the scraps, and feedeth upon the leavings of that monster, who gently receiveth him into his mouth, and suffers him to pecke his jawes and teeth for such mamokes of flesh as sticke betweene them: and if he purpose to close his mouth, he doth first warne him to be gone, faire and easie closing it by little and little, without any whit crushing or hurting him. The shell-fish called a nacre liveth even so with the pinnotere, which is a little creature like unto a crabfish, and as his porter or usher waits upon him, attending the opening of the nacre, which he continually keepest gaping untill he see some little fish enter in, fit for their turne, then he creepes into the nacre, and leaves not pinching his quicke flesh untill he makes him close his shell, and so they both together, fast in their hold, devour their prey. In the manner of the tunnies life may be discovered a singular knowledge of the three parts of the mathematices. First for astrologie, it may well be said that man doth learne it of them: for wheresoever the winter Solstitium doth take them, there do they stay themselves, and never stir till the next Æquinoctium, and that is the reason why Aristotle doth so willingly ascribe that art unto them: then for geometric and arithmetike, they alwaies

¹ VIRG. ÆN. l. xi. 89.

frame their shole of a cubike figure, every way square : and so forme a solide close and well-ranged battailon, encompassed round about of six equall sides. Thus orderly marshaled, they take their course and swim whither their journey tends, as broad and wide behind as before : so that he that seeth and telleth but one ranke, may easily number all the troupe, forsomuch as the number of the depth is equall unto the bredth, and the bredth unto the length. Touching magnanimitie and haughtie courage, it is hard to set it forth more lively, and to produce a rarer patterne than that of the dog which from India was sent unto Alexander : to whom was first presented a stag, then a wilde boare, and then a beare, with each of which he should have foughten, but he seemed to make no accompt of them, and would not so much as remove out of his place for them ; but when he saw a lion, he presently rouzed himselfe, shewing evidently he meant onely so noble a beast worthie to enter combat with him. Concerning repentance and acknowledging of faults committed, it is reported that an elephant, having, through rage of choler, slaine his governour, conceived such an extreme inward griefe that he would never afterward touch any food, and suffered himself to pine to death. Touching clemencie, it is reported of a tiger (the fiercest and most inhumane beast of all), who having a kid given her to feed upon, endured the force of gnawing hunger two daies together rather than she would hurt him ; the third day with maine strength she brake the cage wherein she was kept pent, and went elsewhere to shift for feeding ; as one unwilling to seize upon the seelie kid, her familiar and guest. And concerning privileges of familiaritie and sympathie caused by conversation, is it not oft seen how some make cats, dogs, and hares so tame, so gentle, and so milde, that, without harming one another, they shall live and continue together ? But that which experience teacheth sea-faring men, especially those that come into the seas of Sicilie, of the qualitie and condition of the Halcyon bird, or as some call it alcedo or kings-fisher, exceeds all mens conceit. In what kinde of creature did ever nature so much prefer both their hatching, sitting, brooding, and birth ? Poets saine that the land of Delos, being before wandring and fleeting up and downe, was for the delivery of Latona made firme and settled ; but Gods decree hath been that all the watrie wilderness should be quiet and made calme, without raine, wind, or tempest, during the time the Halcyon sitteth and bringeth forth

her young ones, which is much about the winter Solstitium, and shortest day in the yeare : by whose privilege even in the hart and deadeast time of winter we have seven calme daies and as many nights to saile without any danger. Their hens know no other cocke but their 'towne : they never forsake him all the daies of their life ; and if the cocke chance to be weake and crazed, the hen will take him upon her neck and carrie him with her wheresoever she goeth, and serve him even untill death. Mans wit could never yett attaine to the full knowledge of that admirable kind of building or structure which the Halcyon useth in contriving of her nest, no, nor devise what it is of.

Plutarke, who hath seen and handled many of them, thinkes it to be made of certaine fish-bones, which she so compacts and conjoyneth together, interlacing some long and some crosse-waies, adding some foldings and roundings to it, that in the end she frameth a round kind of vessel, readie to float and swim upon the water ; which done, she carrieth the same where the sea waves beat most ; there the sea gently beating upon it, shewes her how to daube and patch up the parts not well closed, and how to strengthen those places and fashion those ribs that are not fast, but stir with the sea waves ; and on the other side, that which is closely wrought, the sea beating on it, doth so fasten and conjoyne together, that nothing, no, not stone or yron, can any way loosen, divide, or break the same, except with great violence ; and what is most to be wondred at is the proportion and figure of the concavities within ; for it is so composed and proportioned that it can receive or admit no manner of thing but the bird that built it ; for to all things else it is so impenetrable, close, and hard, that nothing can possible enter in : no, not so much as the sea water. Loe here a most plaine description of this building or construction taken from a verie good author : yet me thinks it doth not fully and sufficiently resolve us of the difficultie in this kinde of architecture. Now from what vanitie can it proceed, we should so willfully contemne and disdainfully interpret those effects, which we can neither imitate nor conceive ? But to follow this equalitie or correspondencie betweene us and beasts somewhat further : the privilege whereof our soule vants, to bring to her condition whatsoever it conceiveth, and to dispoile what of mortall and corporall qualities belongs unto it, to marshall those things which she deemed worthie her acquaintance, to disrobe and deprive their corruptible conditions, and to make them leave as

superfluous and base garments, thickness, length, depth, weight, colour, smell, roughnesse, smoothnesse, hardnesse, softnesse, and all sensible accidents else, to fit and appropriate them to her immortal and spirituall condition; so that Rome and Paris, which I have in my soule; Paris which I imagine; yea, I imagine and conceive the same without greatnesse and place, without stone and mortar, and without wood: then say I unto my selfe, the same privilege seemeth likewise to be in beasts: for a horse accustomed to heare the sound of trumpets, the noyse of shot, and the clattering of armes, whom we see to snort, to startle, and to neigh in his sleep, as he lies along upon his litter, even as he were in the hurly burly; it is most certaine, that in his minde he apprehends the sound of a drum without any noyse, and an armie without armes or bodie.

*Quippe videbis equos fortes, cum membra
jacebunt
In somnis, sudare tamen, spirareque sapere,
Et quasi de palma sinimas contendere vires.¹*

You shall see warlike Horses, when in sleep
Their limbs lie, yet sweat, and a snorting keep,
And stretch their utmost strength,
As for a goale at length.

That hare which a grey-hound imagineth in his dreame, after whom as he sleepeth we see him bay, quest, yelp, and snort, stretch out his taile, shake his legs, and perfectly represent the motions of his course; the same is a hare without bones, without haire.

*Venantumque canes in molli saepe quiete,
Iactant crura tamen subito, vocesque repente
Mittunt, et crebras reducent naribus auras,
Ut vestigia si teneant inventa ferarum:
Expergetaque, sequuntur inania saepe
Cervorum simulacra, fugae quasi dedita cernant:
Donec discussi redeant erroribus ad se.²*

Of times the hunters dogs in easie rest
Stir their legs, suddenly, open, and quest.
And send from nostrils thicke-thicke snuffing
sent,
As if on traile they were of game full-bent:
And wakened so, they follow shadowes vaine
Of Deere in chase, as if they fled againe:
Till, their fault left, they turne to sense againe.

Those watching-dogs which in their sleep we sometimes see to grumble, and then barking, to startle suddenly out of their slumber, as if they perceived some stranger to arive, that stranger which their minde seemeth to see is but an imaginarie man, and not perceived, without any dimension, colour, or being:

*Consuetudo domi catulorum blanda propago
Degerit, saepe levem ex oculis volucrumque
soporem*

*Discutere, et corpus de terra corripere instant,
Proinde quasi ignotas facies atque ora tuantur.¹*
The fawning kind of whelps, at home that liv's,
From eyes to shake light-swift sleepe often striv's,
And from the ground their starting bodies hie,
As if some unknowne stranger they did spie.

Touching corporall beautie, before I goe any further it were necessarie I knew whether we are yet agreed about her description. It is very likely that we know not well what beautie either in nature or in generall is, since we give so many and attribute so divers formes to humane beautie, yea, and to our beautie: Of which if there were any naturall or lively description, we should generally know it, as we doe the heat of fire. We imagine and faime her formes, as our fantasies lead us.

Turpis Romano Belgicus ore color.¹
A Dutch-froes colour hath no grace,
Seen in a Romane Ladies face.

The Indians describe it blacke and swarthy, with blabbered-thick lips, with a broad and flat nose, the inward gristle whereof they loade with great gold rings, hanging downe to their mouth, and their neather lips with great circlets beset with precious stones, which cover all their chins, deeming it an especiall grace to shew their teeth to the roots. In Peru, the greatest eares are ever esteemed the fairest, which with all art and industrie they are continually stretching out; and a man (who yet liveth) sweareth to have seen in a Province of the East Indias the people so carefull to make them great, and so to load them with heave jewels, that with ease he could have thrust his arme through one of their eare-holes. There are other Nations who endeavour to make their teeth as blacke as jeat, and skorne to have them white; and in other places they die them red. Not onely in the province of Baske, but in other places, women are accounted fairest when their heads are shaven, and which is strange, in some of the Northerly frozen-countries, as Plinie affirmeth. Those of Mexico esteeme the littenesse of their foreheads as one of the chiefest beauties, and whereas they shave their haire over all their bodie besides, by artificiall meanes they labour to nourish and make it grow onely in their foreheads; and so love to have great dugs, that they strive to have their children sucke over their shoulders. So would we set forth illfavornesse. The

¹ LUCK. l. iv. 982.

Ib. 986. 2

¹ LUCK. l. iv. 993.

² PROPERT. l. ii. *Eleg.* xviii. 26.

Italians proportion it big and plum; the Spaniards spynie and lanke; and amongst us one would have her white, another browne, one soft and delicate, another strong and lustie; some desire wantonnesse and blithnesse, and othersome sturdinesse and majestie to be joynd with it. Even as the preheminance in beautie, which Plato ascribeth unto the Spherickall figure, the Epicureans refer the same unto the Piramidall or Square; and say they cannot swallow a God made round like a bowle. But howsoever it is, nature hath no more privileged us in that than in other things, concerning her common lawes. And if we impartially enter into judgement with our selves, we shall finde that if there be any creature or beast lesse favoured in that than we, there are others (and that in great numbers) to whom nature hath been more favourable than to us. *A multis animalibus decore vincimur.*¹ "We are excelled in comelinesse, by many living creatures": Yea, of terrestriall creatures that live with us. For, concerning those of the Sea, omitting their figure, which no proportion can containe, so much doth it differ, both in colour, in neatnesse, in smoothnesse, and in disposition, we must give place unto them: which in all qualities we must likewise doe to the ayrie ones. And that prerogative which Poets yeeld unto our upright stature, looking towards heaven whence her beginning is,

*Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublimè dedit, cælumque videre
Iussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*²

Where other creatures on earth looke and lie,
A loftie looke God gave man, bad him prie
On heav'n, rais'd his high count'nance to the skie,

is merely poetickall, for there are many little beasts that have their sight directly fixed towards heaven: I finde the Camels and the Estridges necke much more raised and upright than ours. What beasts have not their face aloft and before, and looke not directly opposite as we; and in their naturall posture descrie not as much of heaven and earth as man doth? And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in Plato and Cicero, cannot fit and serve a thousand beasts? Such as most resemble man are the vilest and filthiest of all the rout: As for outward appearance and true shape of the visage, it is the Munkie or Ape:

*Simia quam similis, turpissima bestia, nobis!*³

An Ape, a most ill-favored beast,
How like to us in all the rest?

as for inward and vitall parts, it is the Hog.

Truely, when I consider man all naked (yea, be it in that sex which seemeth to have and challenge the greatest share of eye-pleasing beautie) and view his defects, his naturall subjection, and manifold imperfections, I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakednesse than any creature else. We may be excused for borrowing those which nature had therein favored more than us, with their beauties to adorne us, and under their spoiles of wooll, of haire, of feathers, and of silke to shroud us. Let us moreover observe, that man is the onely creature whose wants offend his owne fellows, and he alone that in naturall actions must withdraw and sequester himselfe from those of his owne kinde. Verely it is an effect worthe consideration, that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliances appoint for a remedie of venerian passions a free and full survey of the bodie, which one longeth and seeks after: and that to coole the longing and aswage the heat of friendship, one need but perfectly view and thoroughly consider what he loveth.

*Ille quod obscenas in aperto corpore partes
Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, hæsit amor.*⁴

The love stood still, that ran in full carriere,
When bare it saw parts that should not appeare.

And although this remedie may haply proceed from a squeamish and cold humor, yet is it a wonderfull signe of our imbecillitie that the use and knowledge should so make us to be cloyd one of an other. It is not bashfulnesse so much as art and foresight makes our Ladies so circumspect and unwilling to let us come into their closets before they are fully readie and throughly painted, to come abroad and shew themselves:

*Nec veneres nostras hoc fallit, quo magis ipse
Omnia summopere hos vito post scenia celant,
Quos retinere volunt adstrictoque esse in amor.*

Our Mistresses know this, which makes them not disclose
Parts to be plaid within, especially from those
Whom they would servants hold, and in their
love-bands close:

Whereas, in other creatures there is nothing but we love and pleaseth our senses: so that even from their excrements and ordure we draw not only dainties to eat, but our richest ornaments and perfumes. This discourse of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not so sacrilegious as it intendeth or darreth to comprehend those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinary beauties which sometimes are seen to shine

¹ SE. *Epist.* cxxiv.

² OVID, *Metam.* l. i. 84.

³ CIC. *Nat. Deor.* l. i. Enni.

⁴ OVID, *Rem. Am.* l. i. 33.

⁵ LUCR. l. iv. 1176.

amongst us, even as stars under a corporall and terrestriall veile. Moreover, that part of natures favours which we impart unto beasts, is by our owne confession much more advantageous unto them. We assume unto our selves imaginarie and fantastical goods, future and absent goods, which humane capacitie can no way warrant unto her selfe; or some other, which by the overweening of our owne opinion we falsly ascribe unto our selves; as reason, honour, and knowledge; and to them as their proper share we leave the essentiall, the manageable, and palpable goods, as peace, rest, securitie, innocencie, and health: Health I say, which is the goodliest and richest present nature can impart unto us. So that even Stoike Philosophie dareth to affirme, that if Heraclitus and Pherecydes could have changed their wisdom with health, and by that means the one to have rid himselfe of the dropsie and the other of the lowsie-evil, which so sore tormented them, they would surely have done it: whereby they also yeeld so much more honor unto wisdom, by comparing and counterpeizing the same unto health, than they do in this other proposition of theirs, where they say, that if Circe had presented Vlisses with two kinds of drinke, the one to turne a wise man into a foole, the other to change a foole into a wise man, he would rather have accepted that of folly, than have been pleased that Circe should transforme his humane shape into a beasts. And they say that Wisdom herselfe would thus have spoken unto him: "Meddle not with me, but leave me rather than thou shouldst place under the shape and bodie of an Asse." What? This great and heavenly wisdom? Are Philosophers contented then to quit it for a corporall and earthly veile? Why then it is not for reasons sake, nor by discourse and for the soule, we so much excell beasts: it is for the love we beare unto our beautie, unto our faire hew, and goodly disposition of limbs, that we reject: and set our understanding at naught, our wisdom, and what else we have. Well, I allow of this ingenious and voluntarie confession: surely they knew those parts we so much labour to pamper to be mere fantasies. Suppose beasts had all the vertue, the knowledge, the wisdom and sufficiency of the Stoikes, they should still be beasts; nor might they ever be compared unto a miserable, wretched, and senselesse man. For, when all is done, whatsoever is not as we are, is not of any worth. And God to be esteemed of us, must (as we will show anon) draw somewhat neere it. Whereby it appeareth that it is not long of a true discourse, but

of a foolish hardnesse and selfe-perfuming obstinacie, we prefer ourselves before other creatures, and sequester our selves from their condition and societie. But to returne to our purpose: we have for our part inconstancie, irresolution, uncertaintie, sorrow, superstition, carefullnesse for future things (yea after our life), ambition, covetousnesse, jealousy, envie, inordinate, mad, untamed appetites, warre, falsehood, disloyaltie, detraction, and curiositie. Surely we have strangely overpaid this worthe discourse, whereof we so much glorie, and this readinesse to judge, or capacitie to know, if we have purchased the same with the price of so infinite passions to which we are unnecessarily enthralled. If we be not pleased (as Socrates is) to make this noble prerogative over beasts, to be of force, that whereas nature hath subscribed them certaine seasons and bounds for their naturall lust and voluptuousnesse, she hath given us at all hours and occasions the full reines of them.

*Et vinum agrotis, quia prodest raro, nocet saepissime, melius est non adhibere omnino, quam, spe dubie salutis, in apertam perniciem incurrere: Sic, haud scio, an melius fuerit humano generi motum istum celerem cogitationis, acumen, solertiam quam rationem vocamus, quantum pestifera sint multis, admodum paucis salutaria, non dari omnino, quam tam munifice et tam large dari:*¹ "As it is better not to use wine at all in sicke persons, because it seldome doth them good, but many times much hurt, than in hope of doubtfull health to run into undoubted danger; so doe I not knowe whether it were better that this swift motion of the thought, this sharpnesse, this conceitednesse which we call reason, should not at all be given to mankind (because it is pernicious unto many, and healthfull to very few) than that it should be given so plentifully and so largely." What good or commoditie may we imagine this far-understanding of so many things brought ever unto Varro and to Aristotle? Did it ever exempt, or could it at any time free them from humane inconveniences? Were they ever discharged of those accidents that incidently follow a seelie labouring man? Could they ever draw any ease for the gout from logike? And howbeit they knew the humour engendering the same to lodge in the joints, have they felt it the lesse? Did they at any time make a covenant with death, although they knew full well that some nations reioice at her comming? as also of cuckoldship, because they knew women to be common in some

¹ Cic. Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 27.

countries? But contrariwise having both held the first ranke in knowledge, the one amongst the Romans, the other among the Grecians, yea, and at such times wherein sciences flourished most, we could never learne they had any speciall excellencie in their life. Wee see the Græcian hath been put to his plunges in seeking to discharge himselfe from some notable imputations in his life. Was it ever found that sensuality and health are more pleasing unto him that understands Astrologie and Grammar?

(*Illiterati num minus nervi rigent?*¹)

As stiffe unlearned sinewes stand,
As theirs that much more understand.)

or shame and povertie lesse importunate and vexing?

*Scilicet et morbis, et debilitate carebis,
Et luctum, et curam effugies, et tempora vite
Longa tibi posthæc fato meliore dabuntur.*²

Thou shalt be from disease and weakness free,
From moane, from care, long time of life to thee
Shall by more friendly fate afforded be.

I have in my daies scene a hundred artificers, and as many labourers, more wise and more happy than some Rectors in the Universitie, and whom I would rather resemble. Me thinks learning hath a place amongst things necessarie for mans life, as glorie, noblenesse, dignitie, or at most as riches, and such other qualities, which indeed stead the same; but afar-off and more in conceipt than by Nature. We have not much more need of offices, of rules, and lawes how to live in our common-wealth than the cranes and ants have in theirs. Which notwithstanding, we see how orderly and without instruction they maintaine themselves. If man were wise he would value everything according to its worth, and as it is either more profitable or more necessarie for life. He that shall number us by our actions and proceedings, shall doubtlesse finde many more excellent ones amongst the ignorant than among the wiser sort: I meane in all kinde of virtues. My opinion is, that ancient Rome brought forth many men of much more valour and sufficiencie, both for peace and warre, than this late learned Rome, which with all her wisdom hath overthrowne her erst-flourishing estate. If all the rest were alike, then should honestie and innocencie at least belong to the ancient, for she was exceedingly well placed with simplicitie. But I will shorten this discourse, which haply would draw me further than I would willingly follow: yet thus much I will say more, that onely

humilitie and submission is able to make a perfect honest man. Every one must not have the knowledge of his dutie referred to his owne judgement, but ought rather to have it prescribed unto him, and not be allowed to chuse it at his pleasure and free will: otherwise, according to the imbecillitie of our reasons, and infinite varietie of our opinions, we might per-adventure forge and devise such duties unto ourselves, as would induce us (as Epicurus saith) to endeavour to destroy and devour one another. The first law that ever God gave unto man was a law of pure obedience. It was a bare and simple commandement whereof man should enquire and know no further: forasmuch as to obey is the proper dutie of a reasonable soul, acknowledging a heavenly and superiour benefactor, From obeying and yeelding unto him proceed all other virtues, even as all sinnes derive from selfe-overweening. Contrariwise, the first temptation that ever seized on human nature was disobedience, by the devils instigation, whose first poison so far insinuated it selfe into us, by reason of the promises he made us of wisdom and knowledge: *Eritis sicut Dii scientes bonum et malum*:¹ "You shall be like Gods, knowing both good and evil." And the Syrens, to deceive Ulysses, and alluring him to fall into their dangerous and confounding snares, offer to give him the full fruition of knowledge. The opinion of wisdom is the plague of man. That is the occasion why ignorance is by our religion recommended unto us as an instrument fitting beleefe and obedience: *Caveat, ne quis vos decipiat per Philosophiam et inanes seductiones, secundum elementa mundi*:² "Take heed lest any man deceive you by Philosophie and vaine seducements, according to the rudiments of the world." All the Philosophers of all the sects that ever were doe generally agree in this point, that the chiefest felicitie, or *summum bonum*, consisteth in the peace and tranquillitie of the soule and bodie: but where shall we finde it?

*Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, Rex denique Regum:
Præcipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.*³

In summe, who wise is knowne,

Is less than Jove alone,

Rich, honorable, free, faire, King of Kings,
Chiefly in health, but when fleagme trouble brings.

It seemeth verily that nature for the comfort of our miserable and wretched con-

¹ HOR. *Epod.* viii. 17.

² JUVEN. *Sat.* xiv. 156.

¹ Gen. iii. 5.

² Col. ii. 8.

³ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* i. 106.

dition hath allotted us no other portion but presumption. It is therefore (as Epictetus saith) that man hath nothing that is properly his owne but the use of his opinions. Our hereditarie portion is nothing but smoke and wind. The Gods (as saith Philosophie) have health in true essence, and sicknesse in concept. Man, cleane contrarie, possesseth goods in imagination, and evils essentially. We have had reason to make the powers of our imagination to be of force: for all our facilities are but in concept, and as it were in a dreame. Heare but this poore and miserable creature vaunt himselfe. There is nothing (saith Cicero) so delightfull and pleasant as the knowledge of letters; of letters, I say, by whose meanes the infinitie of things, the incomprehensible greatnesse of nature, the heavens, the earth, and all the seas of this vast universe, are made knowne unto us. They have taught us religion, moderation, stownesse of courage, and redeemed our soule out of darknesse, to make her see and distinguish of all things, the high as well as the lowe, the first as the last, and those betweene both. It is they that store and supply us with all such things as may make us live happily and well, and instruct us how to passe our time without sorrow or offence. Seemeth not this goodly orator to speake of the Almightyes and everliving Gods condition? And touching effects, a thousand poore seellie women in a countrie towne have lived and live a life much more reposed, more peaceable, and more constant than ever he did.

— *Deus ille fuit Deus, inclyte Memmi,
Qui princeps vitæ rationem invenit ann, quæ
Nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem,
Fluctibus è tantis vitam tantisque tenebris,
In tam tranquillo et tam clara luce locavit.*¹

Good sir, it was God, God it was, first found
That course of man's life, which now is renown'd
By name of wisdom: who by art reposed,
Our life in so cleare light, calme so composed,
From so great darknesse, so great waves opposed.

Observe what glorious and noble words these be: yet but a sleight accident brought this wisemens understanding to a far worse condition than that of a simple shepherd: notwithstanding this divine Teacher, and this heavenly wisdom. Of like impudencie is the promise of Democritus his Booke, "I will now speake of all things:" And that fond title which Aristotle gives us of mortall gods, and that rash judgement of Chrysippus that Dion was as vertuous as God: And my Seneca saith he acknowledgeth that God hath given him life, but how to live well that he hath of himselfe. Like unto this

other: *In virtute vere gloriamur, quod non contingeret, si id donum à Deo non à nobis haberemus.*¹ "We rightly vaunt us of vertue, which we should not doe, if we had it of God, not of ourselves." This also is Senecaes, that the wise man hath a fortitude like unto Gods; but in humanity weaknesse wherein he excellet him. There is nothing more common than to meet with such passages of temeritie: There is not any of us that will be so much offended to see himselfe compared to God as he will deeme himselfe wrong to be depressed in the ranke of other creatures. So much are we more jealous of our owne interest than of our Creators. But we must tread this foolish vanitie under foot, and boldly shake off and lively reject those fond-ridiculous foundations whereon these false opinions are built. So long as man shall be perswaded to have meanes or power of himselfe, so long will he denie and never acknowledge what he oweth unto his Master: he shall alwaies (as the common saying is) make shift with his owne: He must be stripped unto his shirt. Let us consider some notable example of the effect of Philosophie. Possidonius having long time been grieved with a painfull-lingring disease, which with the smarting paine made him to wring his hands and gnash his teeth, thought to scorne griefe with exclayning and crying out against it: "Doe what thou list, yet will I never say that thou art evil or paine." He feeleth the same passions that my lackey doth, but he boasteth himselfe that at least he containeth his tongue under the lawes of his sect. *Re succumbere non oportebat verbis gloriantem.*² "It was not for him to yeeld in deeds, who had so braved it in words." Arcesilas lying sicke of the gowt, Carneades coming to visit him, and seeing him to frowne, supposing he had been angrie, was going away again, but he called him back, and shewing him his feet and breast, said unto him, "There is nothing come from thence hither. This hath somewhat a better garb;" for he feeleth himselfe grieved with sicknesse, and would faine be rid of it, yet is not his heart vanquished or weakened thereby, the other stands upon his stiffnesse (as I feare) more verball than essentiall. And Dionysius Heracleotes being tormented with a violent smarting in his eies, was at last perswaded to quit these Stoicke resolutions.

Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge should worke those effects they speake of, that is, to blunt and abate the sharpnesse of those accidents or mischances that follow and attend us; doth she any more than

¹ LUCR. l. v. 8.

¹ CIC. NAT. DEOR. l. iii. ² IB. Tusc. Qu. l. ii. c. 25.

what ignorance effecteth much more evidently and simply? The Philosopher Pyrrho being at sea, and by reason of a violent storme in great danger to be cast away, presented nothing unto those that were with him in the ship to imitate but the securitie of an Hog which was aboard, who, nothing at all dismayed, seemed to behold and out-stare the tempest. Philosophie after all her precepts gives us over to the examples of a Wrestler or of a Muletier, in whom we ordinarily perceive much lesse feeling of death, of paine, of grief, and other conveniences, and more undaunted constancie, than ever Learning or Knowledge could store a man withall, unlesse he were born and of himselfe through some naturall habitude prepared unto it. What is the cause the tender members of a childe or limbs of a horse are much more easie and with lesse paine cut and incised than ours, if it be not ignorance? How many, only through the power of imagination, have falne into dangerous diseases? We ordinarily see diverse that will cause themselves to be let blood, purged, and dieted, because they would be cured of diseases they never felt but in conceit; when essentiall and true maladies faile us, then Science and Knowledge lend us hers: This colour or complexion (saide she) presagerth some rheumatike defluxion will ensue you: This soultring-hot season menaceth you with some febricant commotion; this cutting of the vitall line of your left hand warneth you of some notable and approaching indisposition. And at last she will roundly adresse herselfe unto perfect health; saying this youthly vigour and suddain joy cannot possibly stay in one place, her blood and strength must be abated, for feare it turne you to some mischief. Compare but the life of a man subject to these like imaginations, unto that of a day-labouring swaine, who followes his naturall appetites, who measureth all things onely by the present sense, and hath neither learning nor prognostications, who feeleth no disease but when he hath it: whereas the other hath often the stone imaginarily before he have it in his reines: as if it were not time enough to endure the sickness when it shall come, he doth in his fancie prevent the same, and headlong runneth to meet with it. What I speake of Physicke, the same may generally be applied and drawne to all manner of learning. Thence came this ancient opinion of those Philosophers who placed chiefe felicitie in the knowledge of our judgements weakness. My ignorance affords me as much cause of hope as of feare: and having no other regiment for my health than that of other men's examples,

and of the events I see elsewhere in like occasions whereof I find some of all sorts: and relie upon the comparisons that are most favourable unto me. I embrace health with open armes, free, plaine, and full, and prepare my appetite to enjoy it, by how much more it is now less ordinarie and more rare unto me: so far is it from me that I, with the bitterness of some new and forced kind of life, trouble her rest and molest her ease. Beasts do manifestly declare unto us how many infirmities our mindes agitation brings us. That which is told us of those that inhabit Bresill, who die onely through age, which some impute to the cleanness and calmnesse of their aire, I rather ascribe to the calmnesse and cleanness of their mindes, void and free from all passions, cares, toiling, and unpleasant labours, as a people that passe their life in a wonderful kind of simplicitie and ignorance, without letters, or lawes and without Kings or any Religion. Whence comes it (as we daily see by experience) that the rudest and grossest clownes are more tough, strong, and more desired in amorous executions; and that the love of a Muletier is often more accepted than that of a perfumed quaint courtier? But because in the latter the agitation of his mind doth so distract, trouble, and wearie the force of his bodie, as it also troubleth and wearieth it selfe, who doth belie, or more commonly cast the same down even into madness, but her own promptitude, her point, her agilitie, and, to conclude, her proper force? Whence proceeds the subtillest follie but from the subtillest wisdom? As from the extremest friendships proceed the extremest enmities, and from the soundest healths the mortallest diseases, so from the rarest and quickest agitations of our mindes ensue the most distempered and outrageous frenzies. There wants but half a pegs turne to passe from the one to the other. In mad mens actions we see how fittlie follie suteth and meets with the strongest operations of our minde. Who knowes not how unperceivable the neighbourhood between follie with the liveliest elevations of a free minde is, and the effects of a supreme and extraordinary vertue. Plato affirmeth that melancholy mindes are more excellent and disciplinable; so are they none more inclinable unto follie. Diverse spirits are seen to be overthrowne by their owne force and proper nimblenesse. What a start hath one of the most judicious, ingenious, and most fitted under the ayre of true ancient poesie, lately gotten by his owne agitation and selfe-glad-

nesse, above all other Italian Poets that have been of a long time? Hath not he wherewith to be beholding unto this his killing vivacitie? unto this clearnesse that hath so blinded him? unto his exact and far-reaching apprehension of reasons which hath made him void of reason? unto the curious and laborious pursute of Sciences, that have brought him unto sottishnesse? unto this rare aptitude to the exercises of the minde, which hath made him without minde or exercise? I rather spited than pitied him when I saw him at Ferrara, in so piteous a plight, that he survived himself; misacknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which unwitting to him, and even to his face, have been published both uncorrected and maimed. Will you have a man healthy, will you have him regular, and in constant and safe condition? overwhelm him in the darke pit of idlenesse and dulnesse. We must be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazed before we can be led. And if a man shall tell me that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefes and wallowish to evils, draws this incommoditie after it, it is also consequently the same that makes us lesse sharpe and greedie to the enjoying of good and of pleasures: It is true but the miserie of our condition beareth that we have not so much to enjoy as to shun, and that extreme voluptuousnesse doth not so much pinch us as a light smart: *Segnius homines bona quam mala sentiunt*:¹ "Men have a duller feeling of a good turne than of an ill;" we have not so sensible a feeling of perfect health as we have of the least sicknesse.

— *fungit*
In cute vix summa violatum plagula corpus,
Quando valere nihil quemquam movet. Hoc
juvat unum
Quod me non torquet latus aut pes; cetera
quisquam
*Vix queat aut sanum sese aut sentire valentem.*²
 A light stroke that dooth scarce the top-skin wound,
 Greeves the gall'd bodie, when in health to be,
 Doth scarce move any; onely ease is found,
 That neither side nor foot tormenteth me:
 Scarce any in the rest can feel he's sound.

Our being in health is but the privation of being ill. See therefore where the sect of Philosophie that hath most preferred sensuality, hath also placed the same but to indolencie or unfeeling of paine. To have no infirmities at all is the chiefe possession of health that man can hope for (as Ennius said):

Nimum boni est, cui nihil est mali.

¹ TIT. LIV. I. xxx. c. 21.

² From a Latin poem by Estienne de la Boëtie.

He hath but too much good,
 Whom no ill hath withstood.

For the same tickling and pricking which a man doth feel in some pleasures, and seemes beyond simple health and indolencie, this active and moving sensuality, or as I may terme it, itching and tickling pleasure, aymes but to be free from paine, as her chiefe scope. The lust-full longing which allures us to the acquaintance of women seekes but to expell that paine which an earnest and burning desire doth possesse us with, and desireth but to allay it thereby to come to rest and be exempted from this fever; and so of others. I say therefore, that if simplicitie directeth us to have no evil, it also addresseth us according to our condition to a most happy estate. Yet ought it not be imagined so dull and heave that it be altogether senselesse. And Crantor had great reason to withstand the unsensibleness of Epicurus, if it were so deeply rooted that the approaching and birth of evils might gainsay it. I commend not that unsensibleness which is neither possible nor to be desired. I am well pleased not to be sicke, but if I be, I will know that I am so; and if I be cauterized or cut, I will feel it. Verily, he that should root out the knowledge of evil should therewithall extirp the knowledge of voluptuousnesse, and at last bring man to nothing. *Istud nihil dolere, non sine magna mercede contingit immanitatis in animo, stuporis in corpore*:¹ "This verse point, not to be offended or grieved with any thing, befalls not freely to a man without either inhumanitie in his minde or senselesnesse in his bodie." Sicknesse is not amiss unto man, comming in her turne; nor is he alwaies to shun pain, nor ever to follow sensuality. It is a great advantage for the honour of ignorance that Science it selfe throwes us into her armes when she findes her selfe busie to make us strong against the assaults of evils: she is forced to come to this composition; to yeeld us the bridle, and give us leave to shrowd our selves in her lap, and submit ourselves unto her favour, to shelter us against the assaults and injuries of fortune. For what meaneth she else when she perswades us to withdraw our thought from the evils that possesse us, and entertaine them with foreign pleasures, and stead us as a comfort of present evils with the remembrance of forepast felicities, and call a vanished content to our help, to for oppose it against that which vexeth us? *Levationes ægritudinum in avocatione à cogitanda molestia, et revocatione ad contemplandas voluptates ponit.*²

¹ CIC. Tusc. Qu. I. iii.

² Ibid.

"Eases of grief she reposes either in calling ing from the thought of offence, or calling to the contemplations of some pleasures." Unless it be that where force fails her, she will use policie and shew a trick of nimbleness and turne away, where the vigor both of her bodie and armes shall faile her. For not onely to a strict Philosopher, but simply to any settled man, when he by experience sceleth the burning alteration of a hot fever, what currant painment is it to pay him with the remembrance of the sweetness of Greeke wine? It would rather empaire his bargain.

Che ricordarsi il ben doppia la noia.

For to thinke of our joy,
Redoubles our annoy.

Of that condition is this other counsell, which Philosophie giveth onely to keepe forepast felicities in memorie, and thence blot out such griefes as we have felt: as if the skill to forget were in our power: and counsell of which we have much lesse regard:

*Suavis est laborum præteritorum memoria.*¹

Of labours overpast,
Remembrance hath sweet taste.

What? shall Philosophie, which ought to put the weapons into my hands to fight against Fortune; which should harden my courage, to suppress and lay at my feet all humane adversities, will she so faint as to make me like a fearfull cunnie creepe into some lurking-hole, and like a craven to tremble and yeeld? For memorie representeth unto us, not what we chuse, but what pleaseth her. Nay, there is nothing so deeply imprinteth anything in our remembrance as the desire to forget the same: it is a good way to commend to the keeping, and imprint anything in our minde, to solicit her to lose the same. And that is false, *Est situm in nobis, ut et adversa quasi perpetua oblivione obruamus, et secunda jucunde et suaviter meminerimus.*² "This is engraffed in us, or at least in our power, that we both burie in perpetuall oblivion things past against us, and record with pleasure and delight what soever was for us."

And this is true, *Memini etiam quæ nolo; oblivisci non possum quæ volo.*³ "I remember even those things I would not; and can not forget what I would." And whose counsell is this? his, *Qui se unus sapientem profiteri sit ausus.*⁴ "Who only durst professe himselfe a wise man."

*Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes Præstrinxit stellas, exortus uti ætherius Sol.*¹
Who from all mankind bare for wit the prize,
And dim'd the stars as when skies Sunne doth rise.

To empte and diminish the memorie, is it not the readie and onely way to ignorance?

*Iners malorum remedium ignorantia est.*²

Of ills a remedie by chance,
And verie dull is ignorance.

We see diverse like precepts, by which we are permitted to borrow frivolous appearances from the vulgar sort, where lively and strong reason is not of force sufficient: alwaies provided they bring us content and comfort. Where they can not cure a sore they are pleased to stupifie and hide the same. I am perswaded they will not denie me this, that if they could possibly add any order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie, by or through any weakness or infirmite of judgement, but they would accept it.

—— *potare, et spargere flores Incipiam, patiæque vel inconsultus haberi.*³
I will begin to strew flowers, and drinke free,
And suffer witlesse, thriftlesse, held to bee.

There should many Philosophers be found of Lycas his opinion: This man in all other things being very temperate and orderly in his demeanors, living quietly and contentedly with his familie, wanting of no dutie or office both towards his own household and strangers, verie carefully preserving himselfe from all hurtfull things: notwithstanding through some alteration of his senses or spirits, he was so possessed with this fantasticall concept or obstinate humour that he ever and continually thought to be amongst the Theatres, where he still saw all manner of spectacles, pastimes, sports, and the best Comedies of the world. But being at last by the skill of Physicians cured of this maladie, and his offending humour purged, he could hardly be held from putting them in suite, to the end they might restore him to the former pleasures and contents of his imagination.

—— *pot me occidistis amici, Non servastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas, Et demptus per vim menti gratissimus error.*⁴

You have not sav'd me, friends, but slaine me quite,
(Quoth he) from whom so rest is my delight,
And error purg'd, which best did please my spright.

¹ CIC. *Fin.* l. ii. ; EURIP.

² CIC. *Fin. Bon.* l. i.

³ EPIC. in CIC. *De Fin.* l. ii.

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 1086; EPICUR.

² SEN. *Oed. act* iii. sc. 1.

³ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* iii. 14. ⁴ *Ib.* ii. 138.

Of a raving like unto that of Thrasilaus, sonne unto Pythodorus, who verily beleeveth that all the ships that went out from the haven of Pyraeus, yea and all such as came into it, did only travell about his businesse, rejoicing when any of them had made a fortunate voyage, and welcommed them with great gladnesse: His brother Crito, having caused him to be cured and restored to his better senses, he much bewailed and grieved of the condition wherein he had formerly lived in such joy, and so void of all care and griefe. It is that which the ancient Greeke verse saith: That not to be so advised brings many commodities with it:

Ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μὴδὲν, ἥδιστος βίος.¹

The sweetest life I wis,
In knowing nothing is.

And as Ecclesiastes witnesseth: "In much wisdom is much sorrow. And who getteth knowledge purchaseth sorrow and griefe." Even that which Philosophy doth in generall termes allow, this last remedy which she ordaineth for all manner of necessities; that is, to make an end of that life which we cannot endure. *Placet? pare: Non placet? quacunq; vis est. Pungit dolor? vel fodiat sane: si nudus es, da jugulum: sin tectus armis vulcaniis, id est, fortitudine, resiste.*² "Doth it like you? obey: doth it not like you? get out as you will; doth griefe pricke you? and let it pierce you too: if you be naked, yeeld your throat: but if you be covered with the armour of Vulcan, that is, with fortitude, resist." And that saying used of the Græcians in their banquets, which they apply unto it, *Aut bibat, aut abeat.*³ "Either let him carouse, or carry him out of the house:" which rather fitteth the mouth of a Gascoigne, who very easily doth change the letter B into V, than that of Cicero:

*Vivere si recte nescis, discede peritis:
Lupis tatis, edisti tatis, atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius æquo
Rideat, et pulset lascivia decentius artas.*⁴

Live well you cannot, then that can, give place;
Well have you sported, eaten well, drunke well:
'Tis time you part; lest wanton youth with
grace
Laugh at, and knock you that with swilling swell:

what is it but a confession of his insufficiency, and a sending one backe not only to ignorance, there to be shrowded, but unto stupidity it selfe, unto unsensiblenesse and not being?

— Democritum postquam maturna vetustas
Admonuit memorem, motus languescere mentis:
Sponte sua letho caput obviis obtulit ipse.¹

When ripe age put Democritus in minde,
That his mindes motions fainted, he to finde
His death went willing, and his life resign'd.

It is that which Anthisthenes said, that a man must provide himselfe either of wit to understand or of a halter to hang himselfe: And that which Chrysippus alleaged upon the speech of the Poet Tyrtaeus,

*De la vertu, ou de mort approcher.*²

Or vertue to approach,
Or else let death inroch.

And Crates said that love was cured with hunger, if not by time; and in him that liked not these two means, by the halter. That Sextius, to whom Seneca and Plutarke give so much commendation, having given over all things else and betaken himselfe to the study of Philosophy, seeing the progress of his studies so tedious and slow, purposed to cast himself into the Sea; Ranne unto death for want of knowledge: Reade here what the law saith upon this subject. If peradventure any great inconvenience happen, which cannot be remedied, the haven is not farre-off, and by swimming may a man save himselfe out of his body, as out of a leaking boat: for it is feare to die, and not desire to live, which keeps a foole joynd to his body. As life through simplicity becommeth more pleasant, so (as I erewhile began to say) becommeth it more innocent and better. The simple and the ignorant (saith St. Paul) raise themselves up to heaven, and take possession of it; whereas we, with all the knowledge we have, plunge ourselves downe to the pit of hell. I rely neither upon Valentian (a professed enemy to knowledge and learning), nor upon Licinius (both Roman Emperours), who named them the venime and plague of all politike estates: Nor on Mahomet, who, as I have heard, doth utterly interdict all manner of learning to his subjects. But the example of that great Lyncurgus and his authority, ought to beare chiefe sway, and the reverence of that divine Lacedæmonian policy, so great, so admirable, and so long time flourishing in all vertue and felicity without any institution or exercise at all of letters. Those who returne from that new world which of late hath been discovered by the Spaniards, can witness unto us how those nations, being without Magistrates or law, live much more regularly and formally than we, who have amongst us

¹ SOPH. *Ala. Flag.*

² CIC. *Trac. Qu. l. ii.*

³ CIC. *Id. l. v.*

⁴ HOR. *l. ii. Epist. ii. ult.*

¹ LUCR. *l. iii. 1083.*

² PLUT. *in Solon's Life.* AMYOT'S TRANS.

more officers and lawes than men of other professions or actions.

*Di citatorie pïene e di libelli,
D'essamine, e di carte, di procure
Hanno le mani e il seno, e gran fastelli
Di chiose, di consigli e di lecture,
Per cui le facultà de' poverelli
Non sono mai ne le città sicure,
Hanno dietro e dinanzi e d'ambi i lati,
Notai, procuratori, e avvocati.¹*

Their hands and bosoms with writs and citations, With papers, libels, proxies, full they beare, And bundels great of strict examinations, Of glosses, counsels, readings here and there. Whereby in townes poore men of occupations Possesse not their small goods secure from feare, Before, behind, on each sides Advocates, Proctors, and Notaries hold up debates.

It was that which a Roman Senator said, that "their predecessors had their breath stinking of garlike, and their stomacke perfumed with a good conscience;" and contrary, the men of his time outwardly smelt of nothing but sweet odours, but inwardly they stunk of all vices: which, in mine opinion, is as much to say they had much knowledge and sufficiency, but great want of honesty. Incivility, ignorance, simplicity, and rudenesse are commonly joyned with innocency. Curiosity, subtilty, and knowledge are ever followed with malice: Humility, feare, obedience, and honesty (which are the principall instruments for the preservation of humane society) require a single docile soule and which presumeth little of her selfe: Christians have a peculiar knowledge how curiosity is in a man a naturall and original infirmity. The care to increase in wisdom and knowledge was the first overthrow of man-kinde: it is the way whereby man hath headlong cast himselfe downe into eternall damnation. Pride is his losse and corruption: it is pride that misleadeth him from common waies; that makes him to embrace all new fangles, and rather chuse to be chiefe of a straggling troupe and in the path of perdition, and be regent of some erroneous sect, and a teacher of falsehood, than a discipule in the schoole of truth, and suffer himselfe to be led and directed by the hand of others in the ready beaten highway. It is haply that which the ancient Greeke proverbieth, ἡ δευσιδαιμονία, καθάπερ πατρί, τῷ τυφλῷ πεῖθεται: "Superstition obaieth pride as a father." Oh over-weaning, how much doest thou hinder us? Socrates being advertised that the God of wisdom had attributed the name of wise unto him, was thereat much astonished, and diligently searching and rousing up himselfe, and ransacking the very secrets of his

heart, found no foundation or ground for this divine sentence. He knew some that were as just, as temperate, as valliant and as wise as he, and more eloquent, more faire and more profitable to their country. In fine he resolved that he was distinguished from others, and reputed wise, onely because he did not so esteeme himselfe: And that his God deemed the opinion of science and wisdom a singular sottishnes in man; and that his best doctrine was the doctrine of ignorance, and simplicitie his greatest wisdom. The sacred writ pronounceth them to be miserable in this world that esteeme themselves. "Dust and ashes," saith he, "what is there in thee thou shouldest so much glory of?" And in another place God hath made man like unto a shadowe, of which who shall judge when, the light being gone, it shall vanish away? Man is a thing of nothing. So far are our faculties from conceiving that high Deitie, that of our Creators works, those beare his marke best, and are most his owne, which we understand least. It is an occasion to induce Christians to beleeve, when they chance to meet with any incredible thing, that it is so much the more according unto reason, by how much more it is against humane reason. If it were according unto reason, it were no more a wonder; and were it to be matched, it were no more singular. *Melius scitur Deus nesciendo.*² "God is better known by our not knowing him," saith S. Augustine: and Tacitus, *Sanctius est ac reverentius de actis deorum credere quam scire.*³ "It is a course of more holinesse and reverence to hold beleeve than to have knowledge of Gods actions." And Plato deemeth it to be a vice of impiety over-curiously to enquire after God, after the world, and after the first causes of things. *Atque illum quidem parentem hujus universitatis invenire, difficile; et quum jam inveneris, indicare in vulgus, nefas.*⁴ "Both it is difficult to finde out the father of this universe, and when you have found him, it is unlawfull to reveale Him to the vulgar," saith Cicero. We easily pronounce puissance, truth, and justice; they be words importing some great matter, but that thing we neither see nor conceive. We say that God feareth, that God will be angry, and that God loveth.

*Immortalia mortali sermone notantes,*⁵

Who with tearmes of mortality
Note things of immortality.

They be all agitations and motions, which according to our forme can have no place in

¹ ST. AUG.

² TACITUS, *Mor. German.*

³ CIC. *de Univ. Fragm.*

⁴ LUCR. l. v. 120.

⁵ ARIOSTO, *cap. xiv. stan. 84.*

God, nor we imagine them according to his. It onely belongs to God to know himselfe and interpret his owne workes; and in our tongues he doth it improperly, to descend and come downe to us, that are and lie groveling on the ground. How can wisdom (which is the choice betweene good and evill) besee me him, seeing no evill doth touch him? How reason and intelligence, which we use to come from obscure to apparant things, seeing there is no obscure thing in God? Justice, which distributeth unto every man what belongs unto him, created for the society and conversation of man, how is she in God? How temperance, which is the moderation of corporall sensualities, which have no place at all in his God-head? Fortitude patiently to endure sorrowes, and labours and dangers, appertaineth little unto him, these three things no way approaching him, having no accesse unto him. And therefore Aristotle holds him to be equally exempted from vertue and from vice. *Neque gratia, neque ira teneri potest, quod quæ talia essent, imbecilla essent omnia*:¹ "Nor can he be possessed with favor and anger; for all that is so is but weak." The participation which we have of the knowledge of truth, what soever she is, it is not by our owne strength we have gotten it; God hath sufficiently taught it us in that he hath made choice of the simple, common, and ignorant to teach us His wonderfull secrets. Our faith hath not been purchased by us: it is a gift proceeding from the liberality of others. It is not by our discourse or understanding that we have received our religion, it is by a forreine authority and commandement. The weakness of our judgement helps us more than our strength to compasse the same, and our blindness more than our cleare-sighted eyes. It is more by the meanes of our ignorance than of our skill that we are wise in heavenly knowledge. It is no marvell if our naturall and terrestrial meanes cannot conceive the supernaturall or apprehend the celestial knowledge. Let us adde nothing of our own unto it but obedience and subjection: for (as it is written) "I will confound the wisdom of the wise, and destroy the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe, where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishnesse? For seeing the world by wisdom knew not God, in the wisdom of God, it hath pleased Him, by the vanity of preaching, to save

them that beleeve." Yet must I see at last whether it be in mans power to finde what he seekes for: and if this long search, wherein he hath continued so many ages, hath enriched him with any new strength or solid truth: I am perswaded, if he speake in conscience, he will confesse that all the benefit he hath gotten by so tedious a pursuit hath been that he hath learned to know his owne weakness. That ignorance which in us was naturall, we have with long study confirmed and averred. It hath happened unto those that are truly learned, as it hapneth unto eares of corne, which as long as they are empty, grow and raise their head aloft, upright and stout; but if they once become full and bigge with ripe corne, they begin to humble and droope downward. So men having tried and sounded all, and in all this chaos and huge heape of learning and provision of so infinite different things, found nothing that is substantiall, firme, and steadie, but all vanitie, have renounced their presumption, and too late knowen their naturall condition. It is that which Velleius upbraids Cotta and Cicero withall, that they have learnt of Philo to have learned nothing. Pherecydes, one of the seven wise men, writing to Thales even as he was yeelding up the ghost, "I have," saith he, "appoynted my friends, as soon as I shal be layed in my grave, to bring thee all my writings. If they please thee and the other sages, publish them; if not, conceale them. They containe no certaintie, nor doe they any whit satisfie mee. My profession is not to know the truth nor to attaine it. I rather open than discover things." The wisest that ever was, being demanded what he knew, answered, he knew that he knew nothing. He verified what some say, that the greatest part of what we know is the least part of what we know not: that is, that that which we thinke to know is but a parcel, yea, and a small particle, of our ignorance, "We know things in a dreame," saith Plato, "and we are ignorant of them in truth." *Omnes pene veteres nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt: angustus sensus, imbecilles animos, brevius curricula vite*:¹ "Almost all the ancients affirmed nothing may be knowen, nothing perceivd, nothing understood: that our senses are narrow, our mindes are weak, and the race of our life is short." Cicero himselfe, who ought all he had unto learning, Valerius saith, that in his age he began to disesteeme letters: and whilst he practised them, it was without bond to any

¹ Cic. *Nat. Deor.* l. i.² 1 COR. i. 19-21.¹ Cic. *Acad. Qu.* l. i.

speciall body, following what seemed probable unto him, now in the one and now in the other sect; ever holding himselfe under the Academies doubtfulness. *Dicendum est, sed ita ut nihil affirmem; quæram omnia, dubitans plerumque, et mihi diffidens*:¹ "Speake I must, but so as I avouch nothing, question all things, for the most part in doubt and distrust of my selfe." I should have too much adoe if I would consider man after his owne fashion, and in grose: which I might doe by his owne rule, who is wont to judge of truth, not by the weight or value of voices, but by the number. But leave we the common people,

*Qui vigilans stertit,*²

Who snooze while they are awake.

Mortua cui vita est, prope jam vivo atque videnti:³

Whose life is dead while yet they see,
And in a manner living be.

Who feeleth not himselfe, who judgeth not himselfe, who leaves the greatest part of his naturall parts idle. I will take man even in his highest estate. Let us consider him in this small number of excellent and choise men, who having naturally beene endowed with a peculiar and exquisite wit, have also fostred and sharpened the same with care, with study and with art, and have brought and strained unto the highest pitch of wisdom it may possibly reach unto. They have fitted their soule unto all senses, and squared the same to all byases; they have strengthened and under-propped it with all foraine helps, that might any way fit or stead her, and have enriched and adorned her with whatsoever they have beene able to borrow, either within or without the world for her avails: It is in them that the extreme height of humane nature doth lodge. They have reformed the world with policies and lawes. They have instructed the same with arts and sciences, as also by example of their wonderfull manners and life. I will but make account of such people, of their witness and of their experience. Let us see how far they have gone, and what holdfast they have held by. The maladies and defects which we shall finde in that college, the world may boldly allow them to be his. Whosoever seeks for any thing, cometh at last to this conclusion and saith,⁴ that either he hath found it, or that it cannot be found, or that he is still in pursuit after it. All philosophy is divided into these three kinds. Her purpose is to seeke out the truth, the knowledge and the certainty.

The Peripatetike, the Epicureans, the Stoikes and others have thought they had found it. These have established the sciences that we have, and as of certaine knowledges have treated of them; Clitomachus, Carneades, and the Academikes have despaired the finding of it, and judged that truth could not be conceived by our meanes. The end of these is weakness and ignorance. The former had more followers and the worthiest sectaries. Pyrrho and other sceptikes, or epechistes, whose doctrine or manner of teaching many auncient learned men have thought to have beene drawne from Homer, from the seaven wise men, from Archilochus and Euripides, to whom they joyne Zeno, Democritus, and Xenophanes, say that they are still seeking after truth. These judge that those are infinitely deceived who imagine they have found it, and that the second degree is over boldly vaine in affirming that mans power is altogether unable to attaine unto it. For to stablish the measure of our strength to know and distinguish of the difficulty of things is a great, a notable and extreme science, which they doubt whether man be capable thereof or no.

*Nil sciri quisquis putat, id quoque nescit,
An sciri possit, quo se nil scire fatetur.*⁵

Who think's nothing is knowne, knowes not that whereby hee

Gr. he knowes nothing if it knowne may

That ignorance which knoweth, judgeth, and condemneth it selfe, is not an absolute ignorance: for to be so, she must altogether be ignorant of her selfe. So that the profession of the Pyrrhonians is ever to waver, to doubt, and to enquire; never to be assured of any thing, nor to take any warrant of himself. Of the three actions or faculties of the soule, that is to say, the imaginative, the concupiscible, and the consenting, they allow and conceive the two former: the last they hold and defend to be ambiguous, without inclination or approbation either of one or other side, be it never so light. Zeno in jesture painted forth his imagination upon this division of the soules faculties: the open and outstretched hand was apparance; the hand halfe-shut, and fingers somewhat bending, consent; the fist closed, comprehension: if the fist of the left hand were closely clinched together, it signified Science. Now this situation of their judgement, straight and inflexible, receiving all objects with application or consent, leads them unto their Ataraxie, which is the condition of a quiet and settled life, exempted from

¹ Cic. *Divin.* l. i.

² Lucr. l. iii. 1091.

³ Id. 1089.

⁴ Lucr. l. iv. 471.

the agitations which we receive by the impression of the opinion and knowledge we imagine to have of things; whence proceed feare, avarice, envie, immoderate desires, ambition, pride, superstition, love of novelties, rebellion, disobedience, obstinacie, and the greatest number of corporall evils: yea, by that meane they are exempted from the jealousy of their owne discipline, for they contend but faintly: they feare nor revenge nor contradiction in the disputations. When they say that heavy things descend downward, they would be loth to be beleaved, but desire to be contradicted, thereby to engender doubt and suspence of judgement, which is their end and drift. They put forth their propositions but to contend with those they imagine wee hold in our conceipt. If you take theirs, then will they undertake to maintaine the contrarie: all is one to them, nor will they give a penny to chuse. If you propose that snow is blacke, they will argue on the other side that it is white. If you say it is neither one nor other, they will maintaine it to be both. If by a certaine judgement you say that you cannot tell, they will maintaine that you can tell. Nay, if by an affirmative axiome you swe are that you stand in some doubt, they will dispute that you doubt not of it, or that you cannot judge or maintaine that you are in doubt. And by this extremitie of doubt, which staggereth it selfe, they separate and divide themselves from many opinions, yea from those which divers ways have maintained both the doubt and the ignorance. Why shall it not be granted then (say they) as to Dogmatists, or Doctrine-teachers, for one to say greene and another yellow, so for them to doubt? Is there any thing can be proposed unto you, either to allow or refuse which may not lawfully be considered as ambiguous and doubtfull? And whereas others be carried either by the custome of their countrie, or by the institution of their parents, or by chance, as by a tempest, without choyce or judgement, yea sometimes before the age of discretion, to such and such another opinion, to the Stoike or Epicurean Sect, to which they finde themselves more engaged, subjected, or fast tyed, as to a prize they cannot let

consider of things without dutie or compulsion? *Hoc liberiores et solutiores, quod integra illis est judicandi potestas:*¹ "They are so much the freer and at libertie, for that their power of judgement is kept entire." Is it not some advantage for one to finde himselfe disingaged from necessitie which brideleth others? Is it not better to remaine in suspence than to entangle himselfe in so many errors that humane fantasie hath brought forth? Is it not better for a man to suspend his owne perswasion than to meddle with these sedicious and quarrellous divisions? What shall I chuse? Mary, what you list, so you chuse. A very foolish answer: to which it seemeth neverthelesse that all Dogmatisme arriveth; by which it is not lawfull for you to bee ignorant of that we know not. Take the best and strongest side, it shall never be so sure but you shall have occasion to defend the same, to close and combat a hundred and a hundred sides? Is it not better to keepe out of this confusion? You are suffered to embrace as your honour and life Aristotles opinion upon the eternitie of the soule, and to belie and contradict whatsoever Plato saith concerning that; and shall they be interdicted to doubt of it? If it be lawfull for Panecius to maintaine his judgement about auspices, dreames, oracles, and prophecies, whereof the Stoikes make no doubt at all: wherefore shall not a wise man dare that in all things which this man dares in such as he hath learned of his masters, confirmed and established by the general consent of the schoole whereof he is a sectary and a professor? If it be a childe that judgeth, he wots not what it is; if a learned man, he is forestalled. They have reserved a great advantage for themselves in the combat, having discharged themselves of the care how to shroud themselves. They care not to be beaten, so they may strike againe: and all is fish that comes to net with them. If they overcome, your proposition halteth; if you, theirs is lame; if they faile, they verifie ignorance; if you, she is verified by you; if they prove that nothing is knownen, it is very well: if they cannot prove it, it is good alike: *Vt quum in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus momenta inveniuntur, facilius ab utraque*

it were by a Tempest to any kinde of doctrine, they sticke close to it as it were to a rocke." Why shall not these likewise be permitted to maintaine their libertie and

more easily hold with avouching on both parts." And they suppose to find out more easily why a thing is false than true, and that which is not than that which is:

¹ Cic. Acad. Qu. l. x.¹ Cic. Acad. Qu. l. x.¹ Ib.

and what they beleve not, than that what they beleve. Their manner of speech is, "I confirme nothing." It is no more so than thus, or neither: I conceive it not; apparances are every where alike. The law of speaking *pro* or *contra* is all one. "Nothing seemeth true that may not seeme false." Their sacramental word is *tréye*; which is as much to say as I hold and stir not. Behold the burdons of their songs and other such like. Their effects is a pure, entire, and absolute surceasing and suspence of judgement. They use their reason to enquire and to debate, and not to stay and choose. Whosoever shall imagine a perpetuall confession of ignorance, and a judgement upright and without staggering, to what occasion soever may chance, that man conceives the true Pyrrhonisme. I expound this fantazy as plaine as I can, because many deeme it hard to be conceived: and the authors themselves represent it somewhat obscurely and diversly. Touching the actions of life, in that they are after the common sort, they are lent and applied to naturall inclinations, to the impulsion and constraint of passions, to the constitutiones of lawes and customes, and to the tradition of arts: *Non enim nos Deus ista scire, sed tantummodo uti voluit.*¹ "For God would not have us know these things, but only use them." By such means they suffer their common actions to be directed without any conceit or judgement, which is the reason that I cannot well sort unto this discourse what is said of Pyrrho. They faine him to be stupide and unmovable, leading a kinde of wild and unsociable life, not shunning to be hit with carts, presenting himselfe unto downefalls, refusing to conforme himselfe to the lawes. It is an endearing of his discipline. Hee would not make himselfe a stone or a blocke, but a living, discoursing, and reasoning man, enjoying all pleasures and naturall commodities, busying himselfe with and using all his corporall and spiritual parts in rule and right. The fantastick and imaginary and false privileges which man hath usurped unto himselfe to sway, to appoint, and to establish, he hath absolutely renounced and quit them. Yet is there no Sect but is enforced to allow her wise Sectary, in chiefe to follow diverse things nor comprehended, nor perceived, nor allowed, if he will live. And if he take shipping, he follows his purpose, not knowing whether it shall be profitable or no: and yeelees to this, that the ship is good, the pilote is skilfull,

and that the season is fit, circumstances only probable. After which he is bound to goe and suffer himselfe to be removed by apparances, alwaies provided they have no expresse contrariety in them. Hee hath a body, he hath a soule, his senses urge him forward, his minde moveth him. Although he finde not this proper and singular marke of judging in himselfe, and that he perceive he should not engage his consent, seeing some falsehood may be like unto this truth: hee ceaseth not to conduct the offices of his life fully and commodiously. How many arts are there which professe to consist more in conjecture than in the science; that distinguish not betwene truth and falsehood, but only follow seeming? There is both true and false (say they), and there are meanes in us to seeke it out, but not to stay it when we touch it. It is better for us to suffer the order of the world to manage us without further inquisition. A mind warrantd from prejudice hath a marvelous preferment to tranquillity. Men that censure and controule their judges doe never duly submit unto them. How much more docile and tractable are simple and uncurious mindes found both towards the lawes of religion and Politike decrees, than these over-vigilant and nice wits, teachers of divine and humane causes? There is nothing in mans invention wherein is so much likelyhood, possibilitie, and profit. This representeth man bare and naked, acknowledging his naturall weaknesse, apt to receive from above some strange power, disurnished of all humane knowledge, and so much the more fitte to harbour divine understanding, disannulling his judgement, that so he may give more place unto faith. Neither misbeleieving nor establishing any doctrine or opinion repugnant unto common lawes and observances, humble, obedient, disciplinable and studious; a sworn enemy to Heresie, and by consequence exempting himselfe from all vaine and irreligious opinions, invented and brought up by false Sects. It is a white sheet prepared to take from the finger of God what form soever it shall please him to imprint therein. The more we addresse and commit our selves to God, and reject our selves, the better it is for us. Accept (saith Ecclesiastes) in good part things both in shew and taste, as from day to day they are presented unto thee, the rest is beyond thy knowledge. *Dominus novit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanae sunt.*¹ "The Lord knowes the thoughts of men, that they are

¹ Cte. *Divin.* l. i.¹ Psalm xciii, 11.

vayne." See how of three generall Sects of Philosophie, two make expresse profession of doubt and ignorance; and in the third, which is the Dogmatists, it is easie to be discerned that the greatest number have taken the face of assurance; onely because they could set a better countenance on the matter. They have not so much gone about to establish any certainty in us, as to shew how farre they had waded in seeking out the truth. *Quam docti fingunt magis quam norunt*: "Which the learned doe rather conceit than know."

Timæus, being to instruct Socrates of what he knowes of the Gods, of the world, and of men, purposeth to speake of it as one man to another; and that it sufficeth, if his reasons be as probable as another mans. For exact reasons are neither in his hands, nor in any mortall man; which one of his Sectaries hath thus imitated: *Vt potero, explicabo: nec tamen, ut Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa quæ dixerō; sed ut homunculus, probabilis conjectura sequens*.¹ "As I can, I will explaine them; yet not as Apollo giving oracles, that all should bee certaine and set downe, that I say but as a meane man, who followes likelihood by his conjecture." And that upon the discourse of the contempt of death; a naturall and popular discourse. Elsewhere he hath translated it, upon Platoes very words: *Si forte, de Deorum natura ortuque mundi disserentes, minus id quod habemus in animo consequimur, haud erit mirum. Aequum est enim meminisse, et me, qui disseram, hominem esse, et vos qui judicetis: ut, si probabilia dicentur, nihil ultra requiratis*. "It will be no marvell if arguing of the nature of Gods and originall of the world, we scarcely reach to that which in our minde we comprehend; for it is meet we remember that both I am a man who am to argue, and you who are to judge, so as you seeke no further, if I speake but things likely." Aristotle ordinarily hoardeth us up a number of other opinions and other beleeves, that so he may compare his unto it, and make us see how farre he hath gone further, and how neere he comes unto true-likelihood. For truth is not judged by authoritie, nor by others testimonie. And therefore did Epicurus religiously avoyd to aleadge any in his compositions. He is the Prince of Dogmatists, and yet we learne of him that, to know much breedes an occasion to doubt more. He is often seene seriously to shelter himselfe under so inextricable obscurities that his meaning cannot be perceived. In effect, it is a Pyrrhonisme under

a resolving forme. Listen to Ciceroes protestation, who doth declare us others fantasies by his owne. *Qui requirunt, quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus; curiosius ad faciunt, quam necesse est. Hæc in Philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata à Carneade, usque ad nostram viget aetatem. Illi sumus, qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adiuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certe judicandi et assentiendi nota*.² "They that would know what we conceit of every thing, use more curiosity than needs. This course in Philosophy to dispute against all things, to judge expressly of nothing, derived from Socrates, renewed by Arcesilas, confirmed by Carneades, is in force till our time; we are those that aver some falsehood intermixt with every truth, and that with such likeness, as there is no set note in those things for any assuredly to give judgement or assent." Why hath not Aristotle alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers, affected difficulty, unlesse it be to make the vanity of the subject to prevaille, and to amuse the curiosity of our minde, seeking to feed it by gnawing so raw and bare a bone? Clytemachus affirmed that he could never understand by the writings of Carneades, what opinion he was of. Why hath Epicurus interdicted facility unto his Sectaries? And wherefore hath Heraclitus been surnamed *ακρωτὺς*, "a darke mysty clouded fellow?" Difficulty is a coine that wise men make use of, as jugglers doe with passe and repasse, because they will not display the vanity of their art, and wherewith humane foolishnesse is easily apaid.

Clarus ob obscuram linguam, magis inter inanes.

Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque,

*Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt.*³

For his darke speech much prais'd, but of th' unwise;

For fooles doe all still more admire and prize
That under words turn'd topsie-turvie lies.

Cicero reproveth some of his friends because they were wont to bestow more time about astrology, law, logike, and geometry, than such arts could deserve; and diverted them from the devoirs of their life, more profitable and more honest. The Cyrenaike philosophers equally contemned naturall philosophy and logicke. Zeno in the beginning of his bookes of the Commonwealth declared all the liberrall sciences to be unprofitable. Chrysippus said that which

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu. l. i.*

² Cic. *Univers.*

³ Cic. *Nat. Deor. l. i.*

⁴ Lucr. l. i. 636.

Plato and Aristotle had written of logike, they had written the same in jest and for exercise sake, and could not believe that ever they spake in good earnest of so vaine and idle a subject. Plutarke saith the same of the metaphysikes: Epicurus would have said it of rhetorike, of grammar, of poesie, of the mathematices, and (except naturall philosophy) of all other sciences: and Socrates of all, but of the art of civill manners and life. Whatsoever he was demanded of any man, he would ever first enquire of him to give an account of his life, both present and past, which he would seriously examine and judge of; deeming all other apprenticeships as subsequents and of supererogation in regard of that. *Parum michi placeant ea libere que ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt*: "That learning pleaseth me but a little, which nothing profiteth the teachers of it unto vertue." Most of the arts have thus bene condemned by knowledge it selfe, for they thought it not amisse to exercise their mindes in matters wherein was no profitable solidity. As for the rest, some have judged Plato a dogmatist, others a doubter; some a dogmatist in one thing, and some a doubter in another. Socrates, the fore-man of his Dialogues doth ever aske and propose his disputation; yet never concluding, nor ever satisfying, and saith he hath no other science but that of opposing. Their author, Homer, hath equally grounded the foundations of all sects of philosophy, thereby to shew how indifferent he was which way we went. Some say that of Plato arose ten diverse sects. And as I thinke, never was instruction wavering and nothing avouching if his be not. Socrates was wont to say that when midwives begin once to put in practice the trade to make other women bring forth children, themselves become barren. That he, by the title of wise, which the gods had conferred upon him, had also in his man-like and mentall love shaken off the faculty of begetting: Being well pleased to afford all helpe and favor to such as were engenderers; to open their nature, to suple their passages, to ease the issue of their child-bearing, to judge thereof, to baptise the same, to foster it, to strengthen it, to swathe it, and to circumscribe it, exercising and handling his instrument at the perill and fortune of others. So is it with most authors of this third kinde, as the ancients have well noted by the writings of Anaxagoras, Democritus, Parmenides, Xenophanes, and others. They have a manner of writing doubtfull both in substance and intent, rather enquiring than instructing: albeit here and there they entrelace their stile with dogmaticall cadences.

And is not that as well seene in Seneca and in Plutarke? How much doe they speake sometimes of one face and sometimes of another, for such as looke neere unto it? Those who reconcile lawyers, ought first to have reconciled them every one unto himselfe. Plato hath (in my seeming) loved this manner of philosophizing dialogue wise in good earnest, that thereby he might more decently place in sundry mouthe the diversity and variation of his owne conceits. Diversly to treat of matters is as good: and better as to treat them conformably; that is to say, more copiously and more profitably. Let us take example by our selves. Definite sentences make the last period of dogmaticall and resolving speech; yet see wee that those which our Parliaments present unto our people as the most exemplare and fittest to nourish in them the reverence they owe unto this dignitie, especially by reason of the sufficiency of those persons which exercise the same, taking their glory, not by the conclusion, which to them is dayly, and is common to all judges as much as the debating of diverse and agitations of contrary reasonings of law causes will admit. And the largest scope for reprehensions of some Philosophers against others, draweth contradictions and diversities with it, wherein every one of them findeth himself so entangled, either by intent to show the wavering of mans minde above all matters, or ignorantly forced by the volubilitie and incomprehensibleness of all matters: What meaneth this burden? In a slippery and gliding place let us suspend our beliefe. For as Euripides saith,

*Les œuvres de Dieu en diverses
Façons, nous donnent des traverses.*¹

Gods workes doe travers our imaginations,
And crosse our workes in divers different fashions.

Like unto that which Empedocles was wont often to scatter amongst his bookes, as moved by a divine furie and forced by truth. No, no, we feel nothing, we see nothing; all things are hid from us: there is not one that we may establish, how and what it is. But returning to this holy word, *Cogitationes mortalium timida, et incerta adinventiones nostræ, et providentiæ*:² "The thoughts of mortal men are fearefull, our devices and foresights are uncertaine." It must not be thought strange if men disparaging of the goale have yet taken pleasure in the chase of it; studie being in itselfe a pleasing occupation, yea so pleasing that amid sensualities the Stoikes forbid also that which comes from the exercise of the

¹ From PLUTARCH through AMYOT'S Trans.

² *Wisd.* ix. 14.

minde, and require a bridle to it, and finde intemperance in over much knowledge. Democritus having at his table eaten some figges that tasted of hony, began presently in his minde to seeke out whence this unusuall sweetnes in them might proceed; and to be resolved, rose from the board, to view the place where those figges had beene gathered. His maide servant noting this alteration in her master, smilingly said unto him, that he should no more busie himselfe about it; the reason was, she had laide them in a vessell where hony had beene; whereat he seemed to be wroth in that shee had deprived him of the occasion of his intended search, and robbed his curiositie of matter to worke upon. "Away," quoth he unto her, "thou hast much offended mee; yet will I not omit to finde out the cause, as if it were naturally so." Who perhaps would not have missed to finde some likely or true reason for a false and supposed effect. This storie of a famous and great Philosopher doth evidently represent unto us this studious passion, which so doth amuse us in pursuit of things, of whose obtaining wee despaire. Plutarke reporteth a like example of one who would not be resolved of what he doubted, because hee would not lose the pleasure hee had in seeking it: As another, that would not have his Physitian remove the thirst he felt in his ague, because he would not lose the pleasure he tooke in quenching the same with drinking. *Satius est supervacua discere, quam nihil.*¹ "It is better to learne more than wee need than nothing at all." Even as in all feeding, pleasure is always alone and single; and all we take that is pleasant is not ever nourishing and wholesome: So likewise, what our minde drawes from learning leaveth not to be voluptuous, although it neither nourish nor be wholesome. Note what their saying is: "The consideration of nature is a food proper for our mindes, it raiseth and puffeth us up, it makes us by the comparison of heavenly and high things to disdain base and low matters. The search of hidden and great causes is very pleasant, yea unto him that attaines nought but the reverence and feare to judge of them." These are the very words of their profession. The vaine image of this crazed curiositie is more manifestly seen in this other example, which they for honour-sake have so often in their mouths. Eudoxus wished, and praid to the Gods, that he might once view the Sunne neere at hand, to comprehend his forme, his greatness and his beautie; on condition he might immediately be burnt and consumed by it. Thus

with the price of his owne life would he attaine a Science, whereof both use and possession shall therewith bee taken from him; and for so sudden and fleeting knowledge lose and forgoe all the knowledges he either now hath, or ever hereafter may have. I can not easily be perswaded that Epicurus, Plato, or Pythagoras have sold us their atomes, their ideas, and their numbers for ready payment. They were over wise to establish their articles of faith upon things so uncertaine and disputable. But in this obscuritie and ignorance of the world, each of these notable men hath endeavoured to bring some kinde of shew or image of light; and have busied their mindes about inventions that might at least have a pleasing and wilie apparence, provided (notwithstanding it were false) it might be maintained against contrary oppositions: *Vnicuique ista pro ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientiæ vi.* "These things are conceited by every man as his wit serves, not as his knowledge stretches and reaches." An ancient Philosopher being blamed for professing that Philosophie, whereof in his judgment hee made no esteeme; answered, that that was true Philosophizing. They have gone about to consider all, to ballance all, and have found that it was an occupation fitting the naturall curiositie which is in us. Some things they have written for the behoofe of common societie, as their religions: And for this consideration was it reasonable that they would not thoroughly unfold common opinions, that so they might not breed trouble in the obedience of lawes and customes of their countries. Plato treateth this mysterie in a very manifest kinde of sport. For, where he writeth according to himselfe, he prescribeth nothing for certaintie: When he institutes a Law giver, he borroweth a very swaying and avouching kinde of stile: Wherein he boldly entermingleth his most fantastieall opinions; as profitable to perswade the common sort, as ridiculous to perswade himselfe: Knowing how apt wee are to receive all impressions, and chiefly the most wicked and enormous. And therefore is he very carefull in his lawes that nothing bee sung in publike but Poesies the fabulous fictions of which tend to some profitable end: being so apt to imprint all manner of illusion in mans minde, that it is injustice not to feed them rather with commodious lies, than with lies either unprofitable or damageable. He flatly saith in his Common-wealth that for the benefit of men, it is often necessarie to deceive them. It is easie to distinguish how some Sects have rather followed truth, and some profit; by which the latter have gained credit. It is

¹ SEN. *Epist.* lxxxix.

the miserie of our condition that often what offers it selfe unto our imagination for the likeliest, presents not it selfe unto it for the most beneficiall unto our life. The boldest sects, both Epicurean, Pirrhonean and new Academicke, when they have cast their account are compelled to stoop to the civill law. There are other subjects which they have tossed, some on the left and some on the right hand, each one labouring and striving to give it some semblance, were it right or wrong: For, having found nothing so secret, whereof they have not attempted to speak, they are many times forced to forge divers feeble and fond conjectures: Not that themselves tooke them for ground-work, not to establish a truth, but for an exercise of their studie. *Non tam id sensisse, quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia materie difficultate videntur voluisse:* "They seem not so much to have thought as they said, as rather willing to exercise their wits in the difficulty of the matter." And if it were not so taken, how should we cloke so great an inconstancie, varietie and vanity of opinions, which wee see to have beene produced by these excellent and admirable spirits? As for example, What greater vanitie can there be than to goe about by our proportions and conjectures to guesse at God? And to governe both him and the world according to our capacitie and lawes?" And to use this small scantlin of sufficiency, which he hath pleased to impart unto our naturall condition, at the cost and charges of divinitie? And because we cannot extend our sight so farre as his glorious throne, to have removed him downe to our corruption and miseries? Of all humane and ancient opinions concerning religion, I thinke that to have had more likelihood and excuse, which knowledged and confessed God to be an incomprehensible power, chiefe beginning and preserver of all things; all goodness, all perfection; accepting in good part the honour and reverence which mortall men did yeeld him, under what usage, name and manner soever it was.

*Jupiter omnipotens rerum, regumque, Deumque, Progenitor, genitrixque.*¹

Almightie love is parent said to be
Of things, of Kings, of Gods, both he and she.

This zeale hath universally beene regarded of heaven with a gentle and gracious eye. All policies have reaped some fruit by their devotion: Men and impious actions have every where had correspondent events. Heathen histories acknowledge dignitie,

order, justice, prodigies, and oracles, employed for their benefit and instruction in their fabulous religion: God of his mercy daining, peradventure, to foster by his temporall blessings the budding and tender beginnings of such a brute knowledge as naturall reason gave them of him, athwart the false images of their deluding dreames: Not only false but impious and injurious are those which man hath forged and devised by his owne invention. And of all religions Saint Paul found in credit at Athens, that which they had consecrated unto a certaine hidden and unknowne divinitie seemed to be most excusable. Pythagoras shadowed the truth somewhat neerer, judging that the knowledge of this first cause and *Essentium* must be undefined, without any prescription or declaration. That it was nothing else but the extreme indeavour of our imagination toward perfection, every one amplifying the idea thereof according to his capacite. But if Numa undertooke to conforme the devotion of his people to this project, to joine the same to a religion meereley mentall, without any prefix object or materiall mixture, he undertooke a matter to no use. Mans minde could never be maintained if it were still floting up and downe in this infinite deepe of shapeles conceits. They must be framed unto her to some image, according to her model. The majesty of God hath in some sort suffered itself to be circumscribed to coporall limits: His supernaturall and celestiall Sacraments beare signes of our terrestriall condition. His adoration is exprest by offices and sensible words; for it is man that beleeveth and praieth. I omit other arguments that are employed about this subject. But I could hardly be made beleieve that the sight of our Crucifixes and pictures of that pittifull torment, that the ornaments and ceremonious motions in our Churches, that the voyces accomodated and suted to our thoughts-devotions, and this stirring of our senses, doth not greatly inflame the peoples soules with a religious passion of wonderous beneficiall good. Of those to which they have given bodies, as necessity required amid this generall blindness, as for me, I should rather have taken part with those who worshipped the Sunne.

— la lumiere commune,
*L'œil du monde: et si Dieu au chef-porte des yeux,
Les rayons du Soleil sont ses yeux radieux
Qui donnent vie à tous, nous maintenant et
gardent,
Et les faits des humains en ce monde regardent:
Ce beau, ce grand Soleil, qui nous fait les say-
sons,
Selon qu'il entre ou sort de ses douze maysons:
Qui remplit l'univers de ses vertus cognus,*

¹ VALERIUS SORANUS, quoted from VARRO by AUGUSTIN, *De Civ. Dei*,

*Qui d'un trait de ses yeux nous dissipe les nues :
L'esprit, l'ame du monde, ardent et flamboyant,
En la course d'un tour tout le Ciel tournoyant,
Plein d'immense grandeur, rond, vagabond et
ferme :*

*Lequel tient dessous luy tout le monde pour
terme,*

*En repos sans repos, oysif, et sans sejour,
Fils aisné de Nature, et le Pere du iour.*

The common light,

The worlds eye : and if God beare eyes in his
cheefe head,

His most resplendent eyes the Sunne-beames
may be said,

Which unto all give life, which us maintaine and
guard,

And in this world of men, the workes of men regard :
This great, this beauteous Sunne, which us our
seasons makes,

As in twelve houses he ingresse or egress takes :
Who with his Vertues knowne, doth fill this
universe,

With one cast of his eyes doth us all clouds dis-
perse :

The spirit, and the soule of this world, flaming,
burning,

Round about heav'n in course of one dayes
journey turning.

Of endlesse greatnesse full, round, moveable and
fast :

Who all the world for bounds beneath himselfe
hath pla't :

In rest, without rest, and still more staid, with-
out stay,

Of Nature th' eldest Childe, and Father of the day.

Forasmuch as besides this greatnesse and
matchlesse beautie of his, it is the onely
glorious piece of this vaste worlds frame,
which we perceive to be furthest from us :
And by that meane so little knowne as they
are pardonable, they entered into admiration
and reverence of it. Thales, who was the
first to enquire and find out this matter,
esteemed God to be a spirit who made all
things of water. Anaximander thought the
Gods did dy, and were new borne at divers
seasons, and that the worlds were infinite in
number. Anaximenes deemed the ayre to be
a God, which was created immense and
always moving. Anaxagoras was the first
that held the description and manner of all
things to be directed by the power and
reason of a spirit infinit. Alcmaeon hath
ascribed divinity unto the Sunne, unto the
Moone, unto Stars, and unto the Soule.
Pythagoras hath made God a spirit dispersed
through the Nature of all things, whence
our soules are derived. Parmenides, a circle
circumpassing the heavens, and by the heat
of light maintaining the world. Empedocles
said the foure Natures, whereof all things are
made, to be Gods. Protagoras, that he had
nothing to say whether they were or were
not, or what they were. Democritus would
sometimes say that the images and their cir-
cumscriptions were Gods, and other times this

Nature, which disperseth these images, and
then our knowledge and intelligence. Plato
scattereth his beliefe after diverse sem-
blances. In his Timæus he saith that the
worlds father could not be named. In his
Laws that his being must not be enquired
after. And else-where in the said bookes he
maketh the world, the heaven, the starres,
the earth, and our soules, to be Gods ; and
besides, admitteth those that by ancient in-
stitutions have beene received in every com-
mon-wealth. Xenophon reporteth a like
difference of Socrates his discipline. Some-
times that Gods forme ought not to be in-
quired after ; then he makes him infer that
the Sunne is a God, and the Soule a God ;
other times that there is but one, and then
more. Speusippus, Nephew unto Plato,
makes God to be a certaine power, govern-
ing all things, and having a soule. Aris-
totle saith sometimes that it is the spirit, and
sometimes the world ; other times he ap-
pointeth another ruler over this world, and
sometimes he makes God to be the heat of
heaven. Xenocrates makes eight ; five named
amongst the planets, the sixth composed of
all the fixed starres, as of his owne mem-
bers ; the seventh and eighth the 'Sunne
and the Moone. Heraclides Ponticus doth
but roame among his opinions, and in fine
deprive God of sense, and maketh him re-
move and transchange himselfe from one
forme to another ; and then saith that is
both heaven and earth. Theophrastus in
all his fantasies wandereth still in like irreso-
lutions, attributing the worlds superinten-
dency now to the intelligence, now to the
heaven, and now to the starres. Strabo,
that it is Nature having power to engender,
to augment and to diminish, without forme
or sense. Zeno, the naturall Law, com-
manding the good and prohibiting the
evil ; which Lawe is a breathing creature,
and removeth the accustomed Gods,
Inpiter, Iuno, and Vesta. Diogenes
Apolloniates, that it is Age. Xenophanes
makes God round, seeing, hearing not
breathing, and having nothing common with
humane Nature. Aristo deemeth the forme
of God to be incomprehensible, and de-
prive him of senses, and wotteth not cer-
tainely whether he be a breathing soule or
something else. Cleanthes, sometimes
reason, other times the World ; now the
soule of Nature, and other-while the sup-
reme heat, enfolding and containing all.
Perseus, Zeno's disciple, hath beene of
opinion that they were surnamed Gods who
had brought some notable good or benefit
unto humane life, or had invented profit-
able things. Chrysippus made a confused
huddle of all the foresaid sentences, and

amongst a thousand formes of the Gods which he faineth, hee also accompteth those men that are immortalized. Diagoras and Theodorus flatly denied that there were anie Gods : Epicurus makes the Gods bright-shining, transparent, and perflable, placed as it were betwene two Forts, betwene two Worlds, safely sheltered from all blowes, invested with a humane shape, and with our members, which unto them are of no use.

*Ego Deum genus esse semper duxi, et dicam
cælitum,*

*Sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat huma-
num genus.*¹

I still thought and wil say, of Gods there is a kinde ;
But what our mankind doth, I thinke they nothing minde.

Trust to your Philosophie, boast to have hit the naile on the head ; or to have found out the beane of this cake, to see this coile and hurly-burly of so many Philosophical wits. The trouble or confusion of worldly shapes and formes hath gotten this of mee, that customes and conceits differing from mine doe not so much dislike me as instruct me ; and at what time I conferre or compare them together, they doe not so much puffe me up with pride as humble me with lowliness. And each other choyce, except that which commeth from the expresse hand of God, seemeth to me a choyce of small prerogative or consequence. The worlds policies are no lesse contrarie one to another in this subject than the schooles whereby we may learne that Fortune herself is no more divers, changing, and variable, than our reason, nor more blinde and inconsiderat. Things most unknowne are fittest to be deified. Wherefore to make Gods of our selves (as antiquitie hath done), it exceeds the extreme weakness of discourse. I would rather have followed those that worshipped the Serpent, the Dogge and the Ox, forsomuch as their Nature and being is least knowne to us, and we may more lawfully imagine what we list of those beasts, and ascribe extraordinarie faculties unto them. But to have made Gods of our conditions, whose imperfections we should know, and to have attributed desire, choler, revenge, marriages, generation, alliances, love, and jealousy, our limbs and our bones, our infirmities, our pleasures, our deaths, and our sepulchres unto them, hath of necessity proceeded from a meere and egregious sottishnesse or drunkennesse of mans wit.

*Quæ procul usque adeo divino ab numine distant,
Iniqua Deum numero quæ sint indigna videri.*²

Which from Divinity so distant are,
To stand in ranke of Gods unworthy farre.

*Formæ, ætates, vestitus ornatus noti sunt :
genera, conjugia, cognationes, omniæque tra-
ducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis hu-
mana : nam et perturbatis animis indu-
cuntur ; accipimus enim Deorum cupiditates
ægritudines, iracundias :* " Their shapes, their ages, their apparrell, their furnitures are knowne ; their kindes, their marriages, their kindred, and all translated to the likeness of man's weakness : For they are also brought in with mindes much troubled ; for we read of the lustfulness, the grievings, the angri-nesse of the Gods." As to have ascribed Divinity, not only unto faith, vertue, honour, concord, liberty, victory and piety ; but also unto voluptuousnesse, fraud, death, envy, age and misery ; yea unto feare, unto ague, and unto evill fortune, and such other injuries and wrongs to our fraile and transitory life :

*Quid juvat hoc, templis nostros inducere mores ?
O curæ in terris animæ et cælestium inanes !*³

What boots it, into Temples to bring manners of our kindes ?

O crooked soules on earth, and void of heavenly mindes,

The Ægyptians, with an impudent wisdom forbade, upon paine of hanging, that no man should dare to say that Serapis and Isis, their Gods, had whilome bene but men, when all knew they had bene so. And their images or pictures drawne with a finger across their mouth imported (as Varro saith) this misterious rule unto their priests, to conceal their mortall off-spring, which by necessary reason disannulled all their veneration. Since man desired so much to equall himselfe to God, it had bene better for him (saith Cicero) to draw those divine conditions unto himselfe, and bring them downe to earth, than to send his corruption and place his misery above in heaven ; but to take him aright, he hath divers wayes, and with like vanitie of opinion, doth both the one and other. When Philosophers blazon and display the Hierarchy of their gods, and to the utmost of their skill endeavour to distinguish their alliances, their charges, and their powers ; I cannot beleeve they speake in good earnest. When Plato decyphreth unto us the orchard of Pluto, and the commodities or corporall paines which even after the ruine and consumption of our body waite for us, and applyeth them to the apprehension or feeling we have in this life ;

¹ ENN. in Cic. De Div. l. ii.

² LUCR. l. v 123

³ PERS. Sat. ii. 62, 61,

*Secreti celant colles, et myrica circum
Sylvæ tegit, curæ non ipsa in morte relinquunt;*¹

Them paths aside conceale, a myrtle grove
Shades them round; cares in death doe not
remove;

when Mahomet promiseth unto his followers a paradise all tapestried, adorned with gold and precious stones, peopled with exceeding beauteous damselfs, stored with wines and singular cates: I well perceive they are but scoffers which sute and apply themselves unto our foolishness, thereby to enhonny and allure us to these opinions and hopes fitting our mortall appetite. Even so are some of our men false into like errors by promising unto themselves after their resurrection a terrestriall and temporal life accompanied with all sorts of pleasures and worldly commodities. Shall we thinke that Plato, who had so heavenly conceptions and was so well acquainted with Divinity as of most he purchased the surname of Divine, was ever of opinion that man (this seely and wretched creature man) had any one thing in him which might in any sort be applied and suted to this incomprehensible and unspeakable power? or ever imagined that our languishing hold-fasts were capable, or the vertue of our understanding of force, to participate or be partakers either of the blessednesse or eternal punishment? He ought in the behalfe of humane reasoned be answered: If the pleasures thou promisest us in the other life are such as I have felt here below, they have nothing in them common with infinity. If all my five naturall senses were even surcharged with joy and gladnesse, and my soule possessed with all the contents and delights it could possibly desire or hope for (and we know what it either can wish or hope for) yet were it nothing. If there bee any thing that is mine, then is there nothing that is Divine; if it be nothing else but what may appertain unto this our present condition, it may not be accounted of. All mortall mens contentment is mortall. The acknowledging of our parents, of our children and of our friends, if it cannot touch, move or tickle us in the other world, if we still take hold of such a pleasure, we continue in terrestriall and transitorie commodities. We can not worthily conceive of these high, mysterious, and divine promises, if wee can but in any sort conceive them, and so imagine them aright; they must be thought to be unimaginable, unspeakable and incomprehensible, and absolutely and perfectly other than those of our miserable experience. No eye can behold (saith Saint Paul) the

hap that God prepareth for his elect, nor can it possibly enter the heart of man."¹ And if to make us capable of it (as thou saist, Plato, by thy purifications), our being is reformed and essence changed, it must be by so extreme and universall a change that, according to philosophicall doctrine, wee shall be no more ourselves:

*Hector erat tunc cum bello certabat, at ille
Tractus ab Æmonio non erat Hector equo;*²
Hector he was, when he in fight us'd force;
Hector he was not, drawne by th' enemies horse.
it shall be some other thing that shall receive these recompences.

*quod mutatur, dissolvitur; interit ergo;
Trajiciuntur enim partes atque ordine migrant;*³
What is chang'd is dissolved, therefore dies:
Translated parts in order fall and rise.

For in the Metempsychosis or transmigration of soules of Pythagoras, and the change of habitation which he imagined the soules to make, shall we thinke that the lion in whom abideth the soule of Cæsar, doth wed the passions which concerned Cæsar, or that it is hee? And if it were hee, those had some reason who, debating this opinion against Plato, object that the same might one day bee found committing with his mother under the shape of a Mules body, and such like absurdities. And shall wee imagine that in the transmigrations which are made from the bodies of some creatures into others of the same kind, the new succeeding ones are not other than their predecessors were? Of a Phenix cinders, first (as they say) is engendered a worme and then another Phenix: who can imagine that this second Phenix be no other and different from the first? Our Silk-wormes are seene to dye and then to wither drie, and of that body breedeth a Butter-flie, and of that a worme, were it not ridiculous to thinke the same to be the first Silkworm? what hath once lost its being is no more.

*Nec si materiam nostram collegerit atas
Post obitum, rursumque redegerit, ut sita nunc est,
Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vita,
Pertineat quidquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,
Interrupta semel cum sit repetentia nostra;*⁴
If time should recollect, when life is past,
Our stuffe, and it replace, as now 'tis plac'd,
And light of life were granted us againe,
Yet nothing would that deed to us pertaine,
When interrupted were our turne againe.

And Plato, when in another place thou saist that it shall be the spirituall part of

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 9. ² OVID. *Trist.* l. iii. *EL.* xi. 27.

³ [Lucr. l. iii. 781.]

⁴ [p. 890.]

man that shall enjoy the recompences of the other life, thou tellest of things of as small likely-hood.

*Scilicet avulsis radicibus ut nequit ullam
Displicere ipse oculus remi, seorsum corpore toto.*¹

Ev'n as no eye, by th' root's pull'd out, can see
Ought in whole body severall to bee.

For by this reckoning it shall no longer be man, nor consequently us, to whom this enjoyment shall appertain; for we are built of two principall essential parts, the separation of which is the death and consummation of our being.

*Inter enim jecta est vitæ pausa vageque
Deerrant passim motus ab sensibus omnes.*²

A pause of life is interpos'd; from sense
All motions straid are, far wandering thence.

We doe not say that man suffereth when the wormes gnaw his body and limbs whereby he liveth, and that the earth consumeth them:

*Et nihil hoc ad nos, qui coitu conjungioque
Corporis atque animæ consistentis uniter apti.*³
This nought concerns us, who consist of union
Of minde and body joynd in meet communion.

Moreover, upon what ground of their justice can the Gods reward man and be thankfull unto him after his death, for his good and vertuous actions, since themselves addressed and bred them in him? And wherefore are they offended and revenge his vicious deeds, when themselves have created him with so defective a condition, and that but with one twinkling of their will they may hinder him from sinning? Might not Epicurus with some shew of humane reason object that unto Plato, if he did not often shrowd himselfe under this sentence, that it is impossible by mortall nature to establish any certainty of the immortali? Shee is ever straying, but especially when she medleth with divine matters. Who feces it more evidently than we? For, although we have ascribed unto her assured and infallible principles, albeit wee enlighten her steps with the holy lampe of that truth which God hath been pleased to impart unto us, we notwithstanding see daily, how little soever she stray from the ordinary path, and that she start or stragle out of the way traced and measured out by the Church, how soone she loseth, entangleth and confoundeth her selfe; turning, tossing and floating up and downe in this vast, troublesome and tempestuous sea of mans opinions without restraint or scope. So soone as she loseth this high and common way, shee divideth and scattereth herselfe a thousand

diverse ways. Man can be no other than he is, nor imagine but according to his capacity. It is greater presumption (saith Plutarch) in them that are but men, to attempt to reason and discourse of Gods and of demi-Gods, than in a man meerly ignorant of musicke to judge of those that sing; or for a man that was never in warres to dispute of Armes and warre, presuming by some light conjecture to comprehend the effects of an art altogether beyond his skill. As I thinke, Antiquity imagined it did something for divine Majesty when shee compared the same unto man, attiring her with his faculties, and enriching her with his strange humours and most shamefull necessities: offering her some of our cates to feed upon, and some of our dances, mummeries, and enterludes to make her merry, with our clothes to apparrell her, and our houses to lodge her, cherishing her with the sweet odors of incense, and sounds of musicke, adorning her with garlands and flowers, and to draw her to our vicious passion, to flatter her justice with an inhumane revenge, gladding her with the ruine and dissipation of things created and preserved by her. As Tiberius Sempronius, who for a sacrifice to Vulcan caused the rich spoiles and armes which he had gotten of his enemies in Sardinia to be burned: And Paulus Æmilius, those he had obtained in Macedonia, to Mars and Minerva. And Alexander comming to the Ocean of India, cast in favour of Thetis many great rich vessels of gold into the Sea, replenishing, moreover, her Altars with a butcherly slaughter, not onely of innocent beasts, but of men, as diverse Nations, and amongst the rest, ours were wont to doe. And I thinke none hath beene exempted from shewing the like Essayses.

*- Salmone creatos
Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem, quos educat Usens,
Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris.*¹

Four young-men borne of Sulmo, and foure
more
Whom Usens bred, he living over-bore,
Whom he to his dead friend
A sacrifice might send.

The Getes deeme themselves immortall, and their death but the beginning of a journey to their God Zamolxis. From five to five yeares they dispatch some one among themselves toward him, to require of him necessarie things. This deputy of theirs is chosen by lots; and the manner to dispatch him, after they have by word of mouth instructed him of his charge, is that amongst those which assist his election, three hold so

¹ I. UCR. l. iii. 580.

² Id. 603.
³ Id. 688.

¹ VIRG. ÆN. l. x. 517.

many javelins upright, upon which the others, by meere strength of armes, throw him; if he chance to sticke upon them in any mortall place, and that he dye suddenly, it is to them an assured argument of divine favour; but if he escape, they deeme him a wicked and execrable man, and then chuse another. Amestris, mother unto Xerxes, being become aged, caused at one time fourteen young striplings of the noblest houses of Persia (following the religion of her countrie) to be buried all alive, thereby to gratifie some God of under earth. Even at this day the Idols of Temixitan are cemented with the bloud of young children, and love no sacrifice but of such infant and pure soules: Oh justice, greedy of the bloud of innocencie.

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*¹

Religion so much mischeefe could
Perswade, where it much better should.

The Carthaginians were wont to sacrifice their owne children unto Saturne, and who had none was faine to buy some: and their fathers and mothers were enforced in their proper persons, with cheerefull and pleasant countenance to assist that office. It was a strange conceit, with our owne affliction to goe about to please and appay divine goodnesse; As the Lacedemonians, who flattered and wantonized their Diana by torturing of young boyes, whom often in favour of her they caused to be whipped to death. It was a savage kinde of humor to thinke to gratifie the Architect with the subversion of his architecture: and to cancel the punishment due unto the guiltie by punishing the guiltles, and to imagine that poore Iphigenia, in the port of Aulis, should by her death and sacrifice discharge and expiate towards God, the Grecians armie of the offences which they had committed.

*Et casta incestu nubendi tempore in ipso
Hostia concideret mactatu mesta parentis.*²

She, a chaste offering, griev'd incestuously
By fathers stroke, when she should wed, to dye.

And those two noble and generous soules of the Decii, father and sonne, to reconcile and appease the favour of the Gods towards the Romanes affaires, should headlong cast their bodies athwart the thickest throng of their enemies. *Que fuit tanta Deorum iniquitas, ut placari populo Romano non possint, nisi tales viri occidissent?*³ "What injustice of the Gods was so great as they could not be appeased unlesse such men perished?" Considering that it lies not in the offender to cause himselfe to be whipped, how and when he list, but in the judge, who

accompteth nothing a right punishment except the torture he appointeth; and cannot impute that unto punishment which is in the free choice of him that suffereth. The divine vengeance presupposeth our full dissent, for his justice and our paine. And ridiculous was that humor of Polycrates, the Tyrant of Samos, who, to interrupt the course of his continuall happinesse, and to recompence it, cast the richest and most precious jewell he had into the Sea, deeming that by this purposed mishap he should satisfie the revolution and vicissitude of fortune; which, to deride his folly, caused the very same jewel, being found in a fishes belly, to returne to his hands againe. And to what purpose are the manglings and dismembers of the Corybantes, of the Mænades, and now a dayes of the Mahumetans, who skar and gash their faces, their stomacke and their limbes, to gratifie their prophet: seeing the offence consisteth in the will, not in the breast, nor eyes, nor in the genitories, health, shoulders, or throat?

*Tantum est perturbata mentis et sedibus suis
pulsæ furor, ut sic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem acervunt.*⁴ "So great is the fury of a troubled minde put from the state it should be in, as the Gods must be so pacified, as even men would not be so outrageous." This naturall contexture doth by her use not only respect us, but also the service of God and other mens: it is injustice to make it miscarie at our pleasure, as under what pretence soever it be to kill our selves. It seemeth to be a great cowardise and manifest treason to abuse the stupide and corrupt the servile functions of the body, to spare the diligence unto the soule how to direct them according unto reason. *Vbi iratos Deus timent, qui sic propitios habere merentur. In regie libidinis voluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne vir esset, jubente Domino, manus intulit.*² "Where are they afraid of Gods anger, who in such sort deserve to have his favour; some have beene guilded for Princes lustfull pleasure: but no man at the Lords command hath laid hands on himselfe to be lesse than a man." Thus did they replenish their religion and stuffe it with divers bad effects.

- sapius olim

*Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.*³

Religion hath oft times in former times
Bred execrable facts, ungodly crimes.

Now can nothing of ours, in what manner soever, be either compared or referred unto divine nature, that doth not blemish

¹ LUCR. l. i. 102.

² Ib. 99.

³ CIC. De Nat. Deor. l.

⁴ ARG. Cfr. DEI. l. vi. c. 10.

² Ib. ex SEN.

³ LUCR. l. i. 82.

and defile the same with as much imperfection. How can this infinite beauty, power, and goodness admit any correspondence or similitude with a thing so base and abject as we are, without extreme interest and manifest derogation from his divine greatness? *Infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus; et stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus*.¹ "The weakness of God is stronger than man; and the foolishness of God is wiser than men." Stilpo the Philosopher, being demanded whether the Gods rejoice at our honours and sacrifices; you are indiscreet (said he), let us withdraw our selves apart if you speake of such matters. Notwithstanding we prescribe him limits, we lay continuall siege unto his power by our reasons. (I call our dreames and our vanities reason, with the dispensation of Philosophy, which saith that both the foole and the wicked doe rave and dote by reason, but that it is a reason of severall and particular forme.) We will subject him to the vaine and weake apperances of our understanding: him who hath made both us and our knowledge. Because nothing is made of nothing: God was not able to frame the world without matter. What? hath God delivered into our hands the keyes, and the strongest wards of his infinit puissance? Hath he obliged himselfe not to exceed the bounds of our knowledge? Suppose, oh man, that herein thou hast beene able to marke some signes of his effects. Thinkest thou he hath therein employed all he was able to doe, and that he hath placed all his formes and ideans in this peece of worke? Thou seest but the order and policie of this little cell wherein thou art placed. The question is, whether thou seest it. His divinitie hath an infinit jurisdiction far beyond that. This peece is nothing in respect of the whole.

— *omnia cum celo terraque marique,
Nil sunt ad summam summam totius omnem*.²

All things that are, with heav'n, with sea,
and land,
To th' whole summe of th' whole summe as
nothing stand.

This law thou alongest is but a municipall law, and thou knowest not what the universall is: tie thy selfe unto that whereto thou art subject, but tie not him: he is neither thy companion, nor thy brother, nor thy fellow citizen, nor thy copesmate. If he in any sort have communicated himselfe unto thee, it is not to debase himselfe, or stoop to thy smalnesse, nor to give thee the controulment of his power. Mans body cannot soare up into

the clouds; this is for thee. The sunne uncessantly goeth his ordinary course: the bounds of the seas and of the earth cannot be confounded: the water is ever fleeting, wavering, and without firmnesse: a wall without breach or flaw, impenetrable unto a solid body: man cannot preserve his life amidst the flames, he cannot corporally be both in heaven and on earth, and in a thousand places together and at once. It is for thee that he hath made these rules; it is thou they take hold of. He hath testified unto Christians that when ever it hath pleased him he hath out gone them all. And in truth, omnipotent as he is, wherefore should he have restrained his forces unto a limited measure? In favour of whom should he have renounced his privilege? Thy reason hath in no one other thing more likely-hood and foundation, than in that which perswadeth thee a plurality of words.

Terramque et solem, lunam, mare, cetera que sunt,

Non esse unica, sed numero magis innumerabilia.³

The earth, the sunne, the moone, the sea and all

In number numberlesse, not one they call.

The famousst wits of former ages have beleeved it, yea and some of our moderne, as forced thereunto by the apparence of humane reason. For as much as whatsoever we see in this vast worlds frame, there is no one thing alone, single and one.

— *cum in summa res nulla sit una,
Unica que gignatur, et unica solaque crescat*.⁴

Whereas in generall summe, nothing is one,
To be bred only one, grow only one.

And that all severall kindes are multiplied in some number: whereby it seemeth unlikely that God hath framed this peece of work alone without a fellow: and that the matter of this forme hath wholly beene spent in this only *Individuum*.

Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare necesse est,

*Esse alios alibi congressus materiae,
Qualis hic est arido complexu quem tenet
Æther*.⁵

Wherefore you must confesse, againe againe,
Of matters such like meetings elsewhere raigne
As this, these skies in greedy gripe containe.

Namely, if it be a breathing creature, as its motions make it so likely, that Plato assureth it, and divers of ours either affirme it, or dare not impugn it; no more than this old opinion, that the heaven, the starres, and other members of the world, are crea-

¹ 1 Cor. i. 25.

² LUCK. l. vi. 675.

³ LUCK. l. ii. 1004.

⁴ Ib. 1073.

⁵ Ib. 1086.

tures composed both of body and soule ; mortall in respect of their composition, but immortal by the Creators decree. Now if there be divers worlds, as Democritus, Epicurus, and well neere all Philosophy hath thought ; what know wee whether the principles and the rules of this one concerne or touch likewise the others ? Haply they have another semblance and another policie. Epicurus imagineth them either like or unlike. We see an infinite difference and varietie in this world only by the distance of places. There is neither corne nor wine, no nor any of our beasts seene in that new corner of the world which our fathers have lately discovered : all things differ from ours. And in the old time, marke but in how many parts of the world they had never knowledge nor of Bacchus nor of Ceres. If any credit may be given unto Minie or to Herodotus, there is in some places a kinde of men that have very little or no resemblance at all with ours. And there be mungrell and ambiguous shapcs betwene a humane and brutish nature. Some countries there are where men are borne headlesse, with eyes and mouths in their breasts ; where all are Hermaphrodites ; where they creepe on all foure ; where they have but one eye in their forehead, and heads more like unto a dog than ours ; where from the navill downwards they are half fish and live in the water ; where women are brought a bed at five years of age, and live but eight ; where their heads and the skin of their browes are so hard that no yron can pierce them, but will rather turne edge ; where men never have beards. Other nations there are that never have use of fire ; others whose sperme is of a blacke colour. What shall we speake of them who naturally change themselves into wooves, into coultis, and then into men againe ? And if it bee (as Plutark saith) that in some part of the Indiae there are men without moutles, and who live only by the smell of certaine sweet odours ; how many of our descriptions be then false ? Hee is no more risible, nor perhaps capable of reason and societie. The direction and cause of our inward frame should for the most part be to no purpose. Moreover,

prescribed unto Nature ? And we undertake to joyne God himselfe unto her. How many things doe we name miraculous and against Nature ? Each man and every nation doth it according to the measure of his ignorance. How many hidden proprieties and quintessences doe we daily discover ? For us to go according

to Nature, is but to follow according to our understanding, as far as it can follow, and as much as we can perceive in it. Whatsoever is beyond it, is monstrous and disordered. By this accompt all shall then be monstrous, to the wisest and most sufficient ; for even to such humane reason hath perswaded that she had neither ground nor footing, no not so much as to warrant snow to be white ; and Anaxagoras said it was blacke. Whether there be anything or nothing ; whether there be knowledge or ignorance, which Metrodorus Chius denied that any man might say ; or whether we live, as Euripides seemeth to doubt and call in question ; whether the life we live be a life or no, or whether that which we call death be a life :

Τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ ζῇν τοῦτ' ὃ κέκληται θανεῖν.
Τὸ ζῆν δι' ἀνθρώπων ἔστι ; 1

Who knows if thus to live, be called death,
And if it be to dye, thus to draw breath ;

And not without apparance. For wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and naturall condition ? Death possessing what ever is before and behind this moment, and also a good part of this moment. Some others affirme there is no motion, and that nothing stirreth ; namely, those which follow Melissus. For if there be but one, neither can this sphericall motion serve him, nor the moving from one place to another, as Plato proveth, that there is neither generation nor corruption in nature. Protagoras saith there is nothing in Nature but doubt : that a man may equally dispute of all things : and of that also, whether all things may equally be disputed of : Nausiphanes said, that of things which seeme to be, no one thing is no more than it is not. That nothing is certaine but uncertainty. Parmenides, that of that which seemeth there is no one thing in generall. That there is but one Zeno, that one selfe same is not : and that there is nothing. If one were, he should either be in another, or in himselfe : if he be in another, then are they two : if he be in himselfe, they are also two, the comprizing and the comprized. According to these rules or doctrines, the Nature of things is but a false or vaine shadow. I have ever thought this manner of speech in a Christian is full of indiscretion and irreverence ; God cannot dye, God cannot gaine-say himselfe, God cannot doe this or that. I cannot allow a man should so

bound Gods heavenly power under the Lawes of our word. And that apparence, which in these propositions offers it selfe unto us, ought to be represented more reverently and more religiously. Our speech hath his infirmities and defects, as all things else have. Most of the occasions of this worlds troubles are Grammaticall. Our suits and processes proceed but from the canvassing and debating the interpretation of the Lawes, and most of our warres from the want of knowledge in State-counsellors, that could not cleerely distinguish and fully expresse the Covenants and Conditions of accords betwene Prince and Prince. How many weighty strifes and important quarels hath the doubt of this one sillable, *hoc*, brought forth in the world? Examine the plainest sentence that Logike it selfe can present unto us. If you say, it is faire weather, and in so saying, say true; it is faire weather then. Is not this a certaine forme of speech? Yet will it deceive us: That it is so; let us follow the example: If you say, I lye, and in that you should say true, you lye then. The Art, the reason, the force of the conclusion of this last, are like unto the other; notwithstanding we are entangled. I see the Pyrrhonian Philosophers, who can by no manner of speech expresse their generall conceit: for they had need of a new language. Ours is altogether composed of affirmative propositions, which are directly against them. So that, when they say I doubt, you have them fast by the throat to make them avow that at least you are assured and know that they doubt. So have they beene compelled to save themselves by this comparison of Physicke, without which their conceit would be inexplicable and intricate. When they pronounce, I know not, or I doubt, they say that this proposition transportes it selfe together with the rest, even as the Rewbarbe doeth, which scowred ill humours away, and therewith is carried away himselfe. This conceit is more certainly conceived by an interrogation: What can I tell? As I beare it in an Imprese of a paire of ballances. Note how some prevaile with this kinde of unreverent and unhallowed speech. In the disputations that are now-adayes in our religion, if you overmuch urge the adversaries, they will roundly tell you that it lieth not in the power of God to make his body at once to be in Paradise and on earth, and in many other places together. And how that ancient skoffer made profitable use of it. At least (saith he) it is no small comfort unto man to see that God cannot doe all things; for he cannot kill himselfe if he would, which is the greatest benefit we have

in our condition; he cannot make mortall men immortall nor raise the dead to life againe, nor make him that hath lived never to have lived, and him who hath had honours not to have had them, having no other right over what is past, but of forgetfulness. And that this society betwene God and Man may also be combined with some pleasant examples, he cannot make twice ten not to be twenty. See what he saith, and which a Christian ought to abhor, that ever such and so profane words should passe his mouth: Whereas, on the contrary part, it seemeth that fond men endeavour to finde out this foolish-boldnesse of speech, that so they may turne and winde God almighty according to their measure.

— *cras vel atra*
Nube polum pater occupato,
Vel sole puro, non tamen irritum
Quodcumque retro est efficit, neque
Diffinget insectumque reddet
*Quod fugiens senel hora vexit.*¹

To-morrow let our father fill the skie,
With darke cloud, or with cleare Summe, he
thereby
Shall not make voyd what once is overpast:
Nor shall he undoe, or in new mold cast,
What time hath once caught, that flies hence
so fast.

When we say that the infinite of ages, as well past as to come, is but one instant with God; that his wisdom, goodnesse and power, are one selfe-same thing with his essence; our tongue speaks it, but our understanding can no whit apprehend it. Yet will our selfe overweening sift his divinitie through our sieve: whence are engendered all the vanities and errors wherewith the world is so full-fraught, reducing and weighing with his uncertaine balance a thing so farre from his reach, and so distant from his weight. *Mirum quo procedat improbitas cordis humani, parvulo aliquo invitata successu.*² "It is a wonder whither the perverse wickednesse of mans heart will proceed, if it be but called-on with any little success." How insolently doe the Stoikes charge Epicurus, because he holds that to be perfectly good and absolutely happy belongs but only unto God; and that the wise man hath but a shadow and similitude thereof? How rashly have they joynd God unto destiny? (Which at my request, let none that beareth the surname of a Christian doe at this day.) And Thales, Plato, and Pythagoras have subjected him unto necessitie. This over-boldnesse, or rather bold-fiercenesse, to seeke to discover God by and

¹ HOR. *Car.* l. iii. *Od.* xxix. 43.

² PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* l. ii. c. 23.

with our eyes, hath beene the cause that a notable man of our times hath attributed a corporall forme unto divinitie, and is the cause of that which daily bapneth unto us, which is by a particular assignation to impute all important events to God: which because they touch us, it seemeth they also touch him, and that he regardeth them with more care and attention than those that are but slight and ordinary unto us. *Magna dii curant, parva negligunt*:¹ "The Gods take some care for great things, but none for little." Note his example; he will enlighten you with his reason. *Nec in regnis quidem reges omnia minima curant*:² "Nor doe Kings in their Kingdomes much care for the least matters." As if it were all one to that King, either to remove an Empire or a leafe of a tree: and if his providence were otherwise exercised, inclining or regarding no more the successe of a battell than the skip of a flea. The hand of his government affords itselfe to all things after a like tenure, fashion and order; our interest addeth nothing unto it: our motions and our measures concerne him nothing and move him no whit. *Deus ita artifex magnus in magnis, ut minor non sit in parvis*: "God is so great a workman in great things, as he is no lesse in small things." Our arrogance setteth ever before us this blasphemous equality, because our occupations charge us. Sirato hath presented the Gods with all immunitie of offices, as are their Priests. He maketh nature to produce and preserve all things, and by her weights and motions to compact all parts of the world, discharging humane nature from the feare of divine judgments. *Quod beatum aeternumque sit, id nec habere, negotii quicquam, nec exhibere alteri*:³ "That which is blessed and eternall, nor is troubled it selfe, nor troubleth others." Nature willet that in all things alike there be also like relation. Then the infinite number of mortall men concludeth a like number of immortall: The infinite things that kill and destroy presuppose as many that preserve and profit. As the soules of the Gods, sanse tongues, sanse eyes, and sanse eares, have each one, in themselves a feeling of that which the other feel, and judge of our thoughts; so mens soules, when they are free and severed from the body, either by sleepe or any distraction, divine, prognosticate and see things, which being conjoynd to their bodies, they could not see. Men, saith Saint Paul,⁴ when they professed themselves to be wise, they became fooles, for they turned the glory of the incorruptible

God to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man. Marke, I pray you, a little the juggling of ancient Deifications. After the great, solemne and prowd pompe of funerals, when the fire began to burne the top of the Pyramis, and to take hold of the bed or hearse wherein the dead corps lay, even at that instant they let fly an Eagle, which taking her flight aloft upward, signified that the soule went directly to Paradise. We have yet a thousand medailes and monuments, namely, of that honest woman Faustina, wherein that Eagle is represented carrying a cocke-horse up towards heaven those deified soules. It is pity we should so deceive our selves with our owne foolish devises and apish inventions,

Quod finxere timent,¹
Of that they stand in feare,
Which they in fancie beare,

as children will be afeard of their fellowes visage, whic themselves have besmear'd and blackt. *Quasi quicquam infelicius sit homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur*: "As though any thing were more wretched than man over whom his owne imaginations beare sway and domineere." To honour him whom we have made is farre from honouring him that hath made us. Augustus had as many Temples as Iupiter, and served with as much religion and opinion of miracles. The Thracians, in requittall of the benefits they had received of Agesilaus, came to tell him how they had canonized him. "Hath your Nation," said he, "the power to make those whom it pleaseth Gods? Then first (for example sake) make one of your selves, and when I shall have seene what good he shall have thereby, I will then thanke you for your offer." Oh senselesse man, who cannot possibly make a worrne, and yet will make Gods by dozens. Listen to Trismegistus when he praiseth our sufficiency: For man to finde out divine nature, and to make it, hath surmounted the admiration of all admirable things. Loe here arguments out of Philosophies schooles itselfe.

*Noscere cui Divos et cali numina soli,
Aut soli nescire datum*,²
Only to whom heav'n's Deities to know,
Only to whom is giv'n, them not to know.

If God be, he is a living creature; if he be a living creature, he hath sense; and if he have sense, he is subject to corruption. If he be without a body, he is without a soule, and consequently without action; and if he have a body, he is corruptible. Is not this

¹ Cic. Nat. Deor. l. ii.
² Ib. l. i.

³ Ib. l. iii.
⁴ Rom. i. 22, 23.

¹ LUCAN. l. i. 484.

² Ib. 452.

brave? We are incapable to have made the world, then is there some more excellent nature that hath set her helping hand unto it. Were it not a sottish arrogance that wee should thinke ourselves to be the perfectest thing of this universe? Then sure there is some better thing. And that is God. When you see a rich and stately mansion house, although you know not who is owner of it, yet will you not say that it was built for rats. And this more than humane frame and divine composition, which we see, of heavens pallace, must we not deeme it to be the mansion of some Lord greater than our selves? Is not the highest ever the most worthy? And we are seated in the lowest place. Nothing that is without a soule and void of reason is able to bring forth a living soule capable of reason. The world doth bring us forth, then the world hath both soule and reason. Each part of us is lesse than our selves, we are part of the world, then the world is stored with wisdom and with reason, and that more plenteously than we are. It is a goodly thing to have a great government. Then the worlds government belongeth to some blessed and happy nature. The Starres annoy us not, then the Starres are full of goodnesse. We have need of nourishment, then so have the Gods, and feed themselves with the vapours arising here below. Worldly goods are not goods unto God. Then are not they goods unto us. To offend and to be offended are equal witnesses of imbecillitie: Then it is folly to feare God. God is good by his owne nature, man by his industry: which is more? Divine wisdom and mans wisdom have no other distinction but that the first is eternall. Now lastingnesse is an accession unto wisdom. Therefore are we fellows. We have life, reason, and libertie, we esteeme goodnesse, charitie and justice; these qualities are then in him. In conclusion, the building and destroying the conditions of divinity are forged by man according to the relation to himselfe. Oh what a patterne, and what a model! Let us raise and let us amplifie humane qualities as much as we please. Puffe-up thy selfe poore man, yea swell and swell againe.

— non si te ruperis, inquit.¹

Swell till you breake, you shall not be,
Equal to that great one, quoth he.

Profecto non Deum, quem cogitare non possunt, sed semetipsos pro illo cogitantes, non illum, sed seipsos, non illi, sed sibi comparant. "Of a truth, they conceiting not God, whom they cannot conceive, but

themselves instead of God, do not compare him, but themselves, not to him, but themselves." In naturall things the effects doe but halfe referre their causes. What this? It is above natures order, its condition is too high, too far out of reach, and overswaying to endure, that our conclusions should seize upon or fetter the same. It is not by our meanes we reach unto it, this traine is too low. We are no nerer heaven on the top of Sina mount than in the bottome of the deepest sea: Consider of it, that you may see with your Astrolabe. They bring God even to the carnall acquaintance of women, to a prefixed number of times, and to how many generations. Paulina, wife unto Saturnius, a matron of great reputation in Rome, supposing to lye with the God Serapis, by the maquerelage of the priests of that Temple, found herselfe in the armes of a wanton lover of hers. Varro, the most subtile and wisest Latine Author, in his bookes of divinitie writeth that Hercules his Sextaine, with one hand casting lots for himselfe, and with the other for Hercules, gaged a supper and a wench against him: if he won, at the charge of his offerings, but if he lost, at his owne cost. He lost, and paid for a supper and a wench: her name was Laurentina: who by the night saw that God in her armes, saying more-over unto her that the next day the first man she met withall should heavenly pay her her wages. It was fortun'd to be one Tarcunius, a very rich young man, who tooke her home with him, and in time left her absolute heire of all he had. And she, when it came to her turne, hoping to doe that God some acceptable service, left the Romane people heire generall of all her wealth. And therefore she had divine honours attributed unto her. As if it were not sufficient for Plato to descend originally from the Gods by a twofold line, and to have Neptune for the common author of his race. It was certainly beleev'd at Athens that Ariston, desiring to enjoy faire Perictyone, he could not, and that in his dreame he was warn'd by God Apollo to leave her untoucht and unpolluted untill such time as she were brought a bed. And these were the father and mother of Plato. How many such-like cuckoldries are there in histories, procured by the Gods against seely mortall men? And husbands most injuriously blazoned in favor of their children? In Mahomets religion, by the easie beleefe of that people are many Merlins found, that is to say, fatherless children: spirituall children, conceived and borne divinely in the wombs of virgins, and that in their language beare names importing as much. We

¹ Hor. *Serm.* l. ii. *Sat.* iii. 324.

must note that nothing is more deare and precious to any thing than its owne being (the Lyon, the Eagle and the Dolphin esteeme nothing above their kind), each thing referreth the qualities of all other things unto her owne conditions, which we may either amplifie or shorten; but that is all: for besides this principle, and out of this reference, our imagination cannot go, and gesse further: and it is impossible it should exceed that, or goe beyond it. Whence arise these ancient conclusions. Of all formes, that of man is the fairest: then God is of this forme. No man can be happy without vertue, nor can vertue be without reason; and no reason can lodge but in a humane shape: God is then invested with a humane figure. *Ita est informatum anticipatum mentibus nostris, ut homini, quum de Deo cogitet, forma occurrat humana*.¹ "The prejudice forestaled in our mindes is so framed as the forme of man comes to mans minde when he is thinking of God." Therefore Xenophanes said presently, that if beasts frame any Gods unto themselves, as likely it is they do, they surely frame them like unto themselves, and glorifie themselves as we do. For, why may not a goose say thus? All parts of the world behold me, the earth serveth me to tread upon, the Sunne to give me light, the Starres to inspire me with influence; this commoditie I have of the winds, and this benefit of the waters: there is nothing that this worlds-vault doth so favourably look upon as me selfe; I am the favorite of nature; is it not man that careth for me, that keepeth me, lodgeth me, and serveth me? For me it is he soweth, reapeth, and grindeth: if he cat me, so doth man feed on his fellow and so doe I on the wormes that consume and eat him. As much might a Crane say, yea and more boldly, by reason of her flights-libertie, and the possession of this goodly and high-bownding region. *Tam blanda conciliatrix, et tam sui est lena ipsa natura*: "So flattering a broker and bawd (as it were) is nature to it selfe." Now by the same consequence the destinies are for us, the world is for us; it shineth, and thundreth for us: both the creator and the creatures are for us: it is the marke and point whereat the universitie of things ayemeth. Survey but the register which Philosophy hath kept these two thousand years and more, of heavenly affaires. The Gods never acted, and never spake, but for man: She ascribeth no other consultation, nor imputeth other vocation unto them. Loe how they are up in armes against us.

domitosque Herculeam manu
Telluris iuvenens, unde periculum
Fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni veteris.¹

And young earth-gallants tamed by the hand
Of Hercules, whereby the habitation
Of old Saturnus did in perill stand,
And, shyn'd it ne'er so bright, yet fear'd invasion.

See how they are partakers of our troubles,
that so they may be even with us, forsomuch
as so many times we are partakers of theirs.

Neptunus muros magnaque emota tridentem
Fundamenta quatit, totanique à sedibus orbem
Erui: hic Iuno Scuas sacrisima portas
Prima tenet.²

Neptunus with his great three-forked mace
Shaks the weake wall, and tottering foundation,
And from the site the Citie doth displace,
Fierce Iuno first holds open the gates t' invasion.

The Cannians, for the jealousy of their owne Gods domination, upon their devotion day arme themselves, and running up and downe, brandishing and striking the ayre with their glaives, and in this earnest manner they expell all foraine and banish all strange Gods from out their territorie. Their powers are limited according to our necessitie. Some heale horses, some cure men, some the plague, some the scald, some the cough, some one kinde of scab, and some another: *Adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit Deos*: "This corrupt religion engageth and inserteth Gods even in the least matters:" some make grapes to growe, and some garlike; some have the charge of bawdrie and uncleannesse, and some of merchandise: to every kinde of trades-man a God. Some one hath his province and credit in the East, and some in the West:

hic illius arma
Hic currus fuit.³

His armor here
His chariots there appeare.

O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines.⁴

Sacred Apollo, who enfoldest
The earths set navell, and it holdest.

Pallada Cecropide, Minioia Creta Dianam,
Vulcanum tellus Hipsipila colit.

Inunem Sparte, Pelopeiadesque Mycena,
Pinigerum Fauni Mænalis ora caput:

Mars Latio venerandus.⁵

Besmeared with bloud and goare.
Th' Athenians Pallas; Minos-Candy coast
Dian; Lemnos Vulcan honors most:
Mycene and Sparta, Iuno thinke divine;
The coast of Mænalus Fauns crown'd with pine;
Latium doth Mars adore.

¹ HOR. CAR. I. II. OD. XII. 6.

² VIRG. ÆN. I. II. 610.

³ Ib. I. I. 20.

⁴ CIC. DIV. I. II.

⁵ OVID. FAST. I. III. 81.

¹ CIC. NAT. DEOR. I. I.

² Ib.

Some hath but one borough or in his possession: some lodgeth alone, and some in company, either voluntarily or necessarily.

*Incunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.*¹

To the great grand-sires shrine,
The nephews temples doe combine.

Some there are so seely and popular (for their number amounteth to six and thirty thousand) that five or six of them must be shuffled up together to produce an eare of corne, and thereof they take their severall names. Three to a doore, one to be the boards, one to be the hinges, and the third to be the threshold. Foure to a childe, as protectors of his bandels, of his drinke, of his meat, and of his sucking. Some are certaine, others uncertaine, some doubtfull, and some that come not yet into paradise.

*Quos, quoniam celi nondum dignamur honore,
Quas dedimus certe terras habitare sinamus.*²

Whom for as yet with heav'n we have not
graced,
Let them on earth by our good grant be
placed.

There are some Philosophicall, some poetical, and some civil, some of a meane condition, betweene divine and humane nature, mediators and spokes-men betweene us and God: worshipped in a kinde of second or diminutive order of adoration: infinite in titles and offices: some good, some bad, some old and crazed, and some mortall. For Chrysippus thought that in the last conflagration or burning of the world, all the Gods should have an end, except Jupiter. Man faineth a thousand pleasant societies betweene God and him. Nay, is he not his countreyman?

— *Iovis incunabula Creten.*³

The Ile of famous Crete,
For Jove a cradle meet.

Behold the excuse that Scævola, chiefe Bishop, and Varro, a great Divine, in their dayes, give us upon the consideration of this subject. It is necessary (say they) that man be altogether ignorant of true things, and beleeve many false. *Quum veritatem qua liberetur, inquirat: credatur ei expetere, quod fallitur:* "Since they seeke the truth, whereby they may be free, let us beleeve it is expedient for them to be deceived." Mans eye cannot perceive things but by the formes of his knowledge. And we remember not the downfall of miserable Phaeton, forsomuch as he undertooke to guide the reins of his fathers steeds with a mortall

hand. Our minde doth still relapse into the same depth, and by her owne temeritie doth dissipate and bruise it selfe. If you enquire of Philosophy what matter the Sun is composed of, what will it answer? but of yron and stone, or other stuffe for his use. Demand of Zeno what Nature is? A fire (saith he), an Artist, fit to engender, and proceeding orderly. Archimedes, master of this Science, and who in truth and certaintie assumeth unto himselfe a precedence above all others, saith the Sunne is a God of enflamed yron. Is not this a quaint imagination, produced by the inevitable necessitie of Geometrical demonstrations? Yet not so unavoidable and beneficiall, but Socrates hath beene of opinion that it sufficed to know so much of it as that a man might measure out the land he either demized or tooke to rent: and that Polyænus, who therein had beene a famous and principall Doctor, after he had tasted the sweet fruits of the lazie, idle and delicious gardens of Epicurus, did not contemne them as full of falsehood and apparent vanity. Socrates, in Xenophon, upon this point of Anaxagoras, allowed and esteemed of antiquitie, well seene and expert above all others in heavenly and divine matters, saith, that he weakened his braines much, as all men doe, who over nicely and greedily will search out those knowledges which hang not for their moving nor pertaine unto them. When he would needs have the Sunne to be a burning stone, he remembered not that a stone doth not shine in the fire; and which is more, that it consumes therein. And when he made the Sunne and fire to be all one, he forgot that fire doth not tan and black those he looketh upon; that wee fixly looke upon the fire, and that fire consumeth and killeth all plants and herbs. According to the advice of Socrates and mine, "The wisest judging of heaven is not to judge of it at all." Plato in his Timeus, being to speake of Dremons and spirits, saith it is an enterprise far exceeding my skill and ability: we must beleeve what those ancient forefathers hath said of them, who have said to have beene engendered by them. It is against reason not to give credit unto the children of the Gods, although their sayings be neither grounded upon necessary nor likely reasons, since they tell us that they speake of familiar and household matters. Let us see whether we have a little more insight in the knowledge of humane and naturall things. Is it not a fond enterprise to those unto which, by our owne confession, our learning cannot possibly attaine, to devise and forge them another body, and of our owne invention to give them a false

¹ OVID. *Fast.* l. i. 294.

² OVID. *Metam.* l. i. 194.

³ *Ib.* l. viii. 99.

forme? as is seene in the planetary motions, unto which because our minde cannot reach, nor imagine their naturall conduct, we lend them something of ours, that is to say, materiall, grose, and corporall springs and wards :

— *temo aureus, aurea summa
Curvatura rotæ, radiorum argenteus ordo.*¹

The Axe-tree gold, the wheelles whole circle gold,

The ranke of raies did all of silver hold.

You would say, we have the Coach-makers, Carpenters, and Painters, who have gone up thither, and there have placed engines with diverse motions, and ranged the wheelings, the windings, and enterlacements of the celestial bodies diaped in colours, according to Plato, about the spindle of necessity.

*Mundus domus est maxima rerum,
Quam quinque altitudo fragmine zona
Cingunt, per quam limbus pictus his sex signis,
Stellimicantibus, altus, in obliquo ætheri, Luna
Bigas acceptat.*

The world, of things the greatest habitation,
Which five high-thundering Zones by separation
Engird, through which a scarfe depainted faire
With twice six signes star-shining in the aire.
Obliquely raise, the waine
O' th' Moore doth entertaîne.

They are all dreames, and mad follies. Why will not nature one day be pleased to open her bosome to us, and make us perfectly see the meanes and conduct of her motions, and enable our eyes to judge of them? Oh, good God, what abuses, and what distractions should we find in our poor understanding and weake knowledge! I am deceived if she hold one thing directly in its point, and I shall part hence more ignorant of all other things than mine ignorance. Have I not seene this divine saying in Plato, that Nature is nothing but an enigmaticall poesie? As a man might say, an overshadowed and darke picture, enter-shining with an infinite varietie of false lights, to exercise our conjectures: *Latent ista omnia crassius occultata et circumfusa tenebris: ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, quæ penetrare incælum, terram intrare possit.*² "All these things lye hid so veiled and environed with misty darknesse, as no edge of man is so piersant as it can passe into heaven or dive into the earth." And truly Philosophy is nothing else but a sophisticated poesie: whence have these ancient authors all their authorities but from poets? And the first were poets themselves, and in their art treated the same. Plato is but a loose poet. All high and more than humane sciences are decked and

enrobed with a poeticall style. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunk sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bombasted verdugals, and to the open-view of all men paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning (and our law hath, as some say, certaine lawfull fictions, on which it groundeth the truth of justice) which in lieu of currant payment and presupposition, delivereth us those things, which she her self teacheth us to be meere inventions: for these Epicycles Excentriques, and Concentriques, which Astrology useth to direct the state and motions of her starres, she giveth them unto us, as the best she could ever invent, to fit and sute unto this subject: as in all things else, Philosophy presenteth unto us, not that which is or she beleeveth, but what she inventeth as having most apparance, likelihood, or comeliness. Plato upon the discourse of our bodies-estate and of that of beasts: that what we have said is true we would be assured of it had we but the confirmation of some oracle to confirme it. This only we warrant, that it is the likeliest we could say. It is not to heaven alone that she sendeth her cordages, her engines, and her wheelles. Let us but somewhat consider what she saith of our selves and of our contexture. There is no more retrogradation, trepidation, augmentation, recoyling, and violence in the starres and celestial bodies than they have fained and devised in this poor seeley little body of man. Verily they have thence had reason to name it Microcosmos, or little world, so many severall parts and visages have they imploied to fashion and frame the same. To accommodate the motions which they see in man, the divers functions and faculties that we feel in our selves. Into how many severall parts have they divided our soule? Into how many seats have they placed her? Into how many orders, stages, and stations have they divided this wretched man, beside the naturall and perceptible? and to how many distinct offices and vocations? They make a publike imaginarie thing of it. It is a subject which they hold and handle: they have all power granted them to rip him, to sever him, to range him, to join and reunite him together againe, and to stuffe him every one according to his fantasie; and yet they neither have nor possess him. They cannot so order or rule him, not in truth onely, but in imagination. but still

¹ OVID. *Metam.* l. ii. 107.

² CIC. *Acad. Qu.* l. iv.

some cadence or sound is discovered which escapeth their architecture, bad as it is, and botched together with a thousand false patches and fantastical peeces. And they have no reason to be excused: for to painters when they pourtray the heaven, the earth, the seas, the hills the scattered Ilands, we pardon them if they but represent us with some slight appearance of them; and as of things unknowne we are contented with such fained shadows. But when they draw us, or any other subject that is familiarly knowne unto us, to the life, then seeke we to draw from them a perfect and exact representation of their or our true lineaments or colours, and scorne if they misse never so little. I commend the Milesian wench, who seeing Thales the Philosopher continually amusing himself in the contemplation of heavens wide-bounding vault, and ever holding his eyes aloft, laid something in his way to make him stumble, thereby to warne and put him in minde that he should not amuse his thoughts about matters above the clouds before he had provided for and well considered those at his feet. Verily she advised him well, and it better became him rather to looke to himselfe than to gaze on heaven; for, as Democritus by the mouth of Cicero saith,

*Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat; celi scrutantur plagas.*¹

No man lookes what before his feet doth lie,
They seeke and search the climates of the skie.

But our condition beareth that the knowledge of what we touch with our hands and have amongst us, is as far from us and above the clouds as that of the stars. As saith Socrates in Plato, that one may justly say to him who medleth with Philosophy, as the woman said to Thales, which is, he seeth nothing of that which is before him. For every Philosopher is ignorant of what his neighbour doth; yea, he knowes not what himselfe doth, and wots not what both are, whether beasts or men. These people who thinke Sebondes reasons to be weake and lame, who know nothing themselves, and yet will take upon them to governe the world and know all:

*Quæ mare confescent causæ, quid temperet annum,
Stella sponte sua, jussuque vagentur et errant:
Quid premat obs. urum Lunæ, quid proferat orbem,
Quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors.*²
What cause doth calm the Sea, what clears the yeare.
Whether Stars forc't, or of selfe-will appeare;

What makes the Moones darke Orbe to wax or wane,
What friendly fewd of things both will and can.

Did they never sound amid their books the difficulties that present themselves to them to know their owne being? We see very well that our finger stirreth and our foot moveth, that some parts of our body move of themselves without our leave, and other some that stirr but at our pleasure: and we see that certaine apprehensions engender a blushing-red colour, others a palenesse; that some imagination doth only worke in the milt, another in the braine; some one enduceth us to laugh, another causeth us to weep; some astonisheth and stupifieth all our senses, and staith the motion of all our limbs; at some object the stomake riseth, and at some other the lower parts. But how a spirituall impression causeth or worketh such a dent or flaw in a massie and solid body or subject, and the nature of the conjoyning and compacting of these admirable springs and wards, man yet never knew: *Omnia incerta ratione, et in naturæ majestate abdita*:¹ "All uncertaine in reason, and hid in the majesty of nature." Saith Plinie and Saint Augustine: *Modus, quo corporibus adherent spiritus, omnino mirus est, nec comprehendi ab homine potest, et hoc ipse homo est*:² "The meane is clearely wonderfull whereby spirits cleave to our bodies, nor can it be comprehended by man, and that is very man." Yet is there no doubt made of him: for mens opinions are received after ancient beliefs by authority and upon credit; as if it were a religion and a law. What is commonly held of it, is received as a gibrish or fustian tongue. This truth, with all her framing of arguments and proporcioning of proofes, is received as a firme and solid body, which is no more shaken, which is no more judged. On the other side, every one the best he can patcheth up and comforteth this received beliefe with all the meanes his reason can afford him, which is an instrument very supple, pliable, and yeelding to all shapes. "Thus is the world filled with toyes, and overwhelmed in lies and leasings." The reason that men doubt not much of things is that common impressions are never thoroughly tride and sifted, their ground is not sounded, nor where the fault and weaknes lieth. Men only debate and question of the branch, not of the tree: they aske not whether a thing be true, but whether it was understood of meant thus and thus. They enquire not whether Galen hath spoken any thing of worth, but whether

¹ Cic. Div. l. ii.

² Hor. l. i. Epist. xii. 16.

¹ PLIN.

² Aug. De Spir. et Anim. De Civ. Dei, xxi. 10.

thus, or so, or otherwise. Truly there was some reason this bridle or restraint of our judgements liberty, and this tyranny over our beliefs should extend it selfe even to schooles and arts. The God of scholasticall learning is Aristotle: It is religion to debate of his ordinances, as those of Lycurgus in Sparta. His doctrine is to us as a canon law, which peradventure is as false as another. I know not why I should or might not as soone and as easie accept either Platoes Ideas, or Epicurus his atomes and indivisible things, or the fulnesse and emptines of Leucippus and Democritus, or the water of Thales, or Anaximanders infinite of nature, or the aire of Diogenes, or the numbers or proportion of Pythagoras, or the infinite of Parmenides, or the single-one of Musæus, or the water and fire of Apollodorus, or the similarie and resembling parts of Anaxagoras, or the discord and concord of Empedocles, or the fire of Heraclitus, or any other opinion (of this infinit confusion of opinions and sentences which this goodly humane reason, by her certainty and clear-sighted vigilance brings forth in whatsoever it medleth withal) as I should of Aristotle's conceit, touching this subject of the principles of naturall things, which he frameth of three parts; that is to say, matter, forme, and privation. And what greater vanitie can there be than to make inanitie it selfe the cause of the production of things? Privation is a negative: with what humour could he make it the cause and beginning of things that are? Yet durst no man move that but for an exercise of logike: wherein nothing is disputed to put it in doubt, but to defend the author of the schoole from strange objections. His authoritie is the marke beyond which it is not lawfull to enquire. It is easie to frame what one list upon allowed foundations: for, according to the law and ordinance of this positive beginning, the other parts of the frame are easily directed without crack or danger. By which way we finde our reason well grounded, and we discourse without rub or let in the way: For our masters preoccupate and gaine afore-hand as much place in our beleefe as they need to conclude afterward what they please, as geometricians doe by their graunted questions: the consent and approbation which we lend them, giving them wherewith to draw us, either on the right or left hand, and at their pleasure to winde and turne us. Whosoever is beleevied in his presuppositions, he is our master, and our God. He will lay the plot of his foundations so ample and easie, that, if he list, he will carrie us up, even unto the clouds. In this practice or negotiation of learning, we

have taken the saying of Pythagoras for currant payment; which is, that every expert man ought to be believed in his owne trade. The logitian referreth himselfe to the grammarian for the signification of words. The rhetorician borroweth the places of arguments from the logitian; the poet his measures from the musician: the geometrician his proportions from the arithmetician; the metaphisikes take the conjectures of the physikes for a ground, for every art hath her presupposed principles, by which mans judgement is bridled on all parts. If you come to the shooke or front of this barre, in which consists the principall error, they immediately pronounce this sentence: that there is no disputing against such as deny principles. There can be no principles in men, except divinitie hath revealed them unto them: all the rest, both beginning, middle, and end, is but a dreame and a vapor. Those that argue by presupposition, we must presuppose against them the very same axiome which is disputed of. For, each humane presupposition, and every invention, unlesse reason make a difference of it, hath as much authoritie as another. So must they all be equally balanced, and first the generall and those that tyrannize us. A perswasion of certaintie is a manifest testimonie of foolishnesse, and of extreme uncertaintie. And no people are lesse philosophers and more foolish than Platoes Philodoxes, or lovers of their owne opinions. We must know whether fire be hot, whether snow be white, whether, in our knowledge, there be anything hard or soft. And touching the answers, whereof they tell old tales, as to him who made a doubt of heat, to whom one replied, that to trie he should caste himselfe into the fire; to him that denied the yce to be cold, that he should put some in his bosome; they are most unworthy the profession of a philosopher. If they had left us in our owne naturall estate, admitting of strange appearances as they present themselves unto us by our senses, and had suffered us to follow our naturall appetites, directed by the condition of our birth, they should then have reason to speak so. But from them it is that we have learnt to become judges of the world; it is from them we hold this conceit, that mans reason is the generall controulour of all that is, both without and within heavens-vault, which imbraceth all and can doe all, by meanes whereof all things are knowne and discerned. This answer were good among the cannibals, who without any of Aristotles precepts, or so much as knowing the name of naturall philosophy, enjoy most happily a long, a quiet,

and a peaceable life. This answer might haply availle more, and be of more force, than all those they can borrow from their reason and invention. All living creatures, yea, beasts and all, where the commandment of the naturall law is yet pure and simple, might with us be capable of this answer, but they have renounced it. They shall not need to tell me it is true, for you both heare and see it is so. They must tell me if what I thinke I feel, I feel the same in effect; and if I feel it, then let them tell me wherefore I feel it, and how and what. Let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tennons, and the abuttings of heat and of cold, with the qualities of him that is agent, or of the patient; or let them quit me their profession, which is neither to admit nor approve any thing but by way of reason. It is their touchstone to try all kindes of essayes. But surely it is a touchstone full of falsehood, errors, imperfection and weakenesse: which way can we better make triall of it than by it selfe? If she may not be credited speaking of her selfe, hardly can she be fit to judge of strange matters. If she know anything, it can be but her being and domicile. She is in the soule, and either a part or effect of the same. For the true and essential reason (whose name we steal by false signes) lodgeth in Gods bosome. There is her home, and there is her retreat, thence she takes her flight when Gods pleasure is that we shall see some glimps of it; even as Pallas issued out of her fathers head, to communicate and impart her selfe unto the world. Now let us see what mans reason hath taught us of her selfe and of the soule: not of the soule in generall, whereof well nigh all philosophy maketh both the celestiall and first bodies partakers; not of that which Thales attributed even unto things that are reputed without soule or life, drawne thereunto by the consideration of the Adamant stone: but of that which appertaineth to us, and which we should know best.

*Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura animæ,
Nata sit, an contra nascentibus insinuetur,
Et simul intreat nobiscum morte drempta,
An tenebras oculi visat, vastasque lacunas,
An pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se.*¹

What the soules nature is, we doe not know;
If it be bred, or put in those are bred,
Whether by death divorst with us it goe,
Or see the darke vast lakes of hell below,
Or into other creatures turne the head.

To Crates and Dicerarchus it seemed that there was none at all; but that the body stirred thus with and by a naturall motion: to Plato, that it was a substance moving of it

selfe; to Thales, a Nature without rest; to Asclepiades, an excercitation of the senses; to Hesiodus and Anaximander, a thing composed of earth and water; to Parmenides, of earth and fire; to Empedocles, of bloud:

*Sanguineam vomit ille animam.*¹

His soule of purple-bloud he vomits out.

To Possidonius, Cleanthes, and Galen, heat, or hot complexion:

*Ignis est illis vigor, et celestis origo:*²

A fry vigor and celestiall spring,

In their originall they strangely bring.

To Hippocrates, a spirit dispersed thorow the body; to Varro, an air received in at the mouth, heated in the lungs, tempered in the heart, and dispersed thorow all parts of the body; to Zeno, the quintessence of the foure elements; to Heraclides Ponticus, the light; to Xenocrates and to the Egyptians, a moving number; to the Chaldeans, a vertue without any determinate forme.

— *Habitum quemdam vitalem corporis esse, Harmoniam Græci quam dicunt.*³

There of the body is a vitall frame,

The which the Greeks a harmony doe name.

And not forgetting Aristotle, that which naturally causeth the body to move, who calleth it Entelechy, or perfection moving of it selfe (as cold an invention as any other), for he neither speaketh of the essence, nor of the beginning, nor of the soules nature, but onely noteth the effects of it: Lactantius, Seneca, and the better part amongst the Dognatists, have confessed they never understood what it was: and after all this rable of opinions. *Harum sententiarum quæ vera sit, Deus aliquis viderit.*⁴ "Which of these opinions is true, let some God looke unto it," saith Cicero. I know by my selfe, quoth Saint Bernard, how God is incomprehensible, since I am not able to comprehend the parts of mine owne being: Heraclitus, who held that every place was full of Soules and Demons, maintained nevertheless that a man could never goe so far towards the knowledge of the soule as that he could come unto it; so deep and mysterious was her essence. There is no lesse dissention nor disputing about the place where she should be seated. Hypocrates and Herophilus place it in the ventricle of the brain: Democritus and Aristotle, through all the body:

*Ut bona sæpe valetudo cum dicitur esse
Corporis, et non est tamen hæc pars ulla
valentis.*⁵

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. ix. 349. ² *Ib.* vi. 730.

³ LUCR. l. iii. 100. ⁴ *Cic. Tusc. Qu.* l. i.

⁵ LUCR. l. iii. 103.

¹ LUCR. l. i. 113.

As health is of the body said to be,
Yet is no part of him in health we see.

Epicurus in the stomacke.

*Hic exultat animi pavor ac metus, hæc loca
circum
Lætitiæ mulcent.*¹

For in these places feare doth domineere,
And neere these places joy keepes merry cheere.
The Stoickes, within and about the heart :
Erasistratus, joyning the membrane of the
epicranium : Empedocles, in the blood : as
also Moses, which was the cause he forbade
the eating of beasts blood, unto which their
soule is commixed : Galen thought that
every part of the body had his soule : Strato
hath placed it betweene the two upper eye-
lids : *Qua facie quidem sit animus aut ubi
habeat, nec quærendum quidem est* : " We
must not so much as enquire what face the
minde beares, or where it dwells," Saith
Cicero, " I am well pleased to let this man
use his owne words : for why should I alter
the speech of eloquence it selfe ? since there
is small gaine in stealing matter from his in-
ventions : They are both little used, not
very forcible, and little unknowne. But the
reason why Chrysippus and those of his sect
will prove the soule to be about the heart,
is not to be forgotten. It is (saith he) be-
cause when we will affirme or swear any-
thing, we lay our hand upon the stomacke ;
and when we pronounce *εὖ*, which
signifieth my selfe, we put downe our chin
towards the stomacke. This passage ought
not to be past-over without noting the
vanity of so great a personage : for, besides
that his considerations are of themselves very
slight, the latter proveth but to the Græcians
that they have their soule in that place. No
humane judgement is so vigilant or Argos-
eied, but sometimes shall fall asleep or
slumber. What shall we feare to say ?
Behold the Stoickes, fathers of humane wi-
sdom, who devise that the soule of man,
overwhelmed with any ruine, laboureth and
panteth a long time to get out, unable to
free herselfe from that charge, even as a
mouse taken in a trap. Some are of opinion
that the world was made to give a body, in
lieu of punishment, unto the spirits, which
through their fault were fallen from the
puritie wherein they were created : the
first creation having been incorporeall. And
that according as they have more or lesse
removed themselves from their spirituality,
so are they more or lesse merily and
gloriously, or rudely and saturday incorpo-
rated : whence proceedeth the infinite
variety of so much matter created. But the
spirit, who for his chastizement was invested

with the bodie of the Sunne, must of neces-
sitie have a very rare and particular measure
of alteration. The extremities of our
curious search turne to a glimmering and
all to a dazeling. As Plutarke saith of the
off-spring of histories, that after the man-
ner of cards or maps, the utmost limits of
known countries are set downe to be full of
thicke marrish grounds, shady Forrests,
desart and uncouth places. See here where-
fore the grosest and most childish dotings
are more commonly found in these which
treat of highest and furthest matters ; even
confounding and overwhelming themselves
in their own curiositie and presumption.
The end and beginning of learning are
equally accompted foolish. Marke but how
Plato talketh and raiseth his flight aloft in
his Poeticall clouds, or cloudy Poesies.
Behold and read in him the gibbrish of the
Gods. But what dreamed or doted he on
when he defined man to be a creature with
two feet, and without feathers ; giving them
that were disposed to mocke at him a
pleasant and scopefull occasion to doe it ?
For, having plucked-off the feathers of a live
capon, they named him the man of Plato.
And by what simplicitie did the Epicureans
first imagine that the Atomes or Motes,
which they termed to be bodies, having some
weight and a naturall moving downeward,
had framed the world ; untill such time as
they were advised by their adversaries that
by this description it was not possible they
should joyne and take hold one of another ;
their fall being so downe-right and perpen-
dicular, and every way engendering parallel
lines ? And therefore was it necessarie they
should afterward adde a causall moving
sideling unto them : And moreover to give
their Atomes crooked and forked tailes, that
so they might take hold of any thing and
claspeth themselves. And even then those
that pursue them with this other consider-
ation, doe they not much trouble them ?
If Atomes have by chance formed so many
sorts of figures, why did they never meet
together to frame a house or make a shooe ?
Why should we not likewise beleve that an
ininit number of Greek letters, confusedly
scattered in some open place, might one day
meet and joyne together to the contexture of
the Iliads ? That which is capable of reason
(saith Zeno) is better than that which is
not. There is nothing better than the
world : then the world is capable of reason.
By the same arguing Cotta maketh the
world a Mathematician, and by this other
arguing of Zeno, he makes him a Musitian
and an Organist. The whole is more than
the part : we are capable of wisdom, and
we are part of the world : then the world

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 142,

² CIC. TUSC. QU. l. i.

is wise. There are infinit like examples seene, not only of false, but foolish arguments, which cannot hold, and which accuse their authors not so much of ignorance as of folly, in the reproaches that Philosophers charge one another with, about the disagreeings in their opinions and sects. He that should fardle-up a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of mans wisdom, might recount wonders. I willingly assembl some (as a shew or patterne) by some means or byase, no lesse profitable than the most moderate instructions. Let us by that judge what we are to esteeme of man, of his sense, and of his reason; since in these great men, and who have raised mans sufficiencies so high, there are found so grosse errors and so apparant defects. As for me, I would rather beleve that they have thus casually treated learning even as a sporting child's baby, and have sported themselves with reason, as of a vaine and frivolous instrument, setting forth all sorts of inventions, devices, and fantasies, sometimes more outstretched, and sometimes more loose. The same Plato, who defineth man like unto a Capon, saith elsewhere, after Socrates, that in good sooth he knoweth not what man is; and that of all parts of the world there is none so hard to be knowne. By this varietie of conceits and instabilitie of opinions, they, as it were, leade us closely by the hand to this resolution of their irresolution. They make a profession not alwayes to present their advice manifest and unmasked: they have oft concealed the same under the fabulous shadows of Poesie, and sometimes under other vizards. For our imperfection admitteth this also, that raw meats are not alwayes good for our stomachs: but they must be dried, altdred, and corrupted, and so doe they who sometimes shadow their simple opinions and judgements; and that they may the better sute themselves unto common use, they many times falsifie them. They will not make open profession of ignorance, and of the imbecillitie of mans reason, because they will not make children afraid, but they manifestly declare the same unto us under the shew of a troubled Science and unconstant learning. I perswaded somebody in Italy, who laboured very much to speak Italian, that alwayes provided he desired but to be understood, and not to seek to excell others therein, he should onely employ and use such words as came first to his mouth, whether they were Latine, French, Spanish, or Gascoine, and that adding the Italian terminations unto them, he should never misse to fall upon some idiom of the cuntry, either Tuscan, Roman, Venetian, Piemontoise, or Neapolitan; and amongst

so many severall formes of speech to take hold of one. The very same I say of Philosophy. She hath so many faces and so much varietie, and hath said so much, that all our dreames and devices are found in her. The fantasie of man can conceive or imagine nothing, be it good or evil, that is not to be found in her: *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum*.¹ "Nothing may be spoken so absurdly, but that it is spoken by some of the Philosophers." And therefore doe I suffer my humours or caprices more freely to passe in publike; forasmuch as though they are borne with, and of me, and without any patterne, well I wot they will be found to have relation to some ancient humour, and some shall be found that will both know and tell whence and of whom I have borrowed them. My customes are naturall; when I contrived them, I called not for the helpe of any discipline: and weake and faint as they were, when I have had a desire to expresse them, and to make them appear to the world a little more comely and decent, I have somewhat endeavoured to aid them with discourse, and assist them with examples, I have wondred at my selfe that by meere chance I have met with them, agreeing and sutable to so many ancient examples and Philosophicall discourses. What regiment my life was of, I never knew nor learned but after it was much worne and spent. A new figure: an unpremeditated philosopher and a casuall. But to returne unto our soule, where Plato hath seated reason in the braine; anger in the heart; lust in the liver; it is very likely that it was rather an interpretation of the soules motions than any division or separation he meant to make of it, as of a body into many members. And the likeliest of their opinion is that it is alwayes a soule, which by her rationall faculty remembreth her selfe, comprehendeth, judgeth, desireth, and exerciseth all her other functions, by divers instruments of the body, as the pilote ruleth and directeth his ship according to the experience he hath of it; now stretching, haling, or loosing a cable, sometimes hoysing the main-yard, removing an oare, or stirring the rudder, causing severall effects with one only power: and that she abideth in the braine, appeareth by this, that the hurts and accidents which touch that part doe presently offend the faculties of the soule, whence she may without inconvenience descend and glide through other parts of the body:

¹ Cic. Div. l. ii.

— *medium non deserit unquam*
*Celi Phœbus iter: radiis tamen omnia lustrat:*¹
 Never the Sunne forsakes heav'n's middle wayes,
 Yet with his rayes he lights all, all surveyes:

As the sunne spreadeth his light, and infuseth
 his power from heaven, and therewith filleth
 the whole world.

Cætera pars animæ per totum dissila corpus
*Paret, et ad nuncien mentis nomenque movetur.*²
 Th' other part of the soule through all the body
 sent
 Obeyes, and moved is, by the mindes govern-
 ment.

Some have said that there was a generall
 soule, like unto a great body, from which
 all particular soules were extracted, and
 returned thither, alwayes reconjoyning and
 entermingling themselves unto that univer-
 sall matter:

— *Deum nunque ire per omnes*
Terrasque tractusque maris cælumque profun-
dum:
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne
ferarum,

Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri
*Omnia: nec morti esse locum.*³

For God through all the earth to passe is found,
 Through all Sea currents, through the heav'n
 profound,
 Here hence men, heards, and all wilde beasts
 that are,
 Short life in birth each to themselves doe share.
 All things resolved to this point restor'd
 Returne, nor any place to death afford.

Others, that they did but reconjoyne and
 fasten themselves to it againe: others, that
 they were produced by the divine substance:
 others, by the angels, of fire and aire: some
 from the beginning of the world, and some
 even at the time of need: others make them
 to descend from the round of the moone,
 and that they returne to it againe. The
 common sort of antiquitie, that they are
 begotten from father to sonne, after the
 same manner and production that all other
 naturall things are; arguing so by the
 resemblances which are betweene fathers
 and children.

*Instillata patris virtus tibi,*⁴

Thy Fathers vertues be
 Instilled into thee.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis,

Of valiant Sires and good,
 There comes a valiant brood.

And that from fathers we see descend unto
 children, not only the marks of their bodies,

but also a resemblance of humours, of com-
 plexions, and inclinations of the soule.

Denique cur acrum violentia triste Leonum
Seminiū sequitur, dolus Vulpibus, et fuga
Cor.

A patribus datur, et patris pavor incitat Artus,
Si non certa suo quia semine seminoque
*Vis animi pariter crescit cum corpore toto?*¹
 Why follows violence the savage Lyons race?
 Why craft the Foxes? Why to Deere to flye
 apace?

By parents is it given, when parents feare incites,
 Unlesse because a certaine force of inward spirits
 With all the body growes,
 As seed and seed-spring goes?

That divine justice is grounded there-
 upon, punishing the fathers offences upon
 the children; forsomuch as the contagion
 of the fathers vices is in some sort printed
 in childrens soules, and that the misgovern-
 ment of their will toucheth them. Moreover,
 that if the soules came from any other place,
 then by a naturall consequence, and that
 out of the body they should have beene
 some other thing, they should have some
 remembrance of their first being: consider-
 ing the naturall faculties which are proper
 unto him, to discourse, to reason, and to
 remember.

— *si in corpus nascentibus insinatur,*
Cur super anteaquam ætatem meminisse nequi-
mus,

*Nec vestigia gestarum rerum ulla tenemus?*²
 If our soule at our birth be in our body cast,
 Why can we not remember age, over-past,
 Nor any markes retainde of things done first
 or last?

For, to make our soules condition to be
 of that worth we would, they must all be
 presupposed wise, even when they are in
 their naturall simplicitie and genuine puritie.
 So should they have beene such, being
 freed from the corporall prison, as well
 before they entred the same, as we hope they
 shall be when they shall be out of it. And
 it were necessarie they should (being yet in
 the body) remember the said knowledge (as
 Plato said) that what we learnt was but a
 new remembring of that which we had
 knowne before: a thing that any man may
 by experience maintaine to be false and
 erroneus. First, because we doe not pre-
 cisely remember what we are taught, and
 that if memorie did meerey execute her
 function, she would at least suggest us with
 something besides our learning. Secondly,
 what she knew being in her puritie, was a
 true understanding, knowing things as they
 are by her divine intelligence: whereas

¹ CLAUD. VI. *Hon. Cons. Pan.* 411.

² LUCR. l. iii. 144.

³ VIRG. *Georg.* l. iv. 222.

⁴ HOR. *Car.* l. iv. *Od.* iv. 29.

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 766.

² *Ib.* 771.

³ *Ib.* 692.

here, if she be instructed, she is made to receive lies and apprehend vice, wherein she cannot employ her memorie ; this image and conception having never had place in her. To say that the corporall prison doth so suppress her naturall faculties, that they are altogether extinct in her : first, is cleane contrarie to this other beleefe, to knowledge her forces so great, and the operations which men in this transitorie life feel of it, so wonderfull, as to have thereby concluded this divinitie, and fore-past eternitie, and the immortalitie to come :

*Nam si tantopere est animi mutata potestas,
Omnis ut actarum exciderit retinentia rerum,
Non ut opinor ea ab letho jam longior errat.*¹

If of our minde the power be so much altered,
As of things done all hold, all memorie is fled,
Then (as I guesse) it is not far from being dead.

Moreover, it is here with us, and no where else, that the soules powers and effects are to be considered ; all the rest of her perfections are vaine and unprofitable unto her : it is by her present condition that all her immortalitie must be rewarded and paid, and she is only accomptable for the life of man : it were injustice to have abridged her of her meanes and faculties, and to have disarmed her against the time of her captivitie and prison, of her weakness and sickness, of the time and season where she had beene forced and compelled to draw the judgement and condemnation of infinite and endlesse continuance, and to relye upon the consideration of so short a time, which is peradventure of one or two houres, or, if the worst happen, of an age (which have no more proportion with infinitie than a moment) definitively to appoint and establish of all her being by that instant of space. It were an impious disproportion to wrest an eternal reward in consequence of so short a life. Plato, to save himselfe from this inconvenience, would have future payments limited to a hundred yeares continuance, relatively unto a humane continuance : and many of ours have given them temporall limits. By this they judged that her generation followed the common condition of humane things : as also her life, by the opinion of Epicurus and Democritus, which hath most been received, following these goodly apperances. That her birth was seene when the body was capable of her ; her vertue and strength was perceived as the corporall increased ; in her infancie might her weaknesse be discerned, and in time her vigor and ripenesse, then her decay and age, and in the end her decrepitude.

— *gigni pariter cum corpore, et una
Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem.*¹
The minde is with the body bred, we doe behold,
It jointly growes with it, with it it waxeth old.

They perceived her to be capable of diverse passions, and agitated by many languishing and painfull motions, wherethrough she fell into wearinesse and griefe, capable of alteration and change of joy, stupefaction, and languishment, subject to her infirmities, diseses, and offences, even as the stomacke or the foot ;

— *mentem sanari, corpus ut ægrum
Cernimus, et flecti medicina posse videmus.*²
We see as bodies sicke are cur'd, so is the minde,
We see, how Physicke can it each way turne and winde ;

dazled and troubled by the force of wine ; removed from her seat by the vapors of a burning fever ; drowzie and sleepey by the application of some medicaments, and rouzed up againe by the vertue of some others,

— *corpoream naturam animi esse necesse
est,
Corporis quoniam telis ictuque laborat.*³
The nature of the minde must needs corporeall
bee,
For with corporeall darts and strokes it's
griev'd we see.

She was seene to dismay and confound all her faculties by the only biting of a sicke dog, and to containe no great constancie of discourse, no sufficiency, no vertue, no philosophical resolution, no contention of her forces that might exempt her from the subjection of these accidents : the spittle or slaving of a mastive dog shed upon Socrates his hands, to trouble all his wisdom, to distemper his great and regular imaginations, and so to vanquish and annull them that no signe or shew of his former knowledge was left in him :

— *vis animi
Conturbatur, — et divisa seorsum
Disjectatur eodem illo distracto veneno.*⁴
The soules force is disturbed, separated,
Distracted by that same poison, alienated.

And the said venome to finde no more resistance in his soule than in that of a childe of foure yeares old, a venome able to make all — (were she incarnate) become furious and mad : so that Cato, who scorned both death and fortune, could not abide the sight of a looking glasse or of water ; overcome with horreur, and quelled with amazement, if by the con-

¹ LUCR. l. iiii. 695.

¹ LUCR. l. iiii. 450. ² Ib. 517. ³ Ib. 176.
⁴ Ib. 501

tagion of a mad dog he had fallen into that sickness which physicians call hydrophobia, or feare of waters.

— *vis morbi distracta per artus*
Turbat agens animam, spumantes equore salso
*Ventorum ut validis fervescunt viribus undae.*¹
 The force of the disease disperst through joints
 offends,
 Driving the soule, as in salt Seas the wave ascends,
 Foming by furious force which the wind raging lends.

Now, concerning this point, Philosophy hath indeed armed man for the enduring of all other accidents, whether with patience, or if it be overcostly to be found, with an infallible defeat in conveying her selfe altogether from the sense : but they are meanes which serve a soule that is her owne, and in her proper force capable of discourse and deliberation : not serving to this inconvenience where with a Philosopher, a soule becommeth the soule of a foole, troubled, vanquished and lost. Which divers occasions may produce, as in an over-violent agitation, which by some vehement passion the soule may beget in her selfe : or a hurt in some part of the body, or an exhalation from the stomacke, casting us into some astonishment, dazling, or giddinesse of the head :

— *morbis in corporis avius errat*
Suæ animus, dementit enim, delirique satur,
Interdumque gravi Lethargo fertur in altum.
*Æternumque soporem, oculis nutuque cadenti.*²

The minde in this sickness often wandring strays :
 For it enraged raves, and idle talk outbraves :
 Brought by sharpe Lethargy sometime to more than deepe,
 While eyes and eye-lids fall into eternall sleepe.

Philosophers have, in mine opinion, but slightly harpt upon this string, no more than other of like consequence. They have ever this dilemma in their mouth to comfort our mortall condition : "The soule is either mortall or immortall : if mortall, she shall be without paine : if immortall, she shall mend." They never touch the other branch : what if she empaire and be worse ? and leave the menaces of future paines to Poets. But thereby they deal themselves a good game. These are two omissions which in their discourses doe often offer themselves unto me. I come to the first againe : the soule loseth the use of that Stoicall chiefe felicitie, so constaint and so firme. Our goodly wisdom must necessarily in this place yeelde her selfe and quit her weapons. As for other matters, they also

considered by the vanitie of mans reason, that the admixture and societie of two so different parts as is the mortall and the immortall is inimaginable :

Quippe etenim mortale æterno jungere, et und
Consentire putari, et fungi mutua posse,
Desipere est. Quid enim diversius esse putandum est,
Aut magis inter se disjunctum describitansque,
Quam mortale quod est, immortalique
perenni

*Iunctum in concilio sævas tolerare procellas ?*¹
 For what immortall is, mortall to joyne unto,
 And thinke they can agree, and mutuall duties doe,

Is to be foolish : for what thinke we stranger is,
 More disagreeable or more disjoyn'd than this,
 That mortall with immortall endlesse joy'n'd in union,
 Can most outrageous stormes endure in their communion ?

Moreover they felt their soule to be engaged in death as well as the body.

— *simul æro fessa fatiscit,*²

It jointly faints in one,
 Wearied as age is gone.

Which thing (according to Zeno) the image of sleep doth manifestly show unto us. For he esteemeth that it is a fainting and declination of the soule as well as of the body : *Contrahi animus, et quasi labi putat atque decidere* :³ "He thinke the minde is contracted, and doth as it were slide and fall downe." And that (which is perceived in some) its force and vigor maintaineth it selfe even in the end of life, they referred and imputed the same to the diversitie of diseases, as men are seene in that extremitie to maintaine some one sense and some another, some their hearing and some their smelling, without any alteration ; and there is no weaknesse or decay seene so universall but some entire and vigorous parts will remaine.

Non alio pacto quam si pes cum dolet ægri,
*In nullo caput interea sit forte dolore.*⁴

No otherwise than if, when sick-mans foote doth ache,
 Meane time perhaps his head no fellow-feeling take.

Our judgements sight referreth it selfe unto truth, as doth the owles eyes unto the shining of the sunne, as saith Aristotle. How should we better convince him than by so grosse blindness in so apparent a light ? For the contrarie opinion of the soules immortallitie, which Cicero saith to have first bene brought in (at least by the testimonie of books) by Pherecydes Syrius in the time

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 495.

² Ib. 467.

³ LUCR. l. iii. 831.

⁴ CIC. Div. l. ii. c. 58.

⁵ Ib. 463.

⁶ LUCR. l. iii. 111.

of King Tullus (others ascribe the invention thereof to Thales, and other to others) it is the part of humane knowledge treated most sparingly and with more doubt. The most constant Dogmatists (namely in this point) are informed to cast themselves under the shelter of the Academikes wings. No man knowes what Aristotle hath established upon this subject no more than all the ancients in generall, who handle the same with a very wavering belief: *Rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium*: "Who rather promise than approve a thing most acceptable. He hath hidden himself under the clouds of intricat and ambiguous words and unintelligible senses, and hath left his Sectaries as much cause to dispute upon his judgement as upon the matter. 'Two things made this his opinion plausible to them: the one, that without the immortality of soules there should no meanes be left to ground or settle the vaine hopes of glory; a consideration of wonderfull credit in the world: the other (as Plato saith) that it is a most profitable impression, that vices, when they steal away from out the sight and knowledge of humane justice, remaine ever as a blanke before divine justice, which even after the death of the guilty will severely pursue them. Man is ever possessed with an extreme desire to prolong his being, and hath to the uttermost of his skill provided for it. 'Tombs and Monuments are for the preservation of his body, and glorie for the continuance of his name. He hath employed all his wit to frame him selfe anew (as impatient of his fortune) and to underprop or uphold himselfe by his inventions. The soule by reason of her trouble and imbecility, as unable to subsist of her selfe, is ever and in all places questing and searching comforts, hopes, foundations and forraigne circumstances, on which she may take hold and settle herselfe. And how light and fantastickall soever his invention doth frame them unto him, he notwithstanding relieth more surely upon them and more willingly than upon himself: But it is a wonder to see how the most obstinat in this so just and manifest perswasion of our spirits immortallitie have found themselves short and unable to establish the same by their humane forces. *Somnia sunt non docentis sed optantis*: "These are dreames not of one that teacheth, but wisheth what he would have:" said an ancient Writer. Man may by his owne testimonie know that the truth he alone discovereth, the same he oweth unto fortune and chance, since even when she is false into his hands, he wanteth wherewith to lay hold on her and keepe her; and that

this reason hath not the power to prevaile with it. All things produced by our owne discource and sufficiencie, as well true as false, are subject to uncertaintie and disputation. It is for the punishment of our temeritie and instruction of our miserie and incapacitie, that God caused the trouble, downefall and confusion of Babels Tower. Whatsoever we attempt without his assistance, whatever we see without the lampe of his grace, is but vanity and folly: With our weaknes we corrupt and adulterate the very essence of truth (which is uniforme and constant) when fortune giveth us the possession of it. What course soever man taketh of himselfe, it is Gods permission that he ever commeth to that confusion whose image he so lively representeth unto us by the just punishment, wherewith he framed the presumptuous over-weening of Nem-broth, and brought to nothing the frivolous enterprises of the building of his high-towering Pyramis or Heaven-menacing tower. *Perdam sapientium sapientium et prudentium prudentium reprobo*: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and reprove the providence of them that are most prudent." 'The diversitie of tongues and language wherewith he disturbed that worke and overthrew that proudly-raised Pile; what else is it but this infinit alteration and perpetual discordance of opinions and reasons which accompanieth and entangleth the frivolous frame of mans learning, or vaine building of human science? Which he doth most profitably. Who might containe us, had we but one graine of knowledge? This Saint hath done me much pleasure: *Ipsa Veritatis occultatio, aut humilitatis exercitatio est, aut elationis attritio*: "The very concealing of the profit is either an exercise of humilitie or a beating downe of arrogancie." Unto what point of presumption and insolencie do we not carry our blindness and foolishnesse? But to returne to my purpose: Verily there was great reason that we should be beholding to God alone, and to the benefit of his grace, for the truth of so noble a belief, since from his liberalitie alone we receive the fruit of immortallitie, which consisteth in enjoying of eternall blessednesse. Let us ingenuously confesse that only God and Faith hath told it us: for it is no lesson of Nature, nor coming from our reason. And he that shall both within and without narrowly sift and curiously sound his being and his forces without this divine privilege, he that shall view and consider man without flattering him, shall nor see nor see either efficacie or

facultie in him that tasteth of any other thing but death and earth; The more we give, the more we owe : and the more we yeeld unto God, the more Christian-like doe we. That which the Stoike Philosopher said he held by the casual consent of the peoples voice, had it not bene better he had held it of God? *Cum de animorum aternitate disserimus, non leue momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut colentium. Vlor hac publica persuasione :*¹ "When we discourse of the immortality of soules, in my conceit the consent of those men is of no small authoritie, who either feare or adore the infernall powers. This publike persuasion I make use of." Now the weaknes of human arguments upon this subject is very manifestly knowne by the fabulous circumstances they have added unto the traine of this opinion, to finde out what condition this our immortalitie was of. Let us omit the Stoickes. *Usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus : diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper, negant :*² "They grant us use of life, as is unto Ravens : they say our soules shall long continue, but they deny they shall last ever." Who gives unto soules a life beyond this but finite. The most universall and received fantasie, and which endureth to this day, hath bene that whereof Pythagoras is made Author ; not that he was the first inventor of it, but because it received much force and credit by the authoritie of his approbation ; which is, that soules at their departure from us did but pass and roule from one to another body, from a Lyon to a Horse, from a Horse to a King, uncessantly wandering up and downe from House to Mansion. And himselfe said that he remembered to have bene Æthalides, then Euphorbus, afterward Hermotimus, at last from Pyrrhus to have passed into Pythagoras ; having memorie of himselfe the space of two hundred and six yeares : some added more, that the same soules doe sometimes ascend up to heaven and come downe againe :

O Pater anne aliquas ad cælum hinc ire putandum est

*Sublimes animas, interumque ad tarda reverti Corpora ? Quæ lucis miseris tam dira cupido ?*³

Must we thinke (Father) some soules hence doe

go,

Raised to heav'n, thence turne to bodies slow ?

Whence doth so dyre desire of light on wretches grow ?

Origen makes them eternally to go and come from a good to a bad estate. The opinion that Varro reporteth is, that in the

revolution of foure hundred and forty yeares they reconjoynd themselves unto their first bodies. Chrysippus, that that must come to passe after a certaine space of time unknowne and not limited. Plato (who saith that he holds this opinion from Pindarus and from ancient Poesie) of infinite vicissitudes of alteration to which the soule is prepared, having no paines nor rewards in the other world but temporall, as her life in this is but temporall, concludeth in her a singular knowledge of the affaires of Heaven, of Hell, and here below, where she hath passed, repassed, and sojourned in many voyages, a matter in his remembrance. Beholde her progresse elsewhere : he that hath lived well reconjoyneth himself unto that Star or Planet to which he is assigned : who evill, passeth into a woman : and if then he amend not himself, he trans-changeth himselfe into a beast of condition agreeing to his vicious customes, and shall never see an end of his punishments untill he returne to his naturall condition, and by virtue of reason he have deprived himselfe of those grosse, stupide, and elementarie qualities that were in him. But I will not forget the objection which the Epicureans make unto this transmigration from one body to another : which is very pleasant. They demand what order there should be if the throng of the dying should be greater than that of such as be borne. For the soules removed from their abode would throng and strive together who should get the best seat in this new case : and demand besides what they would pass their time about, whilst they should stay untill any other mansion were made ready for them : Or contrary-wise, if more creatures were borne than should dye, they say bodies shall be in an ill taking, expecting the infusion of their soule, and it would come to passe that some of them should dye before they had ever been living.

Denique connubia ad veneris, partusque ferarum,

*Esse animas præsto deridiculum esse videtur, Et spectare immortales mortalia membra Innumero numero, certareque præproperanter Inter se, quæ prima potissimague insinuetur.*¹

Lastly, ridiculous it is, soules should be prest To Venus meetings, and begetting of a beast : That they to mortall lims immortal be adrest In number numberlesse, and over-hasty strive, Which of them first and chiefe should get in there to live.

Others have staid the soule in the deceased bodies, therewith to animate serpents, worms, and other beasts, which are said to

¹ SEN. *Epist.* 117.

² CIC. *Tusc. Qn.* l. i.

³ VIRG. *Æn.* l. vi. 739.

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 802.

engender from the corruption of our members, yea, and from our ashes : others divide it in two parts, one mortall, another immortal : others make it corporeall, and yet notwithstanding immortal : others make it immortal, without any science or knowledge. Nay, there are some of ours who have deemed that of condemned mens souls divels were made : as Plutarke thinks, that Gods are made of those soules which are saved : for there be few things that this author doth more resolutely averre then this ; holding every where else an ambiguous and doubtfull kind of speech. It is to be imagined and firmlie believed (saith he) that the soules of men, vertuous both according unto nature and divine justice, become of Men, Saints, and of Saints, Demi-Gods, and after they are once perfectly, as in sacrifices of purgation, cleansed and purified, being delivered from all passibility and mortalitie, they become of Demi-Gods (not by any civill ordinance, but in good truth, and according to manifest reason) perfect and very very Gods ; receiving a most blessed and thrice glorious end. But who-soever shall see him who is notwithstanding one of the most sparing and moderate of that faction, so undantly to skirmish, and will heare him relate his wonders upon this subject, him I refer to his discourse of the Moone, and of Socrates his Dæmon ; where as evidently as in any other place, may be averred that the mysteries of Philosophy have many strange conceits, common with those of Poesie ; mans understanding losing it selfe once goes about to sound and controule all things to the utmost end ; as, tired and troubled by a long and wearisome course of our life, we returne to a kind of doting child-hood. Note here the goodly and certaine instructions which concerning our soules-subject we drawe from humane knowledge. There is no lesse rashnesse in that which shee teacheth us touching our corporall parts. Let us make choyce but of one or two examples, else should we lose our selves in this troublesome and vaste Ocean of Physicall errors. Let us know whether they agree but in this one, that is to say, of what matter men are derived and produced one from another. For, touching their first production, it is no marvell if in a thing so high and so ancient mans wit is troubled and confounded. Archelaus, the Physitian, to whom (as Aristoxenus affirmeth) Socrates was disciple and Minion, assevered that both men and beasts had beene made of milkie slime or mudde, expressed by the heate of the earth. Pythagoras saith that our seed is the scumme or froth of our best blood : Plato, the distilling of the marrow in

the backe-bone, which he argueth thus because that place feelth first the wearinesse which followeth the generative businesse. Alcmaeon, a part of the braine substance, which to prove he saith their eyes are ever most troubled that over-intemperately addict themselves to that exercise. Democritus, a substance extracted from all parts of this corporall masse. Epicurus, extracted from the last soule and the body. Aristotle, an excrement drawne from the nourishment of the blood, the last scattereth it selfe in our severall members ; others, blood, concocted and digested by the heate of the genitories, which they judge because in the extreame, earnest, and forced labours, many shed drops of pure blood ; wherein some appearance seemeth to be, if from so infinit a confusion any likelihood may be drawne. But to bring this seed to effect, how many contrary opinions make they of it ? Aristotle and Democritus hold that women have no sperme, that it is but a sweate, which by reason of the pleasure and frication they cast forth, and availeth nothing in generation.

Galen and his adherents contrariwise, affirme that there can be no generation except two seeds meete together. Behold the Physitians, the Philosophers, the Lawyers, and the Divines pell-mell together by the eares with our women about the question and disputation how long women beare their fruite in their wombe. And as for me, by mine owne example, I take their part that maintaine a woman may go eleven months with child. The worlde is framed of this experience, there is no meane woman so simple that cannot give her censure upon all these contestations, although we could not agree. This is sufficient to verifie that in the corporall part man is no more instructed of himselfe than in the spirituall. We have proposed himselfe to himselfe, and his reason to his reason, to see what shee shall tell us of it. Mee thinkes I have sufficiently declared how little understanding shee hath of herselfe. And hee who hath no understanding of himselfe, what can he have understanding of ? *Quasi vero mensuram ullius rei possit agere qui sui nesciat.*¹ "As though he could take measure of any thing that knowes not his owne measure." Truly Protagoras told us prettie tales, when hee makes a man the measure of all things, who never knew so much as his owne. If it be not hee, his dignitie will never suffer any other creature to have this advantage over him. Now he being so contrary in himselfe, and one judgement so uncessantly

¹ PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* l. ii. c. 1.

subverting another, this favorable proposition was but a jest, which induced us necessarily to conclude the nullity of the *Compass* and the *Compasser*. When *Thales* judgeth the knowledge of man very hard unto man, hee teacheth him the knowledge of all other things to be impossible unto him. You for whom I have taken the paines to enlarge so long a worke (against my custome) will not shun to maintaine your *Sebond* with the ordinary forme of arguing, whereof you are daily instructed, and will therein exercise both your minde and study; for this last trick of sense must not be employed but as an extreme remedy. It is a desperate thrust, gainst which you must forsake your weapons, to force your adversary to renounce his, and a secret slight, which must seldome and very sparingly be put in practice. It is a great fond hardnesse to lose our selfe for the losse of another. A man must not be willing to die to revenge himselfe, as *Gobrias* was: who being close by the eares with a Lord of Persia, *Darius* chanced to come in with his sword in his hand, and fearing to strike, for feare he should hurt *Gobrias*, he called unto him, and bade him smite boldly, although he should smite through both. I have heard armes and conditions of single combates being desperate, and in which he that offered them put both himselfe and his enemy in danger of an end inevitable to both, reproved as unjust, and condemned as unlawfull. The Portugals took once certaine Turkes prisoners in the Indian Seas, who, impatient of their captivity, resolved with themselves (and their resolution succeeded) by rubbing of Ship-nailes one against another, and causing sparkes of fire to fall amongst the barrels of powder (which lay not far from them) with intent to consume both themselves, their masters, and the ship. We but touch the skirts, and glance at the last closings of Sciences, wherein extremity, as well as in vertue, is vicious. Keepe your selves in the common path, it is not good to be so subtil and so curious. Remember what the Italian proverbe saith,

*Chi troppo assottiglia, si scavezza.*³

Who makes himselfe too fine,
Doth break himselfe in fine.

I perswade you, in your opinions and discourses, as much as in your customes, and in every other thing, to use moderation and temperance, and avoide all newfangled inventions and strangenesse. All extravagant waies displease me. You, who by the authoritie and preheminence which your

greatnesse hath laied upon you, and more by the advantages which the qualities that are most your owne, bestow on you, may with a nod command whom you please, should have laied this charge upon some one that had made profession of learning, who might otherwise have disposed and enriched this fantasie. Notwithstanding here have you enough to supply your wants of it. *Epicurus* said of the lawes that the worst were so necessary unto us, that without them men would enter-devour one another. And *Plato* verifieth that without lawes we should live like beasts. Our spirit is a vagabond, a dangerous and fond-hardly implement; it is very harde to joyne order and measure to it. In my time, such as have any rare excellency above others, or extraordinary vivacity, we see them almost all so lavish and unbridled in licence of opinions and manners, as it may be counted a wonder to find any one settled and sociable. There is great reason why the spirit of man should be so strictly embarrd. In his study, as in all things else, he must have his steps numbered and ordered. The limits of his pursuit must be cut out by art. He is bridled and fettered with and by religions lawes, customes, knowledge, precepts, paines, and recompences, both mortall and immortal; yet we see him, by means of his volubility and dissolution, escape all these bonds. It is a vaine body that hath no way about him to be seized on or cut off: a diverse and deformed body, on which neither knot nor hold may be fastened. Verily there are few soules so orderly, so constant, and so well borne as may be trusted with their owne conduct, and may not with moderation, and without rashnes, faile in the liberty of their judgements beyond common opinions. It is more expedient to give some body the charge and tuition of them. The spirit is an outrageous glaive, yea even to his owne possessor, except he have the grace very orderly and discreetly to arme himselfe therewith. And there is no beast to whom one may more justly apply a blinding bord, to keepe her sight in and force her to her footing, and keepe from straying here and there, without the tracke which use and lawes trace her out. Therefore shall it be better for you to close and bound your selves in the accustomed path, howsoever it be, than to take your flight to this unbridled licence. But if any one of these new doctors shall undertake to play the wise or ingenious before you, at the charge of his and your health: to rid you out of this dangerous plague, which daily more and more spreads itselfe in your Courts: this preservative will in any extreame neces-

¹ JUSTIN, l. i. ² PETR. p. i. CANE. xiii. 48.

sity be a let, that the contagion of this venome shall neither offend you nor your assistance. The liberty then, and the jollity of their ancient spirits brought forth many different Sects of opinions, in Philosophy and humane Sciences: every one undertaking to judge and chuse, so he might raise a faction. But now that men walke all one way: *Qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententiis addicti et consecrati sunt, ut etiam quæ non probant, cogantur defendere.*¹ "Who are addicted and consecrated to certaine set and fore-decreed opinions, so as they are enforced to maintaine those things which they prove or approve not:" And that wee receive Arts by civill authority and appointment: so that Schooles have but one patterne, alike circumscribed discipline and institution; no man regardeth more what coines weigh and are worth; but every man in his turne receiveth them according to the value that common approbation and succession alloteth them: Men dispute no longer of the alloy, but of the use. So are all things spent and vented alike. Physike is received as Geometry: and juggling tricks, enchantments, bonds, the commerce of deceased spirits, prognostications, domifications, yea even this ridiculous wit and wealth-consuming pursuite of the Philosophers stone, all is employed and uttered without contradiction. It sufficeth to know that Mars his place lodgeth in the middle of the hands triangle; that of Venus in the thumme; and Mercuries in the little finger: and when the table-line cutteth the fore-finger's rising, it is a signe of cruelty: when it faileth under the middle finger, and that the naturall median-line makes an angle with the vitall, under the same side, it is a signe of a miserable death: and when a womans naturall line is open, and closes not its angle with the vitall, it evidently denoteth that she will not be very chaste. I call your selfe to witnesse, if with this Science onely, a man may not passe with reputation and favour among all companies. Theophrastus was wont to say that mans knowledge, directed by the sense, might judge of the causes of things unto a certaine measure, but being come to the extreame and first causes, it must necessarily stay, and be blunted or abated, either by reason of its weaknesse or of the things difficulty. It is an indifferent and pleasing kind of opinion to thinke that our sufficiency may bring us to the knowledge of some things, and hath certaine measures of power beyond which it's temerity to employ it. This opinion is

plausible and brought in by way of composition: but it is hard to give our spirit any limits, being very curious and greedy, and not tied to stay rather at a thousand then at fifty spaces. Having found by experience that if one had mist to attaine unto some one thing, another hath come unto it, and that which one age never knew, the age succeeding hath found out: and that Sciences and Arts are not cast in a mold, but rather by little and little formed and shaped by often handling and polishing them over: even as beares fashion their yong whelps by often licking them: what my strength cannot discover, I cease not to sound and try: and in handling and kneading this new matter, and with removing and chasing it, I open some faculty for him that shall follow me, that with more ease he may enjoy the same, and make it more facile, more supple and more pliable:

- *ut hymettia sole*

*Cera remollescit, tractataque pollice, multas
Vertitur in facies, ipsoque fit utilis usu.*²

As the best Bees wax melteth by the Sun,
And handling, into many formes doth run,
And is made aptly fit
For use by using it.

As much will the second do for the third, which is a cause that difficulty doth not make me despaire, much lesse my inability: for it is but mine owne. Man is as well capable of all things as of some. And if (as Theophrastus saith) he avow the ignorance of the first causes and beginnings, let him boldly quit all the rest of his knowledge. If his foundation faile him, his discourse is overthrowne. The dispute hath no other scope, and to enquire no other end but the principles: If this end stay not his course, he casteth himselfe into an infinite irresolution. *Non potest aliud alio magis minusque comprehendere, quoniam omnium rerum una est definitio comprehendendi.* "One thing can neither more nor lesse be comprehended than another, since of all things there is one definition of comprehending." Now it is likely that if the soule knew any thing, shee first knew her selfe: and if she knew any without and besides her selfe, it must be her vaile and body before any thing else. If even at this day the Gods of Physicke are seene to wrangle about our Anatomie,

*Mulciber in Troiam, pro Troia stabat Apollo;*³

Apollo stood for Troy,
Vulcan Troy to destroy,

when shall we expect that they will be agreed? We are neerer unto our selves,

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu. l. ii.*

² OVID. *Metam. l. x. 284.*

³ OVID. *Trist. l. i. El. ii. 5.*

then is whitenesse unto snow, or weight unto a stone. If man know not himselfe, how can hee know his functions and forces? It is not by fortune that some true notice doth not lodge with us but by hazard. And forasmuch as by the same way, fashion and conduct, errors are received into our soule, she hath not wherewithall to distinguish them, nor whereby to chuse the truth from falshood. The Academikes received some inclination of judgment and found it over raw, to say, it was no more likely snow should be white then blacke, and that wee should be no more assured of the moving of a stone, which goeth from our hand, then of that of the eighth Spheare. And to avoid this difficultie and strangenesse, which in truth cannot but hardly lodge in our imagination, howbeit they establish that we were no way capable of knowledge, and that truth is engulfed in the deepest Abysses, where mans sight can no way enter; yet avowed they some things to be more likely and possible then others, and received this faculty in their judgement that they might rather incline to one apparance then to another. They allowed her this propension, interdicting her all resolution. The Pyrrhonians advise is more hardly, and therewithall more likely. For this Academicall inclination, and this propension rather to one then another proposition, what else is it then a recognition of some more apparant truth, in this than in that? If our understanding be capable of the forme, of the lineaments, of the behaviour and face of truth, it might as well see it all compleat, as but halfe, growing and imperfect. For this apparance of verisimilitude which makes them rather take the left then the right hand, doe you augment it; this one ounce of likelihood, which turnes the ballance, doe you multiply it by a hundred, nay by a thousand ounces; it will in the end come to passe that the ballance will absolutely resolve and conclude one choice and perfect truth. But how doe they suffer themselves to be made tractable by likelihood, if they know not truth? How know they the semblance of that whereof they understand not the essence? Either we are able to judge absolutely, or absolutely we cannot. If our intellectuall and sensible faculties are without ground or footing, if they but hull up and downe and drive with the wind, for nothing suffer we our judgment to be carried away to any part of their operation, what apparance soever it seemeth to present us with. And the surest and most happy situation of our understanding should be that, where without any tottering or agitation it might maintaine it selfe settled, upright and inflexible. *Inter*

*visa, vera, aut falsa, ad animi assensum, nihil interest.*¹ "There is no difference betwixt true and false visions concerning the mindes assent." That things lodge not in us in their proper forme and essence, and make not their entrance into us of their owne power and authority, we see it most evidently. For if it were so, we would receive them all alike: wine should be such in a sicke mans mouth as in a healthy mans. He whose fingers are chopt through cold, and stiffe or benumbed with frost, should find the same hardnesse in the wood or iron he might handle, which another doth. Then strange subjects yeeld unto our mercy, and lodge with us according to our pleasure. Now if on our part we receive anything without alteration, if mans holdfasts were capable and sufficiently powerful by our proper meanes to seize on truth, those meanes being common to all; this truth would successively remove it selfe from one to another. And of so many things as are in the world, at least one should be found, that by an universall consent should be beleeved of all. But that no proposition is seene, which is not controverted and debated amongst us, or that may not be, declareth plainly that our judgment doth not absolutely and clearly seize on that which it seizeth: for my judgment cannot make my fellows judgment to receive the same: which is a signe that I have seized upon it by some other meane then by a naturall power in me or other men. Leave we apart this infinite confusion of opinions, which is seene amongst Philosophers themselves, and this universal and perpetual disputation, in and concerning the knowledge of things.

For it is most truly presupposed that men (I mean the wisest, the best borne, yea and the most sufficient) do never agree; no not so much that heaven is over our heads. For they who doubt of all, doe also doubt of this: and such as affirme that we cannot conceive any thing, say we have not conceived whether heaven be over our heads; which two opinions are in number (without any comparison) the most forcible. Besides this diversity and infinite division, by reason of the trouble which our owne judgement layeth upon our selves, and the uncertainty which every man findes in himselfe, it may manifestly be perceived that this situation is very uncertaine and unstaid. How diversely judge we of things? How often change we our phantasies? What I hold and beleeve this day I beleeve and hold with all my beleeve: all my imlements, springs and motions, embrace and claspe this

¹ Cic Acad. Qu. l. iv.

opinion, and to the utmost of their power warrant the same : I could not possibly embrace any verity, nor with more assurance keepe it, than I doe this. I am wholly and absolutely given to it : but hath it not bene my fortune, not once, but a hundred, nay a thousand times, nay daily, to have embraced some other thing with the very same instruments and condition which upon better advise I have afterward judged false? A man should at the least become wise at his owne cost, and learne by others harmes. If under this colour I have often found my selfe deceived, if my Touch-stone be commonly found false and my ballance un-even and unjust ; what assurance may I more take of it at this time than at others? Is it not folly in me to suffer my selfe so often to be beguiled and couzened by one guide? Nevertheless, let fortune remove us five hundred times from our place, let her doe nothing but incessantly empty and fill, as in a vessell, other and other opinions in our mind, the present and last is alwaies supposed certaine and infallible. For this must a man leave goods, honour, life, state, health and all ;

—— *posterior res illa reperia
Perdit ; et immutat sensus ad pristina quæque.*¹

The latter thing destroys all found before ;
And alters sense at all things lik'd of yore.

Whatsoever is told us, and what ever we learne, we should ever remember : it is man that delivereth and man that receiveth : it is a mortall hand that presents it, and a mortall hand that receives it. Onely things which come to us from heaven have right and authority of perswasion and markes of truth : which we neither see with our eyes nor receive by our meanes : this sacred and great image would be of no force in so wretched a Mansion except God prepare it to that use and purpose, unlesse God by his particular grace and supernaturall favor reforme and strengthen the same. Our fraile and defective condition ought at least make us demeane our selves more moderately and more circumspectly in our changes. We should remember that whatsoever we receive in our understanding we often receive false things, and that it is by the same instruments which many times contradict and deceive themselves. And no marvell if they contradict themselves, being so easie to encline, and upon very slight occasions subject to waver and turne. Certaine it is that our apprehension, our judgement, and our soules faculties in generall, doe suffer according to the bodies motions

and alterations, which are continuall. Have we not our spirits more vigilant, our memorie more ready, and our discourses more lively in time of health then in sicknesse? Doth not joy and blithnesse make us receive the subjects that present themselves unto our soule, with another kind of countenance, then lowring vexation and drooping melancholy doth? Doe you imagine that Catullus or Saphoes verses delight and please an old covetous chuff-penny wretch as they do a lusty and vigorous yong man? Cleomenes the sonne of Anaxandridas being sick, his friends reprov'd him, saying he had new strange humors and unusuall phantasies : " It is not unlikely," answered he, " for I am not the man I was wont to be in the time of health : but being other, so are my fantasies and my humors." In the rabble case-canvassing of our plea-courts this by-word, *Gaudet de bona fortuna* : " Let him joy in his good fortune," is much in use, and is spoken of criminal offenders, who happen to meete with Judges in some milde temper or well-pleased mood. For it is most certaine that in times of condemnation the Judges doome or sentence is sometimes perceived to be more sharpe, mercilesse and forward, and at other times more tractable, facile, and enclined to shadow or excuse an offence, according as he is well or ill pleased in mind. A man that commeth out of his house troubled with the paine of the gout, vexed with jealousy, or angry that his servant hath robbed him, and whose mind is overcome with grieve, and plunged with vexation, and distracted with anger, there is not question to be made but his judgement is at that instant much distempred, and much transported that way. That venerable senate of the Areopagites was wont to judge and sentence by night, for feare the sight of the suters might corrupt justice. The ayre it selfe, and the clearnes of the firmament, doth forbode us some change and alteration of weather, as saith that Greeke verse in Cicero :

*Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
Iupiter auctifera lustravit lampade terras.*²
Such are mens mindes, as with increasefull light
Our father Jove survaies the world in sight.

It is not onely fevers, drinckes and great accidents, that over-whelme our judgement : the least things in the world will turne it topsie-turvie. And although we feele it not, it is not to bee doubted, if a continuall ague may in the end suppress our mind, a tertian will also (according to her measure and proportion) breed some alteration in it. If

¹ LUCR. l. v. 1474.

² CIC. ex *Incert.*

Apoplexie doth altogether stupifie and extinguish the sight of our understanding, it is not to be doubted but a cold and rheum will likewise dazle the same. And by consequence, hardly shall a man in all his life find one houre wherein our judgement may alwaies be found in his right byase, our body being subject to so many continuall alterations, and stuf with so divers sorts of ginnes and motions, that, giving credit to Physicians, it is very hard to find one in perfect plight, and that doth not alwaies mistake his marke and shute wide. As for the rest, this disease is not so easily discovered, except it be altogether extreme and remediless; forasmuch as reason marcheth ever crooked, halting and broken-lipt; and with falshood as with truth; and therefore it is very hard to discover her mistaking and disorder. I alwaies call reason that apparence or shew of discourses which every man deviseth or forgeth in himselfe: that reason, of whose condition there may be a hundred, one contrary to another, about one selfe same subject: it is an instrument of lead and wax, stretching, pliable, and that may be fitted to all byases and squared to all measures: there remains nothing but the skill and sufficiency to know how to turne and winde the same. How well soever a Judge meaneth, and what good mind so ever he beareth, if diligent care be not given unto him (to which few amusse themselves) his inclination unto friendship, unto kindred, unto beauty, and unto revenge, and not onely matters of so weighty consequence, but this innated and casual instinct which makes us to favour one thing more than another, and encline to one man more than to another, and which, without any leave or reason, giveth us the choice in two like subjects, or some shadow of like vanity, may insensibly insinuate in his judgment the commendation and applause, or disfavour and disallowance of a cause, and give the ballance a twich. I that nearest prie into my selfe, and who have mine eyes unnecessarily fixt upon me as one that hath not much else to doe else where,

— *quis sub Arcto*
Rex gelida metuat orae,
Quid Tyridatem terreat, unice
*Securus?*¹

Onely secure, who in cold coast
 Under the North-pole rules the roste,
 And there is fear'd, or what would fright,
 And Tyridates put to flight,

dare very hardly report the vanity and weakness I feele in my selfe. My foot is so staggering and unstable, and I finde it so

ready to trip, and so easie to stumble; and my sight is so dimme and uncertaine that fasting I finde my selfe other than full fed. If my health applaud me, or but the calmnesse of one faire day smile upon me, then am I a lusty gallant; but if a corne wring my toe, then am I pouting, unpleasant and hard to be pleased. One same pace of a horse is sometimes hard and sometimes easie unto me; and one same way, one time short, another time long and wearisome; and one same forme, now more, now lesse agreeable and pleasing to mee; sometimes I am apt to doe any thing, and other times fit to doe nothing: what now is pleasing to me within a while after will be painefull. There are a thousand indiscret and casual agitations in me. Either a melancholy humour possesseth me, or a cholericke passion swaith me, which having shaken off, sometimes frowardnesse and peevishnesse hath predominancy, and other times gladnes and blithnesse overrule me. If I chance to take a booke in hand I shall in some passages perceive some excellent graces, and which ever wound me to the soule with delight; but let me lay it by and read him another time; let me turne and tosse him as I list, let me apply and manage him as I will - shall finde it an unknowne and shapelesse masse. Even in my writings I shall not at all times finde the tracke or ayre of my first imaginations; I wot not my selfe what I would have said, and shall vex and fret my selfe in correcting and giving a new sense to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or lost the former, which happily was better. I doe but come and goe; my judgement doth not alwaies goe forward, but is ever floting and wandering.

— *velut minuta magna*
*Deprensa natus in mari, resaniente vento.*¹
 Much like a pettie skiffe, that's taken short
 In a grand Sea, when winds doe make mad sport.

Many times (as commonly it is my hap to doe) having for exercise and sport-sake undertaken to maintaine an opinion contrary to mine, my minde applying and turning it selfe that way doth so tie me unto it, as I finde no more the reason of my former conceit, and so I leave it. Where I encline, there I entertaine my selfe how soever it be, and am carried away by mine owne weight. Every man could neer-hand say as much of himselfe would he but looke into himselfe as I doe. Preachers know that the emotion which surpriseth them

¹ HOR. l. i. Od. xxvi. 3.

¹ CATUL. Lyr. Epig. xxii. 12.

whilst they are in their earnest speech doth animate them towards belief, and that being angrie we more violently give our selves to defend our proposition, emprint it in our selves, and embrace the same with more vehemencie and approbation than we did being in our temperate and reposed sense. You relate simply your case unto a Lawyer; he answers faltring and doubtfully unto it, whereby you perceive it is indifferent unto him to defend either this or that side, all is one to him. Have you paid him well, have you given him a good baite or fee to make him earnestly apprehend it, beginnes he to be interested in the matter, is his will moved or his minde enflamed? Then will his reason be moved and his knowledge enflamed with all. See then an apparent and undoubted truth presents it selfe to his understanding, wherein he discovers a new light, and believes it in good sooth, and so perswades himselfe. Shall I tell you? I wot not whether the heate proceeding of spight and obstinacie against the impression and violence of a magistrate and of danger: or the interest of reputation have induced some man to maintaine, even in the fiery flames, the opinion for which amongst his friends and at libertie he would never have beene moved nor have ventured his fingers end. The motions and fits which our soule receiveth by corporall passions doe greatly prevaile in her, but more her owne, with which it is so fully possest, as happily it may be maintained she hath no other way or motion than by the blasts of her windes, and that without their agitation she should remaine without action, as a ship at sea which the winds have utterly forsaken. And he who should maintaine that following the Peripatetike faction should offer us no great wrong, since it is knowne that the greatest number of the soules actions proceede and have neede of this impulsion of passion valor (say they) cannot be perfected without the assistance of choler.

*Semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furor.*¹

Ajax every valor had,
Most then, when he was most mad.

Nor doth any man run violently enough upon the wicked, or his enemies, except he be thoroughly angrie; and they are of opinion that an advocate or counsellor at the barre, to have the cause goe on his side, and to have justice at the judges hands, doth first endeavor to provoke him to anger. Longing-desires moved Themistocles and

urged Demosthenes, and have provoked Philosophers to long travels, to tedious watchings, and to lingering peregrinations: and leade us to honours, to doctrine, and to health: all profitable respects. And this demisenes of the soule in suffering molestation and tediousness, serveth to no other purpose, but to breed repentance and cause penitence in our consciences, and for our punishment to feele the scourge of God and the rod of politike correction. Compassion serveth as a sting unto clemencie, and wisdom to preserve and governe our selves, is by our owne feare rouzed up; and how many noble actions by ambition, how many by presumption? To conclude, no eminent or glorious vertue can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation. May not this be one of the reasons which moved the Epicureans to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires: forso-much as the very effects of his goodnesse cannot exercise themselves towards us without disturbing his rest by means of the passions which are as motives and sollicitations directing the soule to virtuous actions? Or have they thought otherwise, and take them as tempests which shamefully lead astray the soule from her rest and tranquillitie? *Vi maris tranquillitas intelligitur, nulla, ne minima quidem, aura fluctus immovente: Sic animi quietus et placatus status cernitur, quam perturbatio nulla est, quæ moveri queat.*¹ "As we conceive the seas calmnesse, when not so much as the least pirling wind doth stirre the waves, so is a peaceable reposed state of the mind then scene when there is no perturbation whereby it may be moved." What differences of sense and reason, what contrarietie of imaginations doth the diversitie of our passions present unto us? What assurance may then take of so unconstant and wavering a thing, subject by its owne condition to the power of trouble, never marching but a forced and borrowed pace? If our judgement be in the hands of sicknesse itselfe and of perturbation; if by rashnesse and folly it be retained to receive the impression of things, what assurance may we expect at his hands? Dares not Philosophie thinke that men produce their greatest effects, and neereest approaching to divinity when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde? We amend our selves by the privation of reason, and by her drooping. The two naturall waies to enter the cabinet of the Gods, and there to foresee the course of the destinies, are furie and sleepe. This is very pleasing to be con-

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qn. l. iv.*

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qn. l. v.*

sidered. By the dislocation that passions bring into our reason, we become vertuous ; by the extirpation which either furie or the image of death bringeth us, we become Prophets and Divines. I never beleev'd it more willingly. It is a meere divine inspiration that sacred truth hath inspired in a Philosophical spirit which against his proposition exacteth from him ; that the quiet tate of our soule, the best-settled estate, yea the healthfullest that Philosophy can acquire unto it, is not the best estate. Our vigilancie is more drouzie then sleepe it selfe ; our wisdom lesse wise then folly ; our dreames of more worth then our discourses. The worst place we can take is in ourselves. But thinks it not that we have the foresight to marke, that the voice which the spirit uttereth when he is gone from man so cleare sighted, so great, and so perfect, and whilst he is in man so earthly, so ignorant, and so overclouded, is a voice proceeding from the spirit which is i earthly, ignorant, and overclouded man and therefore a trustles and not to be believed voice? I have no great experience in these violent agitations, being of a soft and dull complexion, the greatest part of which, without giving it leisure to acknowledge her selfe, doe sodainely surprise our soule. But that passion, which in young mens harts is saied to be produced by idlenes, although it march but leasurly and with a measured progress, doth evidently present to those that have assaid to oppose themselves against her endeavour, the power of the conversion and alteration which our judgement suffereth. I have some times enterprised to arme my selfe with a resolution to abide, resist, and suppresse the same. For I am so farre from being in their ranke that call and allure vices, that unless they draw me scarcely follow them. I felt it mauger my resistance, to breed, to growe, and to augment ; and in the end, being in perfect health and cleare sighted, to seize upon and pollute me ; in such sort that as in drunkennes the image of things began to appeare unto me otherwise then it was wont. I saw the advantages of the subject I sought after, evidently to swell and grow greater, and much to encrease by the winde of my imagination ; and the difficulties of my enterprise to become more easie and plaine, and my discourse and conscience to shrink and drawbacke. But that fire being evaporate all on a sodaine, as by the flashing of a lightning, my soule to reassume an other sight, an other state, and other judgement. The difficultie in my retreat seemed great and invincible, and the very same things of

another taste and shew than the fervency of desire had presented them unto me. And which more truly, Pyrrho cannot tell. We are never without some infirmities. Fevers have their heat and their cold : from the effects of a burning passion, we fall into the effects of a chilling passion. So much as I had cast my selfe forward, so much doe I draw my selfe backe.

*Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus,
Nunc ruit ad terras, scopulisque superjact
undam,
Spumens, extremamque sinu perfundit arenam,
Nunc rapidus retro, atque aestu revoluta resor-
bens*

*Saxa, fugit, litusque vado labente relinquit.*¹

As th' Ocean flowing, ebbing in due course,
To land now rushes, foming throws his fource
On rocks, therewith bedewes the utmost sand,
Now swift returns the stones rowld backe from
strand
By tide resucks, foord failing, leaves the land.

Now by the knowledge of my volubilitie, I have by accident engendred some constancy of opinions in my selfe ; yea have not so much altered my first and naturall ones. For, what apparance soever there be in novelty, I do not easily change, for feare I should lose by the bargain : and since I am not capable to chuse, I take the choice from others ; and keepe my selfe in the seate that God hath placed me in. Else could I hardly keepe my selfe from continuall rowling. Thus have I by the Grace of God preserved my selfe whole (without agitation or trouble of conscience) in the ancient beliefe of our religion, in the midst of so many sects and divisions which our age hath brought forth. The writings of the ancient fathers (I meane the good, the solide, and the serious) doe tempt, and in a manner remove me which way they list. Him that I heare seemeth ever the most forcible. I finde them everie one in his turne to have reason, although they contrary one another. That facility which good wits have to prove any thing they please likely ; and that there is nothing so strange but they will undertake to set so good a glosse on it, as it shall easily deceive a simplicity like unto mine, doth manifestly shew the weaknesse of their prooffe. The heavens and the planets have moved these three thousand yeares, and all the world beleev'd as much, untill Cleanthes the Samian, or else (according to Theophrastus) Nicetas the Syracusan tooke upon him to maintaine, it was the earth that moved, by the oblique circle of the Zodiacke, turning about her axell tree. And in our daies Copernicus hath so well grounded

this doctrine, that hee doth very orderly fit it to all astrologically consequences. What shall we reape by it but only that wee neede not care which of the two it be? And who knoweth whether a thousand yeares hence a third opinion will rise, which happily shall overthrow these two precedents?

*Sic volvenda ætas commutat tempora rerum,
Quodque fuit pretio, fit nullo deinceps honore,
Porro aliud succedit, et ð contemptibus exit,
Inque dies magis appetitur, floretque repertum
Laudibus, et miro est mortales inter honore.*¹

So age to be past-over alters times of things :
What earst was most esteem'd,
At last nought-worth is deem'd :
Another then succeeds, and from contempt up-
springs,

Is daily more desir'd, flowreth as found but then
With praise and wondrous honor amongst mortal men.

So when any new doctrine is represented unto us, we have great cause to suspect it, and to consider how, before it was invented, the contrary unto it was in credit; and as that hath beene reversed by this latter, a third invention may peradventure succeed in after-ages, which in like sort shall front the second. Before the principles which Aristotle found out were in credit, other principles contented mans reason as his doe now content us. What learning have these men, what particular priviledge, that the course of our invention should rely only upon them, and that the possession of our heliefe shall for ever hereafter belong to them? They are no more exempted from being rejected than were their fore-fathers. If any man urge me with a new argument, it is in me to imagine that, if I cannot answer it, another can. For, to believe all apparences which we cannot resolve, is mere simplicitie. It would then follow that all the common sort (whereof we are all part) should have his heliefe turning and winding like a weather-cocke: for, his soule being soft and without resistance, should incessantly be enforced to receive new and admit other impressions: the latter ever defacing the precedents trace. He that perceiveth himselfe weake, ought to answer, according to law termes, that he will conferre with his learned counsel, or else referre himselfe to the wisest, from whom he hath had his prentiseship. How long is it since physicke came first into the world? It is reported that a new start-up fellow, whom they call Paracelsus, changeth and subverteth all the order of ancient and so long received rules, and maintaineth that untill this day it hath only served to kill people. I thinke he will easily verify it. But I

suppose it were no great wisdom to hazard my life upon the triall of his new-fangled experience. "We must not beleieve all men," saith the precept, "since every man may say all things." It is not long since that one of these professors of novelties and physycall reformatiōs told me that all our forefathers had notoriously abused themselves in the nature and motions of the winds, which, if I should listen unto him, he would manifestly make me perceive. After I had with some patience given attendance to his arguments, which were indeed full of likelihood, I demanded of him whether they who had sailed according to Theophrastus his lawes, went westward when they bent their course eastward? Or whether they sailed sideling or backward? It is fortune," answered he, "but so it is, they tooke their marke amisse." To whom I then replied that I would rather follow the effects than his reason. They are things that often shock together: and it hath beene told mee that in geometry (which supposeth to have gained the high point of certainty amongst all sciences) there are found unavoidable demonstrations, and which subvert the truth of all experience: as James Peletier told me in mine owne house, that he had found out two lines bending their course one towards another, as if they would meet and joyne together; nevertheless he affirmed that, even unto infinity, they could never come to touch one another. And the Pyrrhonians use their arguments, and reason but to destroy the apparence of experience: and it is a wonder to see how far the suppleness of our reason hath in this design followed them to resist the evidence of effects: for they affirme that we move not, that we speake not, that there is no weight, nor heat, with the same force of arguing that we averre the most likeliest things. Ptolomey, who was an excellent man, had established the bounds of the world; all ancient philosophers have thought they had a perfect measure thereof, except it were certaine scattered ilands which might escape their knowledge: it had beene to Pyrrhonize a thousand yeares agoe, had any man gone about to make a question of the art of cosmography: and the opinions that have beene received thereof, of all men in generall: it had been flat heresie to avouch that there were Antipodes. See how in our age an infinite greatnesse of firme land hath beene discovered, not an iland onely, nor one ptticular country, but a part in greatnesse very neere equall unto that which we knew. Our moderne geographers cease not to affirme that now all is found, and all is discovered;

¹ LUCR. l. v. 338

*Nam quod adest præsto, placet, et pollere videtur.*¹

For what is present here,
Seemes strong, is held most deare.

The question is now, if Ptolomey was heretofore deceived in the grounds of his reason, whether it were not folly in me to trust what these late fellows say of it, and whether it be not more likely that this huge body which we terme the world is another manner of thing than we judge it. Plato saith that it often changeth his countenance, that the heaven, the starres, and the sunne do sometimes re-enverse the motion we perceive in them, changing the east into the west. The Ægyptian priests told Herodotus that since their first king, which was eleaven thousand and odde yeares (when they made him see the pictures of all their former kings, drawne to the life in statues) the sun had changed his course foure times: that the sea and the earth doe enterchangeably change one into another; that the worlds birth is undetermined: the like said Aristotle and Cicero. And some one amongst us averreth that it is altogether eternall, mortal, and new reviving againe, by many vicissitudes, calling Solomon and Esay to witness: to avoid these oppositions, that God hath sometimes been a Creator without a creature; that he hath beene idle; that he hath unsaid his idlenesse by setting his hand to this worke, and that by consequence he is subject unto change. In the most famous schooles of Greece, the world is reputed a God framed by another greater and mightier God, and is composed of a body and a soule, which abideth in his centre, spreading it selfe by musicall numbers unto his circumference, divine, thrice-happy, very great, most wise and eternall. In it are other Gods, as the sea, the earth, and planets, which mutually entertaine one another with an harmonious and perpetuall agitation and celestiaall dance; sometime meeting, other times farre-sundering themselves; now hiding, then shewing themselves; and changing place, now forward, now backward. Heraclitus firmly maintained that the world was composed of fire, and by the destinies order it should one day burst forth into flames, and be so consumed into cinders, and another day it should be new borne againe. And Apuleius of men saith: *Sigillatim mortales; cunctim perpetui*:² "Severally mortall; altogether everlasting." Alexander writ unto his mother the narration of an Ægyptian priest, drawne from out their monu-

ments, witnessing the antiquitie of that nation, infinite; and comprehending the birth and progresse of their countries to the life. Cicero and Diodorus said in their daies that the Chaldeans kept a register of foure hundred thousand and odde yeares; Aristotle, Plinie, and others, that Zoroaster lived sixe thousand yeares before Plato. And Plato saith that those of the city of Sais have memories in writing of eight thousand yeares, and that the towne of Athens was built a thousand yeares before the city of Sais. Epicurus, that at one same time all things that are looke how we see them, they are all alike, and in the same fashion, in divers other Worlds, which he would have spoken more confidently had he seene the similitudes and correspondencies of this new-found world of the West Indies with ours, both present and past, by so many strange examples. Truly, when I consider what hath followed our learning by the course of this terrestriall policie, I have divers times wondered at my selfe, to see in so great a distance of times and places, the simpaty of jumping of so great a number of popular and wilde opinions, and of extravagant customes and beliefes, and which by no meanes seeme to hold with our naturall discourse. Man's spirit is a wonderfull worker of miracles. But this relation hath yet a kind of I wot not what more Heteroclitie: which is found both in names and in a thousand other things. For there were found Nations which (as far as we know) had never heard of us, where circumcision was held in request; where great states and common-wealths were maintained onely by women, and no men: where our fasts and Lent was represented, adding thereunto the abstinence from women; where our crosses were severall waies in great esteeme. In some places they adorned and honored their sepulchres with them, and elsewhere, especially that of Saint Andrew, they employed to shield themselves from nightly visions, and to lay them upon childrens couches, as good against enchantments and witch-crafts. In another place they found one made of wood, of an exceeding height, worshipped for the God of raine; which was thrust very deepe into the ground. There was found a very expresse and lively image of our Penitentiaries: the use of Miters, the Priestes single life; the Art of Divination by the entrailes of sacrificed beasts; the abstinence from all sorts of flesh and fish for their food; the order amongst Priests, in saying of their divine service, to use a not vulgar but a particular tongue; and this erroneous and fond conceipt, that the first God was expelled his

¹ LUCR. l. v. 1422.

² L. APUL. *De Deo*; SOCRAT.

throne by a younger brother of his : that they were at first created with all commodities, which afterward, by reason of their sinnes, were abridged them : that their territory hath bene changed ; that their naturall condition hath bene much impaired : that they have heretofore bene drowned by the inundation of Waters come from heaven ; that none were saved but a few families, which cast themselves into the cracks or hollows of high Mountaines, which crackes they stoped very close, so that the Waters could not enter in, having before shut therin many kinds of beasts : that when they perceived the Raine to cease and Waters to fall, they first sent out certaine doggs, which returned cleane-washt and wet, they judged that the waters were not yet much falne ; and that afterward sending out some other, which seeing to returne all muddy and foule, they issued forth of the mountaines, to repeople the world againe, which they found replenished onely with Serpents. There were places found where they used the perswasion of the day of judgement, so that they grew wondrous wroth and offended with the Spaniards, who in digging and searching of riches in their graves, scattered here and there the bones of their deceased friends, saying, that those dispersed bones could very hardly be reconjoynt together againe. They also found where they used traffick by exchange, and no otherwise ; and had Faires and Markets for that purpose : they found dwarfes, and such other deformed creatures, used for the ornament of Princes tables : they found the use of hawking and fowling according to the nature of their birdes : tyrannicall subsidies, and grievances upon subjects ; delicate and pleasant gardens ; dancing, tumbling, leaping, and juggling, musicke of instruments, armories, dicing-houses, tennis-courts, and casting lottes, or mumne-chaunce, wherein they are often so earnest and moody, that they will play themselves and their liberty : using no other physicke but by charmes : the manner of writing by figures : beleiving in one first man, universall father of all people. The adoration of one God, who heretofore lived man in perfect Virginitie, fasting, and penance, preaching the law of Nature, and the ceremonies of religion ; and who vanished out of the world without any naturall death : The opinion of Giants ; the use of drunkenness, with their manner of drinckes and drinking and pledging of healths ; religious ornaments painted over with bones and dead mens sculs ; surplices, holy Water, and holy Water sprinkles, Women and servants, which thrivingly present themselves to be

burned or entred with their deceased husbands or masters : a law that the eldest or first borne child shall succeed and inherit all ; where nothing is reserved for Punies, but obedience : a custome to the promotion of certaine officers of great authority, and where he that is promoted takes upon him a new name, and quitheth his owne : Where they use to cast lime upon the knees of new borne children, saying unto him : From dust thou camest, and to dust thou shalt returne againe : the Arts of Augures or prediction. These vaine shadowes of our religion, which are scene in some of these examples, witness the dignity and divinity thereof. It hath not onely in some sort insinuated it selfe among all infidell Nations on this side by some imitations, but amongst those barbarous Nations beyond, as it were by a common and supernaturall inspiration : For amongst them was also found the belief of Purgatory, but after a new forme : for, what we ascribe unto fire, they impute unto cold, and imagine that soules are both purged and punished by the vigor of an extreame coldnesse. This example putteth me in mind of another pleasant diversity : For, as there were some people found who tooke pleasure to unhood the end of their yard, and to cut off the fore-skinne after the manner of the Mahometans and Jewes, some there were found that made so great a conscience to unhood it, that with little strings they carried their fore-skin very carefully out-streched and fastened above, for feare that end should see the aire. And of this other diversity also, that as we honour our Kings and celebrate our Holydaies with decking and trimming our selves with the best habiliments we have ; in some regions there, to shew all disparity and submission to their King, their subjects present themselves unto him in their basest and meanest apparel ; and entring into his pallace, they take some old torne garment and put it over their other attire, to the end all the glory and ornament may shine in their Sovereigne and Maister.

But let us goe on : if Nature enclose within the limits of her ordinary progresse, as all other things, so the beliefs, the judgments, and the opinions of men ; if they have their revolutions, their seasons, their birth, and their death, even as cabbages : if heaven doth move, agitate and rowle them at his pleasure, what powerfull and permanent authority doe we ascribe unto them ? If by uncontrolled, experience we palpably touch, that the forme of our being depends of the aire, of the climate, and of the soile wherein we are borne, and not onely the hew, the stature, the complexion and the

countenance, but also the soules faculties: *Et plagæ cæli non solum ad roborem corporum, sed etiam animorum faciit*: "The climate helpeth not onely for strength of body, but of minds," saith Vegetius: And that the Goddesses, foundresse of the Citie of Athens, chose a temperature of a country to situate it in, that might make the men wise, as the Egyptian Priests taught Solon: *Athenis tenuis cælum: ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici: crassum Thebis: itaque pingues Thebani, et valentes*.¹ "About Athens is a thin aire, whereby those Country-men are esteemed the sharper witted: about Thebes the aire is grosse, and therefore the Thebans were grosse and strong of constitution." In such manner that as fruits and beasts doe spring up diverse and different; so men are borne either more or lesse warlike, martiall, just, temperate, and docile: here subject to wine, there to theft and whoredome; here inclined to superstition, addicted to misbelieving; here given to liberty; there to servitude; capable of some one art or science; grosse-witted or ingenious: either obedient or rebellious; good or bad, according as the inclination of the place beareth, where they are seated; and being removed from one soile to another (as plants are) they take a new complexion: which was the cause that Cirus would never permit the Persians to leave their barren, rough, and craggie Country, for to transport themselves into another, more gentle, more fertile, and more plaine: saying, that "fat and delicious countreies make men wanton and effeminate; and fertile soiles yeeld infertile spirits." If sometime wee see one art to flourish, or a believe, and sometimes another, by some heavenly influence; some ages to produce this or that nature, and so to encline mankind to this or that bias: mens spirits one while flourishing, another while barren, even as fields are seene to be; what become of all those goodly prerogatives wherewith we still flatter ourselves? Since a wise man may mistake himselfe; yea, many men, and whole nations; and as wee say, mans nature either in one thing or other, hath for many ages together mistaken her selfe. What assurance have we that at any time she leaveth her mistaking, and that she continueth not even at this day, in her error? Me thinkes amongst other testimonies of our imbecilities, this one ought not to be forgotten, that by wishing it selfe, man cannot yet finde out what he wanteth; that not by enjoying or possession, but by imagination and full wishing,

we cannot all agree in one that we most stand in need of, and would best content us. Let our imagination have free liberty to cut out and sew at her pleasure, she cannot so much as desire what is fittest to please and content her.

— *quid enim ratione timeamus
Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis,
ut te*

*Civatus non pœnitent, votique peracti?*²

By reason what doe we feare, or desire?
With such dexteritie what doest aspire,
But thou eftsoones repentest it,
Though thy attempt and vow doe hit?

That is the reason why Socrates never requested the gods to give him anything but what they knew to be good for him. And the publike and private prayer of the Lacedemonians did meerey implye that good and faire things might be granted them, remitting the election and choise of them to the discretion of the highest power.

*Coniugium petimus partumque uxoris, at illis
Notum qui pueri, qualisque futura sit uxor.*³

We wish a wife, wives breeding: we would know,
What children; shall our wife be sheep or shrow.

And the Christian beseecheth God, that his will may be done, least he should fall into that inconvenience which poets faine of King Midas, who requested of the Gods that whatsoever he toucht might be converted into gold: his praiers were heard, his wine was gold, his bread gold, the feathers of his bed, his shirt, and his garments were turned into gold, so that he found himselfe overwhelmed in the injoying of his desire, and being enrich with an intolerable commoditie, he must now unpray his prayers:

*Attonitus novitate mali, divesque miserrus,
Effugere optat opes, et que modo vocerat, odit.*³

Wretched and rich, amaz'd at so strange ill,
His riches he would flie, hates his owne will.

Let me speake of my selfe; being very yong I besought fortune above all things that she would make me a knight of the order of Saint Michael, which in those daies was very rare, and the highest tipe of honour the French nobilitie aymed at; she very kindly granted my request; I had it. In lieu of raising and advancing me from my place for the attaining of it, she hath much more graciously entreated me, she hath debased and depressed it, even unto my shoulders and under. Cleobis and Biton, Trophonius and Agamedes, the two

¹ Juv. Sat. x. 4.

² Ib. 352.

³ Ovid. Met. l. xi. 128.

¹ Çic. De Faço.

first having besought the Goddess, the two latter their God, of some recompence worthy their piete, received death for a reward. So much are heavenly opinions different from ours, concerning what we have need of. God might grant us riches, honours, long life and health, but many times to our owne hurt. For, whatsoever is pleasing to us, is not alwaies healthfull for us. If in lieu of former health he send us death, or some worse sicknesse: *Vir-*

manner of paine or sorrow, others for a man never to suffer himselfe to be carried away by appearances, and to this opinion seemeth this other of ancient Pithagoras to incline.

*Nil admirari, prope res est una, Numici, Solaque, quæ possit facere et servare beatum,*¹

Sir, nothing to admire, is th' only thing,
That may keepe happy, and to happy bring,
which is the end and scope of the Pyrrhonian Sect. Aristotle ascribeth unto magnanimity, as admiring and wonder at nothing. And an up-
judgement were

his providence, which more certainly considereth and regardeth what is meet for us then we ourselves can doe, and we ought to take it in good part as from a most wise and thrice-friendly hand.

— *si consilium vis,
Permites ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris:
Charior est illis homo quam sibi.*²

If you will counsell have, give the Gods leave
To weigh what is most meet we should receive,
And what for our estate most profit were:
To them, then to himselfe man is more deare.

For, to crave honours and charges of them, is to request them to cast you in some battle, or play at hazard, or some such thing, whereof the event is unknown to you, and the fruit uncertaine. There is no combat amongst philosophers so violent and sharpe as that which ariseth upon the question of mans chiefe felicitie, from which (according to Varroe's calculation) arose two hundred and foure score Sects. *Qui autem de summo bono dissentit, de tota Philosophia ratione disputat:* "But he that disagrees about the chiefe felicitie, calls in question the whole course of Philosophie.

*Tres mihi convivæ prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu quod iubet
alter:
Quod petis, id sand est inuisum acidumque
duobus.*³

Three guests of mine doe seeme almost at odds
to fall,
Whilest they with divers taste for divers things
doe call:
What should I give? What not? You will
not, what he will:
What you would, to them twaine is hatefull,
sowre and ill.

Nature should thus answer their contestations and debates. Some say our felicitie consisteth and is in vertue, others in voluptuousnesse, others in yielding unto Nature, some others in learning, others in feeling no

true felicitie; whereas consents and applications were vices and evils. True it is, that where he establisheth it for a certaine Axiome, he started from Pyrrhonisme. When the Pyrrhonians say that ataraxy is the chiefe felicitie, which is the immobilitie of judgement, their meaning is not to speake it affirmatively, but the very wavering of their mind, which makes them to shun downefalls, and to shrowd themselves under the shelter of calmenesse, presents this phantasie unto them, and makes them refuse another. Oh how much doe I desire that whilest I live, either some other learned men, or Iustus Lipsius, the most sufficient and learned man now living; of a most polished and judicious wit, true Cosin-germane to my Turnebus, had both will, health, and leisure enough, sincerely and exactly, according to their divisions and formes, to collect into one volume or register, as much as by us might be seene, the opinions of ancient philosophy, concerning the subject of our being and customes, their controversies the credit, and partaking of factions and sides, the application of the authors and sectators lives, to their precepts, in memorable and exemplarie accidents. O what a worthy and profitable labour would it be! Besides, if it be from our selves that we draw the regiment of our customes, into what a bottomles confusion doe we cast our selves? For what our reason perswades us to be most likely for it, is generally for every man to obey the lawes of his country, as is the advise of Socrates, inspired (saith he) by a divine perswasion. And what else meaneth she thereby, but only that our devoir or duty hath no other rule but casual? Truth ought to have a like and universall visage throughout the world. Law and justice, if man knew any, that had a body and true essence, he would not fasten it to the condition of this or that countries customes. It is not according to the Persians or Indians

¹ Psalm xxiii. 4.

² Juv. Sat. x. 346.

³ Hor. l. ii. Epist. ii. 61.

⁴ Hor. l. i. Epist. vi. 1.

fantazie that vertue should take her forme. Nothing is more subject unto a continuall agitation then the lawes, I have, since I was borne, seene those of our neighbours, the English-men, changed and re-changed three or foure times, not only in politike subjects, which is that some will dispense of constancy, but in the most important subject that possibly can be, that is to say, in religion; whereof I am so much the more both grieved and ashamed, because it is a nation with which my countreymen have heretofore had so inward and familiar acquaintance, that even to this day there remaine in my house some ancient monuments of our former alliance. Nay, I have seene amongst our selves some things become lawfull which erst were deemed capitall: and we that hold some others, are likewise in possibilitie, according to the uncertainty of warring fortune, one day or other, to be offenders against the Majestie both of God and man, if our justice chance to fall under the mercy of justice; and in the space of few yeares possession, taking a contrary essence. How could that aſcient God more evidently accuse, in humane knowledge, the ignorance of divine essence, and teach men that their religion was but a peece of their owne invention, fit to combine their societie, then in declaring, as he did, to those which sought the instruction of it, by his sacred Tripos, that the true worshipping of God was that which he found to be observed by the custome of the place where he lived? Oh God, what bond or dutie is it that we owe not to our Sovereigne Creators benigntie, in that he hath bene pleased to cleare and enfranchise our beliefs from those vagabonding and arbitrary devotions, and fix it upon the eternall base of his holy word? What will Philosophie then say to us in this necessity? that we follow the lawes of our country, that is to say, this waving sea of a peoples or of a Princes opinions, which shall paint me forth justice with as many colours, and reforme the same into as many visages as there are changes and alterations of passions in them. I cannot have my judgement so flexible. What goodnesse is that which but yesterday I saw in credit and esteeme, and to morrow to have lost all reputation, and that the crossing of a river is made a crime? What truth is that which these Mountaines bound, and is a lie in the world beyond them? But they are pleasant, when to fliew the lawes some certaintie, they say that there be some firme, perpetuall and immoveable which they call naturall, and by the condition of their proper essence, are imprinted in man-

kind: of which some make three in number some foure, some more, some lesse: an evident token that it is a marke as doubtfull as the rest. Now are they so unfortunate (for how can I terme that but misfortune, that of so infinit a number of lawes there is not so much as one to be found which the fortune or temeritie of chance hath graunted to be universally received, and by the consent of unanimitie of all Nations to be admitted?) they are (I say) so miserable that of these three or four choice-selected lawes there is not one alone that is not impugned or disallowed, not by one nation, but by many. Now is the generalitie of approbation the onely likely ensigne by which they may argue some lawes to be naturall; for what nature had indeed ordained us, that should we doubtlesse follow with one common consent; and not one onely nation, but every man in particular should have a feeling of the force and violence which he should urge him with, that would incite him to contrarie and resist that law. Let them all (for example sake) shew me but one of this condition. Protagoras and Ariston gave the justice of the lawes no other essence, but the authority and opinion of the law giver, and that excepted, both good and honest lost their qualities, and remained but vaine and idle names of indifferent things. Thrasymachus, in Plato, thinks there is no other right but the commoditie of the superiour. There is nothing wherein the world differeth so much as in customes and lawes. Some things are here accompted abominable, which in another place are esteemed commendable; as in Lacedemonia, the slight and subtlety in stealing marriages in proximity of blood are amongst us forbidden as capitall, elsewhere they are allowed and esteemed:

— *gentes esse feruntur,
In quibus et nato genitrix, et nata parenti
Iungitur, et pietas gemitato crescit amore.*¹

There are some people, where the mother weddeth

Her sonne, the daughter her owne father beddeth,

And so by doubling love, their kindnesse spreddeth.

The murdering of children and of parents; the communication with women; traffic of robbing and stealing; free licence to all manner of sensuality; to conclude, there is nothing so extreme and horrible, but is found to be received and allowed by the custome of some nation. It is credible that there be naturall lawes, as may be seene in other

¹ *Circa. Metam. l. x. 351.*

creatures, but in us they are lost: this goodly humane reason engrafting it self among all men, to sway and command, confounding and topsl-turving the visage of all things according to her inconstant vanitie and vaine inconsistency. *Nihil itaque amplius nostrum est, quod nostrum dico, artis est*: "Therefore nothing more is ours: all that I call ours belongs to art." Subjects have divers lustres, and severall considerations, whence the diversity of opinion is chiefly engendred. One nation vieweth a subject with one visage, and thereon it staies; an other with an other. Nothing can be imagined so horrible as for one to eate and devour his owne father. Those people which anciently kept this custome hold it neverthesse for a testimonie of pietie and good affection: seeking by that meane to give their fathers the worthiest and most honourable sepulchre, harboring their fathers bodies and reliques in themselves, and in their marrow; in some sort reviving and regenerating them by the transmutation made in their quicke flesh by digestion and nourishment. It is easie to be considered what abomination and cruelty it had beene, in men accustomed and trained in this inhumane superstition, to cast the carcasses of their parents into the corruption of the earth, as food for beasts and wormes. Lyncurgus wisely considereth in theft, the vivacitie, diligence, courage, and nimblenesse that is required in surprising or taking any thing from ones neighbour, and the commoditie which thereby redoundeth to the common-wealth, that every man heedeth more curiously the keeping of that which is his owne, and judged that by this twofold institution to assaile and to defend, much good was drawne for military discipline (which was the principall Science and chiefe vertue, wherein he would enable that nation) of greater respect and more consideration than was the disorder and injustice of pre-vailling and taking other mens goods. Dionysius, the tyrant, offered Plato a robe made after the Persian fashion, long, damask, and perfumed: but he refused the same, saying, "That being borne a man, he would not willingly put on a womans garment." But Aristippus tooke it, with this answer, "That no garment could corrupt a chaste mind." His friends reproved his demisenesse in being so little offended, that Dionysius had spitten in his face. "Tut (said he) "fishers suffer themselves to be washed over head and eares to get a gudgion." Diogenes washing of coleworts for his dinner, seeing him passe by, said unto him, "If thou couldest live with coleworts, thou wouldest not court and fawne upon a tyrant;"

to whom Aristippus replied, "If thou couldest live among men, thou wouldest not wash coleworts." See here how reason yeeldeth apparence to divers effects. It is a pitcher with two eares, which a man may take hold on, either by the right or left hand.

— bellum & terra hospita portas,
Bello armantur equi, bellum hac arma mentantur:
Sed tamen iidem olim curru succedere sueti
Quadrupedes, et frana jugo concordia ferre,
*Spes est pacis.*¹

O stranger-harb'ring land, thou bringst us warre;
Steeds serve for warre;
These heards doe threaten jarre.
Yet horses erst were wont to draw our waines,
And harness matches beare agreeing raines,
Hope is hereby that wee
In peace shall well agree.

Solon being importuned not to shed vaine and bootles teares for the death of his sonne; "Thats the reason (answered hee) I may more justly shed them, because they are bootlesse and vaine." Socrates, his wife, exasperated her griefe by this circumstance. "Good Lord (said she) how unjustly doe these bad judges put him to death." "What! wouldest thou rather they should execute me justly?" replied he to her. It is a fashion amongst us to have holes bored in our eares: the Greekes held it for a badge of bondage. We hide our selves when we will enjoy our wives: the Indians doe it in open view of all men. The Scythians were wont to sacrifice strangers in their Temples, whereas in other places Churches are Sanctuaries for them.

Inde furor vulgi, quod numina vicinorum
Odit quisque locus, cum solos credat habendos
*Esse Deos quos ipse colit.*²

The vulgar hereupon doth rage, because
Each place doth hate their neighbours sove-
raigne lawes,
And onely Gods doth deeme,
Those Gods, themselves esteeme.

I have heard it reported of a Judge who, when he met with any sharp conflict betweene Bartolus and Baldus, or with any case admitting contrarietie, was wont to write in the margin of his book, "A question for a friend," which is to say, that the truth was so entangled and disputable that in such a case he might favour which party he should thinke good. There was no want but of spirit and sufficiency, if he set not every where through his books, "A question for a friend." The Advocates and Judges of our time find in all cases byases too-too-many to fit them where they think good.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iii. 559.

² JUV. *Sat.* xv. 36.

To so infinite a science, depending on the authority of so many opinions, and of so arbitrary a subject, it cannot be but that an exceeding confusion of judgements must arise. There are very few processes so cleare but the Lawiers advises upon them will be found to differ: What one company hath judged another will adjudge the contrary, and the very same will another time change opinion. Whereof we see ordinarie examples by this licence which wonderfully blemisheth the authoritie and lustre of our law, never to stay upon one sentence, but to run from one to another judge, to decide one same case. Touching the libertie of Philosophicall opinions concerning vice and vertue, it is a thing needing no great extension, and wherein are found many advises which were better unspoken then published to weake capacities. Arcesilaus was wont to say that in palliardize it was not worthy consideration, where, on what side, and how it was done. *Et ob-cenas voluptates, si natura requirit, non genera, aut loco, aut ordine, sed forma, etate, figura metiendus Epicurus putat. Ne amores quidem sanctos à sapiente alienos esse arbitrantur. Quæramus ad quam usque, etatem iuvenes amandi sint: "Obscene pleasures, if nature require them, the Epicure esteemeth not to be measured by kind, place, or order: but by forme, age, and fashion. Nor doth he thinke that holy loves should be strange from a wise man. Let us then question to what years yong folke may be beloved." These two last Stoicke places, and upon this purpose, the reproch of Diogarchus to Plato himselfe, shew how many excessive licences and out of common use soundest Philosophy doth tolerate. Lawes take their authoritie from possession and custome. It is dangerous to reduce them to their beginning: In rowling on they swell and grow greater and greater, as doe our rivers: follow them upward into their source, and you shall find them but a bubble of water, scarce to be discerned, which in gliding on swelleth so proud and gathers so much strength. Behold the ancient considerations which have given the first motion to this famous torrent, so full of dignitie, of honour and reverence, you shall finde them so light and weake that these men which will weigh all and complaine of reason, and who receive nothing upon trust and authoritie, it is no wonder if their judgments are often far distant from common judgement.* Men that take Natures first image for a patterne it is no marvaile if in most of their opinions they miss the common-beaten path. As for example few amongst them would have*

approved the false conditions of our marriages, and most of them would have had women in community and without any private respect. They refused our ceremonies: Chrysippus said that some Philosophers would in open view of all men shew a dozen of tumbling-tricks, yea, without any slops or breeches, for a dozen of olives. He would hardly have perswaded Calisthenes to refuse his faire daughter Agarista to Hippocledes, because he had seen him graft the forked tree in her upon a table. Metrocles somewhat indiscreetly, as he was disputing in his Schole, in presence of his auditory, let a fart, for shame whereof he afterwards kept his house and could not be drawn abroad untill such time as Crates went to visit him, who to his perswasions and reasons, adding the example of his liberty, began to fart a vie with him and to remove this scruple from off his conscience; and moreover won him to his Stoicall (the more free) Sect, from the Peripateticall (and more civill) one, which thetherunto he had followed. That which we call civillie not to dare to doe that openly, which amongst us is both lawfull and honest, being done in secret, they termed folly: And to play the wilie Foxe in concealing and disclaiming what nature, custome, and our desire publish and proclaime of our actions, they deemed to be a vice. And thought it a suppressing of Venus her mysteries to remove them from out the private vestry of her temple, and expose them to the open view of the people. And that to draw her sports from out the curtines was to loose them. Shame is matter of some consequence. Concealing, reservation and circumspection are parts of estimation. That sensuality under the maske of Vertu did very ingeniously procure not to be prostituted in the midst of highwaies, not trodden upon and seen by the common sort, alledging the dignity and commodity of her wonted Cabinets. Whereupon some say that to forbid and remove the common brothel-houses is not only to spread whoredome every where, which only was allotted to those places, but also to incite idle and vagabond men to that vice by reason of the difficultie.

*Mechus est Aufidius qui vir Corvine fuisse,
Rivalis fuerat qui tuus, ille vir est.
Cur aliena placet tibi, quæ tua non placet uxor?
Nimquid securus non potes arrigere?*¹

This experience is diversified by a thousand examples,

*Nullus in urbe fuit tota, qui tangere vellet
Uxorem gratis Cæciliæ tuam,
Dum licuit: sed nunc positus custodibus, ingens
Turba fututorum est, ingeniosus homo es.*²

¹ MART. l. iii. *Epig.* lxx. ² Ib. l. i. *Epig.* lxxiv.

A Philosopher being taken with the deed, was demanded what he did; answered very mildly, "I plant man," blushing no more being found so napping than if he had been taken setting of Garlike. It is (as I suppose) of a tender and respective opinion that a notable and religious Author holds this action so necessarily-bound to secrecy and shame, that in Cynike embracements and dalliances he could not be perswaded that the worke should come to her end; but rather that it lingred and staid only to represent wanton gestures and lascivious motions, to maintaine the impudency of their schooles profession: and that to powre forth what shame had forced and bashfullnesse restrained, they had also afterward need to seeke some secret place. He had not seeme far enough into their licentiousnesse: for Diogenes in sight of all, exercising his Masturbation, bred a longing desire in the by-standers, that in such sort they might fill their bellies by rubbing or clawing the same. To those that asked him why he sought for no fitter place to feed in then in the open frequented high-way, he made answer, "It is because I am hungry in the open frequented high-way." The Philosophers Women, which medled with their Sects, did likewise in all places and without any discretion meddle with their bodies: And Crates had never received Hipparchia into his fellowship but upon condition to follow aⁿ the customes and fashions of his order. These Philosophers set an extreme rate on vertue and rejected all other disciplins except the mortall; hence it is that in all actions they ascribed the Sovereigne authority to the election of their wise, yea, and above all lawes: and appointed no other restraint unto voluptuousness but the moderation and preservation of others liberty. Heraclitus and Protagoras, forso-much as wine seemeth bitter unto the sicke and pleasing to the healthy; and an oare crooked in the water and straight to them that see it above water, and such-like contrary apparances which are found in some subjects; argued that all subjects had the causes of these apparances in them, and that there was some kind of bitterness in the wine which had a reference unto the sick mans taste; in the oare a certain crooked qualitie, having relation to him that seeth it in the water. And so of all things else. Which implieth, that all is in all things, and by consequence nothing in any: for either nothing is, or all is. This opinion put me in mind of the experience we have, that there is not any one sense or visage, either straight or crooked, bitter or sweet, but mans wit shall find in the writings which he

undertaketh to runne over. In the purest, most unspotted, and most absolutely perfect word that possibly can be, how many errors, falsehoods and lies have beene made to proceed from it? What heresie hath not found testimonies and ground sufficient, both to undertake and to maintaine itself? It is, therefore, that the Authors of such errors will never goe from this prooffe of the testimony of words interpretation. A man of worth going about by authority to approve the search of the Philosophers stone (wherein he was overwhelmed) alleaded at least five or six several passages out of the holy bible unto me, upon which (he said) he had at first grounded himselfe, for the discharge of his conscience (for he is a man of Ecclesiastical profession), and truly the invention of them was not only pleasant, but also very fitly applied to the defence of this goodly and mind-inchanting science. This way is the credit of divining fables attained to. There is no prognosticator if he have but this authority that any one will but vouchsafe to read him over, and curiously to search all the infoldings and lustres of his words, but a man shall make him say what he pleaseth, as the Sibils. There are so many means of interpretation that it is hard, be it flat-long, side-long, or edge-long, but an ingenious and pregnant wit shall in all subjects meet with some aire that wil fit his turn. Therefore is a cloudy, darke and ambiguous stile found in so frequent and ancient custome, that the Author may gaine to draw, allure, and busie posterity to himselfe, which not only the sufficiency but the casual favour of the matter may gaine as much or more. As for other matters let him, be it either through foolishnes or subtilty, shew himself somewhat obscure and divers, it is no matter, care not he for that. A number of spirits sifting and tossing him over will finde and express sundry formes, either according, or collaterally, or contrary to his owne, all which shall do him credit. He shal see himselfe enriched by the meanes of his Disciples, as the Grammer Schoole Maisters. It is that which hath made many things of nothing, to pass very currant, that hath brought divers books in credit, and charged with all sorts of matter that any hath but desired one selfsame thing admitting a thousand and a thousand, and as many severall images and divers considerations, as it best pleaseth us. Is it possible that ever Homer meant all that which some make him to have meant? And that he prostrated himselfe to so many, and so severall shapes, as, Divines, Lawiers, Captaines, Philosophers, and all sort of people else,

which, how diversly and contrary soever it be they treat of sciences, do notwithstanding wholly rely upon him, and refer themselves unto him; as a Generall Maister for all offices, workes, sciences, and tradesmen, and an universall counsellor in all enterprises? whosoever hath had need of Oracles or Predictions, and would apply them to himselfe, hath found them in him for his purpose. A notable man, and a good friend of mine, would make one marvel to heare what strange far-fetcht conceits and admirable affinities, in favor of our religion, he maketh to derive from him; and can hardly be drawne from this opinion, but that such was Homers intent and meaning (yet is Homer so familiar unto him, as I thinke no man of our age is better acquainted with him). And what he finds in favour of our religion, many ancient learned men have found in favour of theirs. See how Plato is tossed and turned over, every man endeavoring to apply him to his purpose, giveth him what construction he list. He is wrested and inferted to all new-fangled opinions that the world receiveth or alloweth of, and according to the different course of subjects is made to be repugnant unto himselfe. Every one according to his sense makes him to disavow the customes that were lawfull in his daies, inasmuch as they are unlawfull in these times. All which is very lively and strongly maintained, according as the wit and learning of the interpreter is strong and quicke. Upon the ground which Heraclitus had, and that sentence of his, that all things had those shapes in them which men found in them. And Democritus out of the very same drew a cleane contrarie conclusion, id est, that subjects had nothing at all in them of that which we found in them. And forasmuch as honny was sweet to one man and bitter to another, he argued that honny was neither sweet nor bitter. The Pyrrhonians would say, they know not whether it be sweet or bitter, or both, or neither: for, they ever gain the highest point of doubting. The Cyrenaicks held that nothing was perceptible outwardly, and only that was perceivable which by the inward touch or feeling touched or concerned us, as griefe and sensuality, distinguishing neither tune nor colours, but onely certaine affections that came to us of them; and that man had no other seate of his judgment. Protagoras deemed that to be true to all men, which to all men seemeth so. The Epicurians place all judgment in the senses, and in the notice of things, and in voluptuousnesse. Platoes mind was, that the judgment of truth, and truth it selfe drawne from opinions and senses, belonged to the spirit and to

cogitation. This discourse hath drawne me to the consideration of the senses, wherein consisteth the greatest foundation and triall of our ignorance. Whatsoever is knowne, is without peradventure knowne by the faculty of the knower: for, since the judgment commeth from the operation of him that judgeth, reason requireth that he performe and act this operation by his meanes and will, and not by others compulsion; as it would follow if wee knew things by the force, and according to the law of their essence. Now all knowledge is addressed unto us by the senses; they are our maisters:

— *via qua munita fidei*
*Proxima fert humanum in pectus, templaque mentis:*¹

Whereby a way for credit leads well-linde
Into man's breast and temple of his minde.

Science begins by them and in them is resolved. After all, we should know no more then a stone, unlesse we know that here is sound, smell, light, savor, measure, weight, softnesse, hardnesse, sharpnesse, colour, smoothnesse, breadth and depth. Behold here the platforme of all the frame and principles of the building of all our knowledge. And according to some, science is nothing else but what is knowne by the senses. Whosoever can force me to contradict my senses, hath me fast by the throate, and cannot make me recoyle one foote backward. The senses are the beginning and end of humane knowledge.

Invenies primis ab sensibus esse creatam
Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli.
Quid maiore fide porro, quam sensus, haberi
*Debet?*²

You shall find knowledge of the truth at first
was bred
From our first senses, nor can senses be misse-
led.
What, then our senses, should
With us more credit hold?

Attribute as little as may be unto them, yet must this ever be granted them, that all our instruction is addressed by their meanes and intermission. Cicero saith that Chrysippus having assaid to abate the power of his senses, and of their vertue, presented contrary arguments unto himselfe, and so vehement oppositions, that he could not satisfie himselfe. Whereupon Carneades (who defended the contrary part) boasted that he used the very same weapons and words of Chrysippus to combat against him; and therefore cried out upon him, "Oh miserable man! thine owne strength hath foiled thee." There is no greater absurdity

¹ LUCR. l. v. 102.

² ID. l. iv. 480, 484.

in our judgment, then to maintaine that fire heateth not, that light shineth not, that in iron there is neither weight nor firmnesse, which are notices our senses bring unto us : Nor beliefe or science in man, that may be compared unto that, in certaintie. The first consideration I have upon the senses subject is, that I make a question, whether man be provided of all naturall senses, or no. I see divers creatures that live an entire and perfect life, some without sight, and some without hearing ; who knoweth whether we also want either one, two, three, or many senses more : For, if we want any one, our discourse cannot discover the want or defect thereof. It is the senses privileged to be the extreme bounds of our perceiving. There is nothing beyond them that may steend us to discover them : No one sense can discover another.

An poterunt oculos aures reprehendere, an aures tactus, an hunc porro tactum saepe arguet oris, An confutabunt uires, oculive revincent ?

Can eares the eyes, or can touch reprehend
The eares, or shall mouthes taste that touch
amend ?

Shall our nose it confute,
Or eyes gainst it dispute ?

They all make the extreamest line of our facultie.

scorsum cuique potestas

Divisa est, sua vis cuique est.

To teach distinctly might
Is shar'de, each hath its right.

It is impossible to make a man naturally blind, to conceive that he seeth not ; impossible to make him desire to see, and sorrow his defect. Therefore ought we not to take assurance that our mind is contented and satisfied with those we have, seeing it hath not wherewith to feel her owne malady, and perceive her imperfection, if it be in any. It is impossible to tell that blind man any thing, either by discourse, argument, or similitude, that lodgeth any apprehension of light, colour, or sight in his imagination. There is nothing more backward that may push the senses to any evidence. The blind-borne, which we perceive desire to see, it is not to understand what they require ; they have learnt of us that something they want, and something they desire, that is in us, with the effects and consequences thereof, which they call good : yet wot not they what it is, nor apprehend they it neere or far. I have seene a gentleman of a good house, borne blind, at least blind in such an age that he knowes not what sight is ; he understandeth so little what he wanteth, that as we doe, he useth words fitting sight,

and applieth them after a manner onely proper and peculiar to himselfe. A child being brought before him to whom he was god-father, taking him in his armes, he said, "Good Lord, what a fine child this is ! it is a goodly thing to see him. What a careful countenance he hath ! how prettily he looketh !" He will say as one of us, "This hath a faire prospect. It is very faire weather. The Sunne shines cleare." Nay, which is more : because hunting, hawking, tennis-play, and shuting at butts are our common sports and exercises (for so he hath heard) his mind will be so affected unto them, and he wil so busie himselfe about them, that he will thinke to have as great an interest in them as any of us, and shew himselfe as earnestly passionate, both in liking and disliking them, as any else ; yet doth he conceive and receive them but by hearing. If he be in a faire champion ground, where he may ride, they will tell him, yonder is a Hare started, or the Hare is killed, he is as busily earnest of his game as he heareth others to be that have perfect sight. Give him a ball, he takes it in the left hand, and with the right strikes it away with his racket ; in a piece he shutes at randome ; and is well pleased with what his men tell him, be it high or wide. Who knowes whether mankind commit as great a folly, for want of some sense, and that by this default the greater part of the visage of things be concealed from us ? Who knowes whether the difficulties we find in sundry of Natures workes proceede thence ? And whether diverse effects of beasts, which exceed our capacitie, are produced by the facultie of some sense that we want ? And whether some of them have by that meane a fuller and more perfect life than ours ? We seize on an apple wel nigh with all our senses ; we find rednesse, smoothnesse, odor and sweetnesse in it ; besides which, it may have other vertues, either drying or binding, to which we have no sense to be referred. The proprieties which in many things we call secret, as in the Adamant to draw iron, is it not likely there should be sensitive faculties in nature able to judge and perceive them, the want whereof breedeth in us the ignorance of the true essence of such things ? It is happily some particular sense that unto cockes or chanticleares discovereth the morning and midnight houre, and moveth them to crow ; that teacheth a hen, before any use or experience, to feare a hawke and not a goose or a peacocke, farre greater birds : that warneth young chickens of the hostile qualitie which the cat hath against them, and not to distrust a dog ; to strut and arme themselves against

the mewling of the one (in some sort a flattering and milde voice) and not against the barking of the other (a snarling and quarrelous voice): that instructeth rats, wasps, and emmets, ever to chuse the best cheese and fruit, having never tasted them before: and that addresseth the stag, the elephant, and the serpent, to the knowledge of certaine herbs and simples, which, being either wounded or sicke, have the vertue to cure them. There is no sense but hath some great domination, and which by his meane affordeth not an infinite number of knowledges. If we were to report the intelligence of sounds, of harmony and of the voice, it would bring an imaginable confusion to all the rest of our learning and science. For, besides what is tyed to the proper effect of every sense, how many arguments, consequences, and conclusions draw we unto other things, by comparing one sense to another? Let a skilfull, wise man but imagine humane nature to be originally produced without sight and discourse, how much ignorance and trouble such a defect would bring unto him, and what obscurity and blindness in our mind. By that shall we perceive how much the privation of one, or two, or three such senses (if there be any in us) doth import us about the knowledge of truth. We have by the consultation and concurrence of our five senses formed one Verity, whereas peradventure there was required the accord and consent of eight or ten senses, and their contribution, to attaine a perspicuous insight of her, and see her in her true essence. Those Sects which combat mans science, doe principally combat the same by the uncertainty and feebleness of our senses. For, since by their meane and intermission all knowledge comes unto us, if they chance to misse in the report they make unto us, if either they corrupt or alter that, which from abroad they bring unto us, if the light which by them is transported into our soule be obscured in the passage, we have nothing else to hold by. From this extreme difficultie are sprung all these phantazies, which everie subject containeth, whatsoever we finde in it, that it hath not what we suppose to finde in it, and that of the Epicurians, which is, that the sunne is no greater than our sight doth judge it:

*Quicquid id est, nihil fertur maiore figura,
Quam nostris oculis quam cernimus esse videtur.*¹

What'e'r it be, it is no greater forme doth

present,
Then to our eyes, which it behold, it seem-
ing was:

that the apparances, which represent a great body to him that is neare unto it, and a much lesser to him that is further from it, are both true;

*Nec tamen hic oculis falli concedimus hilum:
Proinde animi vitium hoc oculis adfingere noli:*

Yet graunt we not, in this, our eyes deceiv'd or blind,

Impute not then to eyes this error of the mind:

and resolutely, that there is no deceit in the senses; that a man must stand to their mercy, and elsewhere seek reasons to excuse the difference and contradiction we find in them; yea invent all other untruthes and raving conceits (so farre come they) rather than accuse the senses. Timagoras swore, that howsoever he winked or turned his eyes, he could never perceive the light of the candle to double: and that this seeming proceeded from the vice of opinion, and not from the instrument. Of all absurdities the most absurd amongst the Epicurians is to disavow the force and effect of the senses.

*Proinde quod in quoque est his visum tempore,
verum est:*

*Et si non potuit ratio dissolvere causam,
Cur ea quæ fuerint iuxta quadrata, procul*

*Visarotunda: tamen præstat rationis egentem
Reddere mendosæ causas utriusque figuræ,
Quam manibus manifesta suis emittere quo-
quam,*

*Et violare fidem primam, et convellere tota
fundamenta, quibus nixatur vita salusque.
Non modo enim ratio ruat omnis, vita quoque
ipsa*

*Concidat extemplo, nisi credere sensibus ausis,
Præcipientes locos vitare, et cætera quæ sint
In genere hoc fugienda.*²

What by the eyes is seene at any time, is true,
Though the cause Reason could not render of the
view,

Why, what was square at hand, a farre off seemed
round,

Yet it much better were, that wanting reasons
ground

The causes of both formes we harp-on, but not
hit,

Then let slip from our hands things cleare, and
then omit,

And violate our first beliefe, and rashly rend
All those ground-workes, whereon both life and
health depend,

For not alone all reason falls, life likewise must
Faile out of hand, unlesse your senses you dare
trust,

And breake-necke places, and all other errors
shunne,

From which we in this kinde most carefully should
runne.

This desperate and so little Philosophicall
counsell, represents no other thing but that
humane science cannot be maintained but

by unreasonable, fond and mad reason ; yet is it better that man use it to prevaile, yea and of all other remedies else how phantasticall soever they be, rather than avow his necessarie foolishnesse : So prejudiciall and disadvantageous a veritie he cannot avoide, but senses must necessarily be the Sovereigne maisters of his knowledge ; but they are uncertaine and falsifiable to all circumstances. There must a man strike to the utmost of his power, and if his just forces faile him (as they are wont) to use and employ obstinacie, temeritie and impudencie. If that which the Epicurians affirme, be true, that is to say, we have no science, if the apparances of the senses be false, and that which the Stoicks say, if it is also true that the senses apparences are so false as they can produce us no science ; we will conclude at the charges of these two great Dogmatist Sects, that there is no science. Touching the error and uncertaintie of the senses operation, a man may store himselfe with as many examples as he pleaseth, so ordinary are the faults and deceits they use towards us. And the echoing or reporting of a valley, the sound of a trumpet seemeth to sound before us, which cometh a mile behind us.

*Exstantesque procul medio de gurgite montes
Idem apparent longe diversi licet.¹
Et fugere ad puppim colles campique videntur
Quos agimus præter navim.²*

*— ubi in medio nobis equus accip obhasit
Flumine, equi corpus transversum ferre videtur
Vis, et in adversum flumen contrudere raptim.³*

And hills, which from the maine far-off to kenning stand,
Appeare all one, though they farre distant be, at hand,
And hilles and fields doe seeme unto our boate to flie,
Which we drive by our boate as we doe passe thereby,
When in midst of a streame a stately Horse doth stay,
The streame's orethwarting seemes his body crosse to sway,
And swiftly 'gainst the streame to thrust him th' other way.

To roule a bullet under the fore finger, the midlemost being put over it, a man must very much enforce himselfe to affirm there is but one, so assuredly doth our sense present us two. That the senses do often maister our discourse, and force it to receive impressions which he knoweth and judgeth to be false, it is daily scene. I leave the sense of feeling which hath his functions neerer more quicke and substantiall, and which by the effect of the griefe or paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-inverse all these goodly

Stoicall resolutions, and enforceth to cry out of the belly-ache him who hath with all resolution established in his mind this doctrine, that the cholike, as every other sicknesse or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate any thing of soveraigne good or chiefe felicity, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue : there is no heart so demisse, but the rattling sound of a drum or the clang of a trumpet will rowse and inflame ; nor mind so harsh and sterne, but the sweetnesse and harmony of musick will move and tickle ; nor any soule so skittish and stubborne, that hath not a feeling of some reverence in considering the cloudy vastitie and gloomie canopies of our churches, the eye-pleasing diversitie of ornaments, and orderly order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout and religious sound of our organs, the moderate, symphonically, and heavenly harmonie of our voices : even those that enter into them with an obstinate will and contemning minde have in their hearts a feeling of remorse, of chillesse and horreur, that puts them into a certaine diffidence of their former opinions. As for me, I distrust mine owne strength to heare with a settled minde some of Horace or Catullus verses sung with a sufficiently well tuned voice, uttered by and proceeding from a faire, yong, and hart-alluring mouth. And Zeno had reason to say that the voice was the flower of beautie. Some have gone about to make me beleeve that a man, who most of us French men know, in repeating certaine verses he had maide, had imposed upon me that they were not such in writing as in the aire, and that mine eyes would judge of them otherwise than mine eares : so much credit hath pronunciation to give price and fashion to those workes that passe at her mercy ; whereupon Philoxenus was not to be blamed, when hearing one to give an ill accent to some composition of his, he tooke in a rage some of his pots or bricks, and breaking them, trode and trampled them under his feet, saying unto him, "I breake and trample what is thine, even as thou manglest and marrest what is mine." Wherefore did they (who with an undanted resolve have procured their owne death, because they would not see the blow or stroke coming) turne their face away ? And those who for their healths sake cause themselves to be cut and cauterized, why cannot they endure the sight of the preparations, tooles, instruments and workes of the Chirurgion, since the sight can have no part of the paine or smart ? Are not these fit examples to verifie the authoritie which senses have over discourse ? We may long enough know

¹ LUCR. l. iv. 398.² *Ib.* 390.³ *Ib.* 423.

that such a ones lockes or flaring tresses are borrowed of a page or taken from some lacky, that this faire ruby-red came from Spaine, and this whitenes or smoothnes from the ocean sea : yet must sight force us to find and deeme the subject more lovely and more pleasing against all reason. For in that there is nothing of its owne.

*Auferimur cultu; gemmis, aurâque teguntur
Crimina, pars minima est ipsa puella sui.
Sæpe ubi sit quod ames inter tam multa
requiras :*

Decipit hæc oculos Agide dives amor.¹

We are misse-led by ornaments : what is amisse Gold and gemmes cover, least part of her selfe the maiden is,
'Mongst things so many you may aske, where your love lies,
Rich love by this Gorgonian shield deceives thine eyes.

How much doe Poets ascribe unto the vertue of the senses which makes Narcissus to have even fondly lost himselfe for the love of his shadow ?

*Cunctaque miratur, quibus est mirabilis ipse,
Se cepit imprudens, et qui probat, ipse probatur,
Dumque petit, petitur : pariterque accendit et
ardet.²*

He all admires, whereby himselfe is admirable, Fond he, fond of himselfe, to himselfe amiable, He that doth like, is lik'd, and while he doth desire :

He is desired, at once he burnes and sets on fire

And Pygmalions wit's so troubled by the impression of the sight of his ivory statue that hee loves and serves it as if it had life :

*Osculadat, reddique putat, sequiturque, tenet-
que,*

*Et credit tactis digitos insidere membris,
Et metuit pressos veniat ne livor in artus.³*

He kisses, and thinks kisses come againe, He sues, pursues, and holds, beleeves in vaine His fingers sinke where he doth touch the place, And feares least black and blew toucht-lims de-face.

Let a Philosopher be put in a cage made of small and thin-set iron wire, and hanged on the top of our Ladies Church steeple in Paris ; he shall, by evident reason, perceive that it is impossible he should fall down out of it : yet can he not choose (except he have beene brought up to the trade of tilers or thatchers) but the sight of that exceeding height must needs dazle his sight, and amaze or turne his senses. For we have much ado to warrant our selves in the walk or battlements of an high tower or steeple, if they be battlemented and wrought with pillars, and somewhat wide one from

another, although of stone and never so strong. Nay, some there are that can scarcely think or heare of such heights. Let a beame or planke be laid acrossed from one of those two steeples to the other, as big, as thick, as strong, and as broad as would suffice any man to walke safely upon it, there is no philosophicall wisdom of so great resolution and constancie that is able to encourage and perswade us to march upon it, as we would were it below on the ground. I have sometimes made triall of it upon our mountaines on this side of Italic, yet am I one of those that will not easily be affrighted with such things, and I could not without horror to my minde and trembling of legs and thighs endure to looke on those infinite precipices and steepy downe-falls, though I were not neere the brim, nor any danger within my length and more ; and unless I had willingly gone to the perill, I could not possibly have falne. Where I also noted that how deep soever the bottome were, if but a tree, a shrub, or any out-butting crag of a rock presented it selfe unto our eyes upon those steepe and high Alpes, somewhat to uphold the sight ; and divide the same, it doth somewhat ease and assure us from feare, as if it were a thing which in our fall might either helpe or uphold us : and that we cannot without some dread and giddinesse in the head so much as abide to looke upon one of those even and downe-right precipices : *Vt despicere vertigine simul oculorum animique non possit :* "So as they cannot looke downe without giddinesse both of eyes and mindes : " which is an evident deception of the sight. Therefore was it that a worthy Philosopher pulled out his eyes that so he might discharge his soule of the seducing and diverting he received by them, and the better and more freely apply himselfe unto Philosophy. But by this account, he should also have stopped his eares, which (as Theophrastus said) are the most dangerous instruments we have to receive violent and sodaine impressions to trouble and alter us, and should in the end have deprived himself of all his other senses ; that is to say, both of his being and life. For they have the power to command our discourses and sway our minde : *Fit etiam sæpe specie quadam, sæpe vocum gravitate et cantibus, ut pellantur animi vehementius : sæpe etiam cura et timore.*¹ "It comes to passe that many times our mindes are much moved with some shadow, many times with deep sounding or singing of voices, many times with care and feare." Physitians hold

¹ OVID, *Rem. Am.* l. i. 343.

² *Ib.* *Metam.* l. iii. 424.

³ *Ib.* l. x. 256.

¹ Cic. *Div.* l. i.

that there are certaine complexions which by some sounds and instruments are agitated even unto furie. I have seene some who, without infringing their patience, could not well heare a bone gnawne under their table : and we see few men but are much troubled at that sharpe, harsh, and teeth-edging noise that smiths make in filing of brasse, or scraping of iron and steele together : others will be offended if they but heare one chew his meat somewhat aloud ; nay, some will be angrie with or hate a man that either speaks in the nose or rattles in the throat. That piping prompter of Gracchus, who mollified, raised, and wound his masters voice whilst he was making orations at Rome ; what good did he ; if the motion and qualitie of the sound had not the force to move and efficacy to alter the auditories judgement : Verily there is great cause to make so much ado, and keepe such a coyle about the constancie and firmnesse of this goodly peece, which suffers it selfe to be handled, changed, and turned by the motion and accident of so light a winde. The very same cheating and cozening that senses bring to our understanding, themselves receive it in their turnes. Our mind doth likewise take revenge of it, they lie, they cog, and deceive one another a vie. What we see and heare, being passionately transported by anger, we neither see nor heare it as it is.

*Et solem geminum, et duplices se ostendere
Thebas.¹*

That two Sunnes doe appeare,
And double Thebes are there.

The object which we love seemeth much more fairer unto us then it is :

*Multimodis igitur pravos turpesque videmus
Esse in delitiis, summoque in honore vivere :²*

We therefore see that those, who many waies are
bad,
And fowle, are yet below'd, and in chiefe honour
had ;

and that much fowler which we loath. To a pensive and heart-grieved man a cleare day seemes gloomie and duskie. Our senses are not onely altered, but many times dulled, by the passions of the mind. How many things see we, which we perceive not, if our mind be either busied or distracted elsewhere ?

*in rebus quoque apertis noscere possis,
Si non advertas animum, proinde esse, quasi
omni*

Tempore semota fuerint, longèq; remota.³

Ev'n in things manifest it may be seene,
If you marke not, they are, as they had beene
At all times sever'd farre, remooved cleane.

The soule seemeth to retire her selfe into the inmost parts, and ammuseth the senses faculties : so that both the inward and outward parts of man are full of weaknes and falshood. Those which have compared our life unto a dreame, have happily had more reason : so to doe then they were aware. When we dreame, our soule liveth, worketh and exerciseth all her faculties, even and as much as when it waketh ; and if more softly and obscurely, yet verily not so, as that it may admit so great a difference as there is betweene a dark night and a cleare day : yea as betweene a night and a shadow : there it sleppeth, here it slumbreth : more or lesse they are ever darkneses, yea Cimmerian darkneses. We wake sleeping, and sleep waking. In my sleep I see not so cleare ; yet can I never find my waking cleare enough, or without dimnesse. Sleepe also, in his deepest rest, doth sometimes bring dreames asleepe : but our waking is never so vigilant as it may clearly purge and dissipate the ravings or idle phantasies which are the dreames of the waking, and worse then dreames. Our reason and soule, receiving the phantasies and opinions, which sleeping seize on them, and authorising our dreames actions, with like approbation, as it doth the daies, why make we not a doubt whether our thinking and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kind of sleeping ? If the senses be our first judges, it is not ours that must only be called to counsell : for, in this facultie, beasts have as much (or more) right as we. It is most certaine that some have their hearing more sharpe than man ; others their sight ; others their smelling ; others their feeling, or taste. Democritus said that Gods and beasts had the sensitive faculties much more perfect than man. Now, betweene the effects of their senses and ours the difference is extreame. Our spettle cleanseth and drieth our sores, and killeth serpents.

*Tantaque in his rebus distantia differentiasque est,
Ut quod aliis cibis est, aliis fuit acce venenum.
Sæpe etenim serpens, hominis contacta saltem,
Disperit, ac sese mandendo conficit ipsa.¹*

There is such distance, and such difference in these things,
As what to one is meate, t'another poison brings.
For oft a Serpent toucht with spettle of a man
Doth die, and gnaw it selfe with fretting all he
can.

What qualitie shall we give unto spettle.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iv. 470.

² LUCR. l. iv. 1147. ³ *Ib.* 808.

⁴ LUCR. l. iv. 640.

either according to us or according to the serpent? by which two senses shall we verifie its true essence, which we seeke for? Pliny saith that there are certaine sea-hares in India that to us are poison, and we bane to them; so that we die if we but touch them; now whether is man or the sea-hare poison? Whom shall we beleewe, either the fish of man or the man of fish? Some quality of the ayre infecteth man which nothing at all hurteth the ox: some other the ox, and not man: which of the two is, either in truth or nature, the pestilent quality? Such as are troubled with the yellow jandise deeme all things they looke upon to be yellowish, which seeme more pale and wan to them then to us.

*Lurida praterea fiunt quacunque tumentur
Arquati.*¹

And all that jaundis'd men behold,
They yellow straight or palish hold.

Those which are sicke of the disease which phisitians call Hyposphagma, which is a suffusion of blood under the skin, imagine that all things they see are bloodie and red. Those humors that so change the sights operation, what know we whether they are predominant and ordinarie in beasts? For we see some whose eyes are as yellow as theirs that have the jandise, others that have them all blood-shotten with rednesse; it is likely that the objects colour they looke upon seemeth otherwise to them then to us: which of the two judgments shall be true? For it is not said that the essence of things hath reference to man alone. Hardnesse, whitenesse, depth, and sharpnesse touch the service and concerne the knowledge of beasts as well as ours: Nature hath given the use of them to them as well as to us. When we winke a little with our eye, wee perceive the bodies we looke upon to seeme longer and outstretched. Many beasts have their eye as winking as we. This length is then happily the true forme of that body, and not that which our eyes give it, being in their ordinarie seate. If we close our eye above, things seeme double unto us:

*Bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis,
Et duplices hominum facies, et corpora bina.*²

The lights of candels double flaming then;
And faces twaine, and bodies twaine of men.

If our eares chance to be hindred by any thing, or that the passage of our hearing bee stopt, we receive the sound otherwise then we were ordinarily wont. Such beasts as have haire eares, or that in lieu of an

eare have but a little hole, doe not by consequence heare that we heare, and receive the sound other then it is. We see at solemn shewes or in theatres that, opposing any collour glasse betweene our eyes and the torches light, whatsoever is in the roome seemes or greene, or yellow, or red unto us, according to the collour of the glasse.

*Et vulgo faciunt id lutea russaque velu,
Et ferruginea, cum magnis intenta theatris
Per malos volgata trabesque tremantia pendunt:
Namque ibi consessum caveat subter, et omnem
Scenai speciem, patrum matrumque deorumque
Insufficiunt coguntque suo fluitare colore.*¹

And yellow, russet, rustic curtaines worke this
feate

In common sights abroad, where over skaf-

fold's great

Stretched on masts, spread over beames, they
hang still waving.

All the seates circuit there, and all the stages
braving,

Of fathers, mothers, Gods, and all the circled
showe

They double-dye and in their colours make to
flowe.

It is likely that those beasts eyes which we see to be of divers collours, produce the apperances of those bodies they looke upon to be like their eyes. To judge the senses operation, it were then necessary we were first agreed with beasts, and then betweene our selves; which we are not, but ever-and-anon disputing about that one seeth, heareth, or tasteth something to be other then indeed it is; and contend as much as about any thing else, of the diversity of those images our senses report unto us. A yong child heareth, seeth, and tasteth otherwise, by natures ordinary rule, then a man of thirtie yeares; and he otherwise then another of threescore. The senses are to some more obscure and dimme, and to some more open and quick. We receive things differently, according as they are and seeme unto us. Things being then so uncertaine and full of controversie, it is no longer a wonder if it be told us that we may avouch snow to seeme white unto us; but to affirme that it's such in essence and in truth, we cannot warrant ourselves: which foundation being so shaken, all the science in the world must necessarily goe to wracke. What, doe our senses themselves hinder one another? To the sight a picture seemeth to be raised aloft, and in the handling flat: shall we say that muske is pleasing or no, which comforteth our smelling and offendeth our taste? There are hearbs and ointments which to some parts of the body are good, and to

¹ LUCR. l. iv. 333.

² Ib. 452, 454.

¹ LUCR. l. iv. 73.

other some hurtfull. Honie is pleasing to the taste, but displeasing to the sight. Those jewels wrought and fashioned like feathers or sprigs, which in impreses are called feathers without ends, no eye can discern the bredth of them, and no man warrant himself from this deception, that on the one end or side it groweth not broder and broder, sharper and sharper, and on the other more and more narrow, especially being rouled about ones finger, when notwithstanding in handling it seemeth equal in bredth, and every where alike. Those who to encrease and aide their luxury were anciently wont to use perspective or looking glasses, fit to make the object they represented appeare very big and great, that so the members they were to use might, by that ocular increase, please them the more: to whether of the two senses yeilded they, either to the sight presenting those members as big and great as they wisht them, or to the feeling that presented them little and to be disdained? Is it our senses that lend these diverse conditions unto subjects, when for all that the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eat: it is but Bread, but one using it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof:

Vt cibus in membra atque artus cum diditur omnes

Disperit, atque aliam naturam sufficit ex se.¹

As meate distributed unto the members, dies,
Another nature yet it perishing supplies.

The moistnesse which the roote of a tree suckes becomes a trunk, a leaf, and fruite: And the aire being but one, applied unto a trumpet, becommeth diverse in a thousand sorts of sounds. Is it our senses (say I) who likewise fashion of diverse qualities those subjects, or whether they have them so and such? And upon this doubt, what may we conclude of their true essence? Moreover, since the accidents of sicknesse, of madnesse, or of sleepe, make things appeare other unto us then they seeme unto the healthie, unto the wise, and to the waking: is it not likely that our right seate and naturall humors have also wherewith to give a being unto things, having reference unto their condition, and to appropriate them to it selfe, as doe inordinate humors; and our health as capable to give them his visage as sicknesse? Why hath not the temperate man some forme of the objects relative unto himselfe as the intemperate: and shall not he likewise imprint his character in them? The distasted impute wallowishnes unto wine: the healthie, good taste; and the

thirsty, briskenesse, relish, and delicacie. Now our condition appropriating things unto it selfe, and transforming them to its owne humour: wee know no more how things are in sooth and truth; for nothing comes unto us but falsified and altered by our senses. Where the compass, the quadrant, or the ruler are crooked, all proportions drawne by them, and all the buildings erected by their measure, are also necessarily defective and imperfect. The uncertainty of our senses yeeldes what ever they produce, also uncertaine.

Denique ut in fabrica, si prava est regula prima, Normaque si fallax rectis regionibus exit, Et libella aliquæ si ex parte claudicat hilum, Omnia mendose fieri, atque obstipa necessum est, Prava, cubantia, prona, supina, atque absorta tecta,

Iam ruere ut quædam vileantur velle, rudantque Proditâ judicii fallacibus omnia primis. Hic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava necesse est, Falsaque sit falsis quæcunque à sensibus orta est.¹

As in building if the first rule be to blame,
And the deceitful squire erre from right forme and frame,

If any instrument want any jot of weight,
All must needs faultie be, and stooping in their height,

The building naught, absurd, upward and downward bended,

As if they meant to fall, and fall, as they intended;

And all this as betrayde
By judgements foremost laid.

Of things the reason therefore needs must faultie bee

And false, which from false senses drawes its pedigree.

As for the rest, who shall bee a competent judge in these differences? As wee said in controversies of religion, that we must have a judge enclined to either party, and free from partialitie, or affection, which is hardly to be had among Christians; so hapneth it in this: For if he be old he cannot judge of ages sense, himself being a party in this controversie: and so if he be yong, healthy, sicke, sleeping, or waking, it is all one: We had need of some body void and exempted from all these qualities, that without any preoccupation of judgement might judge of these propositions as indifferent unto him: by which accompt we should have a judge that were no man. To judge of the apparences that we receive of subjects, we had need have a judicatorie instrument: to verifie this instrument we should have demonstration; and to approve demonstration, an instrument: thus are we ever turning round. Since the senses cannot determine our dis-

¹ LUCA. l. iii. 728.

¹ LUCA. l. iv. 514.

putation, themselves being so full of uncertainty, it must then be reason: and no reason can be established without another reason: then are we ever going backe unto infinity. Our phantasie doth not apply it selfe to strange things, but is rather conceived by the interposition of senses; and senses cannot comprehend a strange subject; nay, not so much as their owne passions: and so, nor the phantasie, nor the apparence is the subject's, but rather the passion's only, and sufferance of the sense: which passion and subject are divers things: Therefore, who judgeth by apparences, judgeth by a thing different from the subject. And to say that the senses' passions referre the qualitie of strange subjects by resemblance unto the soule: How can the soule and the understanding rest assured of that resemblance, having of it selfe no commerce with forraigne subjects? Even as he that knowes not Socrates, seeing his picture, cannot say that it resembleth him. And would a man judge by apparences, be it by all it is impossible; for by their contraries and differences they hinder one another, as we see by experience. May it be that some choice apparences rule and direct the others? This choice must be verified by another choice, the second by a third: and so shal we never make an end. In few, there is no constant existence, neither of our being, nor of the objects. And we and our judgement and all mortall things else do uncessantly rowle, turne and passe away. Thus can nothing be certainly established, nor of the one nor of the other; both the judging and the judged being in continuall alteration and motion. We have no communication with being; for every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure apparence and shadow, and an uncertaine and weake opinion. And if perhaps you fix your thought to take its being, it would be even as if one should go about to graspe the water: for, how much the more he shal close and presse that which by its owne nature is ever gliding, so much the more he shal loose what he would hold and fasten. Thus, seeing all things are subject to passe from one change to another, reason, which therein seeketh a reall subsistence, findes her selfe deceived as unable to apprehend any thing subsistent and permanent: forso-much as each thing either commeth to a being, and is not yet altogether: or beginneth to dy before it be borne. Plato said that bodies had never an existence but indeed a birth, supposing that Homer made the Ocean Father, and Thetis Mother of

the Gods, thereby to shew us that all things are in continuall motion, change and variation. As he sayeth, a common opinion amongst all the Philosophers before his time, only Parmenides excepted, who denied any motion to be in things of whose power he maketh no small accompt. Pythagoras that each thing or matter was ever gliding and labile. The Stoicks affirme there is no present time, and that which we call present is but conjoyning and assembling of future time and past. Heraclitus avereth that no man ever entered twice one same river; Epicharmus avoucheth that who ere while borrowed any money doth not now owe it; and that he who yesternight was bidden to dinner this day, commeth to day unbidden: since they are no more themselves, but are become others; and that one mortall substance could not twice be found in one self estate: for by the sodainesse and lightnesse of change sometimes it wasteth, and other times it assemblith; now it comes and now it goes; in such sort, that he who beginneth to be borne never comes to the perfection of being. For, this being borne commeth never to an end, nor ever stayeth as being at an end; but after the seed proceedeth continually in change and alteration from one to another. As of mans seed there is first made a shapelesse fruit in the Mothers Wombe, then a shapen Childe, then being out of the Wombe, a sucking babe, afterward he becometh a ladde, then consequently a stripling, then a full growne man, then an old man, and in the end an aged decrepite man. So that age and subsequent generation goeth ever undoing and wasting the precedent.

*Mutat enim mundi naturam totius ætas,
Ex aliisque aliis status excipere omnia debet,
Nec manet ulla sui similis res, omnia migrant,
Omnia commutat natura et vertere cogit.*¹

Of th' universall world, age doth the nature change,
And all things from one state must to another range,
No one thing like it selfe remaines, all things doe passe,
Nature doth change, and drive to change,
each thing that was.

And then we doe foolishly feare a kind of death, whenas we have already past and dayly passe to many others; for, not only (as Heraclitus said) the death of fire is a generation of ayre: and the death of ayre a generation of water: but also we may most evidently see it in our selves. The flower of age dieth, fadeth and fleeteth,

¹ LUCR. l. v. 837.

when age comes upon us, and youth endeth in the flower of a full grown mans age: child-hood in youth and the first age dieth in infancy: and yesterday endeth in this day, and to day shall die in to morrow, And nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state. For to prove it, if we should ever continue one and the same, how is it then that now we rejoyce at one thing, and now at another? How comes it to passe we love things contrary, or we hate them, or we love them, or we blame them? How is it that we have different affections, holding no more the same sense in the same thought? For it is not likely that without alteration we should take other passions, and what admitteth alterations, continueth not the same; and if it be not one selfe same, then it is not: but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becoming other from other. And by consequence Natures senses are deceived and lie falsly; taking what appeareth for what is, for want of truly knowing what it is that is. But then what is it that is indeed? That which is eternall, that is to say, that which never had birth, nor ever shall have end; and to which no time can bring change or cause alteration. For time is a fleeting thing, and which appeareth as in a shadow, with the matter ever gliding, alwaies fluent without ever being stable or permanent; to whom rightly belong these termes, Before and After, and it Hath bene, or Shall be. Which at first sight doth manifestly shew that it is not a thing which is: for it were great sottishnesse and apparent falsehood, to say that that which is not yet in being, or that already hath ceased from being. And concerning these words, Present, Instant, Even now, by which it seemes that especially we uphold and principally ground the intelligence of time; reason discovering the same doth forthwith destroy it: for presently it severeth it asunder and divideth it into future and past times as willing to see it necessarily parted in two. As much hapneth unto nature which is measured according unto time, which measureth her: for no more is there any thing in her that remaineth or is subsistent: rather all things in her are either borne or ready to be borne or dying. By means whereof it were a sinne to say of God, who is the only that is, that he was or shall be: for these words are declinations, passages, or vicissitudes of that which cannot last nor continue in being. Wherefore we must conclude, that only God is, not according to any measure of time, but according to an immoveable and immutable eternitie, not measured by time nor subject to any declination, before

whom nothing is, nor nothing shall be after, nor more new nor more recent, but one really being: which by one onely Now or Present, filleth the Ever, and there is nothing that truly is; but he alone: without saying he has bin or he shall be, without beginning and sans ending. To this so religious conclusion of a heathen man I will only add this word, taken from a testimony of the same condition, for an end of this long and tedious discourse, which might well furnish me with endlesse matter. "Oh, what a vile and abject thing is man (saith he) unlesse he raise himselfe above humanity!" Observe here a notable speech and a profitable desire; but likewise absurd. For to make the handfull greater than the hand, and the embraced greater than the arme, and to hope to straddle more than our legs length, is impossible and monstrous: nor that man should mount over and above himselfe or humanity; for he cannot see but with his owne eyes, nor take hold but with his owne armes. He shall raise himself up, if it please God extraordinarily to lend him his helping hand. He may elevate himselfe by forsaking and renouncing his owne meanes, and suffering himselfe to be elevated and raised by meere heavenly meanes. It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoicke vertue, to pretend or aspire to this divine Metamorphosis, or miraculous transmutation.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Judging of others' Death.

WHEN we judge of others assurance or boldnesse in death, which without all peradventure is the most remarkeable action of humane life, great heed is to be taken of one thing, which is, that a man will hardly beleieve he is come to that point. Few men die with a resolution that it is their last houre: and nowher doth hopes deceit amuse us more. She never ceaseth to ring in our eares that others have been sicker and yet have not died; the cause is not so desperate as it is taken; and if the worst happen, God hath done greater wonders. The reason is, that we make too much account of our selves. It seemeth that the generality of things doth in some sort suffer for our annulation and takes compassion of our state. Forsomuch as our sight, being altered, represents unto itselfe things alike; and we imagine that things faile it as it doth to them: As they

who travel by sea, to whom mountaines, fields, townes, heaven and earth, seeme to goe the same motion, and keepe the same course they doe :

*Provehimur portu, terraque vrbsque recedunt.*¹

We sayling launch from harbour, and
Behinde our backes leave townes, leave land.

Who ever saw old age that commended not times past, and blamed not the present, charging the world and mens customes with her misery and lowring discontent ?

*Idemque caput quassans grandis suspirat
arator,
Et cum tempora temporibus presentia consert
Præteritis, laudat fortunas sæpe parentis
Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate
repletum.*²

The gray-beard Plow-man sighes, shaking his
hoarie head,
Compares times that are now with times past
heretofore,
Praises the fortunes of his father long since dead,
And crackes of ancient men, whose honesty was more.

We entertaime and carry all with us :
Whence it followeth that we deeme our death to be some great matter, and which passeth not so easily, nor without a solemne consultation of the Starres ; *Tot circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos* : " So many Gods keeping a stirre about one mans life." And so much the more we thinke it, by how much the more we praise ourselves. What? should so much learning and knowledge be lost with so great dammage, without the Destinies particular care ! A soule so rare and exemplar, costs it no more to be killed than a popular and unprofitable soule ? This life that covereth so many others, of whom so many other lives depend, that for his use possesseth so great a part of the world and filleteth so many places, is it displaced as that which holdeth by its owne simple string ? No one of us thinkes it sufficient to be but one. Thence came those words of Cæsar to his pilot, more proudly swolne than the sea that threatned him :

—— *Italiam si, celo auctore, recusar,
Me pete : sola tibi causa hæc est iusta timoris,
Vectorem non nosse tuum ; perrumpere procellas
Tutela secure mei :*³

If Italie thou do refuse with heaven thy guide,
Turne thee to me : to thee only just cause of
feare

Is that thy passinger thou know'st not : stormie
tide

Breake through, secure by guard of me, whom
thou dost beare.

And these :

—— *credit jam digna pericula Cæsar
Fatis esse suis : tantusque evertere (dixit)
Me superis labor est, parvâ quem puppe
sedentem.*

*Tant magno petiere mari.*¹

Cæsar doth now beleve those dangers worthie
are

Of his set fate ; and saies, doe Gods take so much
pain

Me to undoe, whom they thus to assault prepare
Set in so small a skiffe, in such a surging maine ?

And this common foppery that Phœbus
for one whole year bare mourning weedes
on his forehead for the death of him

*Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Roman,
Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit.*²

The Sunne did pittie take of Rome when Cæsar
dide,
When he his radiant head in obscure rust did
hide.

And a thousand such wherewith the world
suffers it selfe to be so easily conicatcht,
deeming that our owne interests disturbe
heaven, and his infinite is moved at our
least actions. *Non tanta cælo societas nobis-
cum est, ut nostro fato mortalis sit ille
quoque siderum fulgor.*³ " There is no such
societie betweene heaven and us, that by our
destinie the shining of the starres should
be mortall as we are." And to judge a
resolution and constancie in him, who
though he be in manifest danger, doth not
yet beleve it, it is no reason : and it
sufficeth not that he die in that ward, un-
lesse he have directly and for that purpose
put himselfe into it : it hapneth that most
men set a sterne countenance on the matter,
looke big, and speake stoutly, thereby to
acquire reputation, which, if they chance to
live, they hope to enjoy. Of all I have
seene die, fortune hath disposed their
countenances, but not their dissignes. And
of those which in ancient times have put
themselves to death, the choice is great,
whether it were a sodaine death or a death
having time and leasure. That cruell
Romane Emperour said of his prisoners that
he would make them feeble death : and if any
fortuned to kill himselfe in prison, that fel-
low had escaped me (would he say). He
would extend and linger death, and cause it
be felt by torments.

*Vidimus et toto quavis in corpore caso,
Nil anime lethale datum, morèmq; nefandæ
Durum sævitia, pereuntis parcere morti.*⁴

And we have scene, when all the body tortur'd
lay,

Yet no stroke deadly giv'n, and that in humane
way

Of tyranny, to spare his death that sought to die,

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iii. 72.

² LUCR. l. ii. 113.

³ LUCAN. l. iii. 579.

⁴ LUCAN. l. iii. 633.

⁵ PLIN. *N. Hist.* li. 8.

⁶ VIRG. *Georg.* i. 466.

⁷ LUCAN. l. ii. 179.

Verily, it is not so great a matter, being in perfect health and well settled in mind, for one to resolve to kill himself: It is an easy thing to show stoutnesse and play the wag before one come to the pinch. So that Heliogabalus, the most dissolute man of the world, amidst his most riotous sensualities, intended, whensoever occasion should force him to it, to have a daintie death. Which, that it might not degenerate from the rest of his life, he had purposely caused a stately towre to be built, the nether part and fore-court whereof was floored with boards richly set and enchased with gold and precious stones, from off which he might headlong throw himself downe: He had also caused cordes to be made of gold and crimson silke, therewith to strangle himself; and a rich golden rapier to thrust himself through, and kept poison in boxes of Emeraldes and Topases, to poison himself with, according to the humor he might have, to chuse which of these deaths should please him.

Impiger et fortis virtute cuncta.

A ready minded gallant,
And in first valour valiant.

Notwithstanding, touching this man, the wantonnesse of his preparation makes it more likely that he would have fainted had he beene put to his triall. But even of those who most undantedly have resolved themselves to the execution, we must consider (I say) whether it were with a life ending stroke, and that tooke away any leasure to feele the effect thereof. For it is hard to guesse seeing life droope away little by little, the bodies-feeling entermingling it selfe with the soules, meanes of repentance being offered, whether in so dangerous an intent, constancie or obstancie were found in him. In Cæsars civill warres, Lucius Domitius taken in Prussia, having empoysoned himself, did afterwards rue and repent his deede. It hath hapned in our daies that some having resolved to die, and at first not stricken deepe enough, the smarting of his flesh, thrusting his arme backe, twice or thrice more wounded himselfe anew, and yet could never stricke sufficiently deepe. Whilst the arraignment of Plantius Silvanus was preparing, Vrgulania, his grandfather, sent him a poygnard, wherewith, not able to kill himselfe thoroughly, he caused his owne servants to cut his veines. Albucilla, in Tiberius time, purposing to kill herselfe, but striking over faintly, gave her enemies leasure to apprehend and imprison her, and appoint her what death they pleased. So did Captaine Demosthenes after his discomfiture in Sicillie. And C. Fimbria having over-

feeble wounded himselfe, became a sutor to his boy to make an end of him. On the other side, Ostorius, who forsomuch as he could not use his owne arme, disdained to employ his servants in any other thing but to hold his dagger stiffe and strongly; and taking his running, himselfe carried his throate to its point, and so was thrust through. To say truth, it is a meate a man must swallow without chewing, unlesse his throat be frostshod. And therefore Adrianus the Emperour made his Physitian to marke and take the just compasse of the mortall place about his pap, that so his aime might not faile him, to whom he had given charge to kill him. Loe why Cæsar being demanded, which was the death he most allowed, answered, "The least premeditated, and the shortest." If Cæsar said it, it is no faintnesse in me to belevee it. "A short death (saith Plinie) is the chiefe happe of humane life." It grieveth them to acknowledge it. No man can be said to be resolved to die that feareth to purchase it, and that cannot abide to looke upon and out-stare it with open eies. Those which in times of execution are seene to runne to their end, and hasten the execution, do it not with resolution, but because they will take away time to consider the same; it grieves them not to be dead, but to die.

*Enori nolo, sed me esse mortuum, nihil æstimo.*¹

I would not die too soone.
But care not, when 'tis doone.

It is a degree of constancie unto which I have experienced to arrive, as those that cast themselves into danger, or into the sea, with closed eies. In mine opinion there is nothing more worthy the noting in Socrates life, then to have had thirty whole daies to ruminate his deaths decree, to have digested it all that while, with an assured hope, without dismay or alteration, and with a course of actions and words rather suppress, and loose-hanging, then out-stretched and raised by the weight of such a cogitation. That Pomponius Atticus, to whom Cicero writeth, being sicke, caused Agrippa, his sonne in lawe, and two or three of his other friends, to be called for, to whom he said, that having assaid how he got nothing in going about to be cured, and what he did to prolong his life did also lengthen and augment his griefe, he was now determined to make an end of one and other; intreating them to allow of his determination, and that by no meanes they would lose their labour to diswade him from it. And having chosen to end his life by abstinence, his

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* l. i.

sickness was cured by accident. The remedy he had employed to make himself away brought him to health again. The Physicians and his friends, glad of so happy a successe, and rejoycing thereof with him, were in the end greatly deceived ; for, with all they could do, they were never able to make him alter his former opinion, saying that as he must one day passe that careire, and being now so forward, he would remove the care another time to beginne againe. This man having with great leasure apprehended death, is not only no whit discouraged when he comes to front it, but resolutely falls upon it : for being satisfied of that for which he was entred the combate, in a braverie he thrust himselfe into it, to see the end of it. It is farre from fearing death to goe about to taste and savour the same. The historie of Cleanthes, the Philosopher, is much like to this. His gummies being swolne, his Physitians perswaded him to use great abstinence. Having fasted two daies, he was so well amended, as they told him he was well, and might returne to his wonted course of life. He contrarily having already tasted some sweetnes in this fainting, resolveth not to drawe back, but to finish what he had so well begunne, and was so farre waded into. Tullius Marcellinus, a yong Romane gentleman, willing to prevent the houre of his destiny, to ridde himselfe of a disease which tormented him more than he would endure, although Physicians promised certainly to cure him, howbeit not sodainely : called his friends unto him to determine about it : some (saith Seneca) gave him that counsell, which for weaknesse of heart themselves would have taken ; others for flatterie, that which they imagined would be most pleasing unto him ; but a certaine Stoike standing by, said thus unto him : "Toile not thy selfe, Marcellinus, as if thou determinedst some weightie matter : to live is no such great thing, thy base groomes and bruit beasts live also, but it is a matter of consequence to die honestly, wisely and constantly. Remember how long it is ; thou doest one same thing, to eate, to drinke, and sleepe ; to drinke, to sleepe, to eate. Wee are ever necessantly wheeling in this endlesse circle. Not only bad and intolerable accidents, but the very satiety to live, brings a desire of death." Marcellinus had no need of a man to counsell, but of one to helpe him : his servants were afraid to meddle with him ; but this Philosopher made them to understand that familiars are suspected onely when the question is, whether the maisters death hath beene voluntary : otherwise it would bee as had an example to hinder him as to kill him, forasmuch as,

*Inuitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.*¹

Who saves a man against his will
Doth ev'n as much as he should kill.

Then he advertized Marcellinus, that it would not be unseemly, as fruit or comfits at our tables, when our bellies be full, are given unto by-standers, so, the life ended, to distribute something to such as have beene the ministers of it. Marcellinus being of a frank and liberal disposition, caused certaine summes of mony to be divided amongst his servants, and comforted them. And for the rest there needed neither yron nor blood ; he undertooke to depart from this life, not by running from it : not to escape from death, but to taste it. And to have leisure to condition or bargain with death, having quit all manner of nourishment, the third day ensuing, after he had caused himselfe to be sprinkled over with luke-warme water, by little and little he consumed away ; and (as he said) not without some voluptuousnesse and pleasure. Verily, such as have had these faintings and sownings of the heart, which proceed from weaknesse, say that they feele no paine at all in them, but rather some pleasure, as of a passage to sleepe and rest. These are premeditated and digested deaths. But that Cato alone, may serve to all examples of vertue, it seemeth his good destiny caused that hand wherewith he gave himselfe the fatal blow to be sicke and sore : that so he might have leisure to affront death and to embrace it, reenforcing his courage in that danger in lieu of mollifying the same. And should I have represented him in his proudest state, it should have beene all bloody-gored, tearing his entrails, and rending his gutts, rather then with a sword in his hand, as did the statuaries of his time. For this second murder was much more furious then the first.

CHAPTER XIV.

How that our Spirit hindereth itselfe.

IT is a pleasant imagination to conceive a spirit justly balanced betweene two equall desires. For, it is not to be doubted, that he shall never be resolved upon any match : forsomuch as the application and choise brings an inequality of prise : And who should place us betweene a bottle of wine and a gammon of bacon,

¹ HOR. *Art. Poet.* 46^r

with an equal appetite to eat and drinke, doubtlesse there were noe remedy, but to die of thirst and of hunger. To provide against this inconvenient, when the Stoikes were demanded whence the election of two indifferent things commeth into our soule, (and which causeth that from out a great number of Crownes or Angells we rather take one then another, when there is no reason to induce us to preferre any one before others) they answer, that this motion of the soule is extraordinarie and irregular comming into us by a strange, accidentall and casuall impulsion. In my opinion, it might rather be said that nothing is presented unto us, wherein there is not some difference, how light so ever it bee: And that either to the sight, or to the feeling, there is ever some choice, which tempteth and drawes us to it, though imperceptible and not to bee distinguished. Inlike manner, hee that shall presuppose a twine-thrid equally strong all-through, it is impossible by all impossibilitie that it breake, for, where would you have the flaw or breaking to beginne? And at once to breake in all places together, it is not in nature. He who should also adde to this, the Geometricall propositions which, by the certainty of their demonstrations, conclude the contained greater then the containing, and the centre as great as his circumference; and that finde two lines incessantly approaching one unto another, which yet can never meete and joyne together; and the Philosophers stone, and quadrature of the circle, where the reason and the effects are so opposite: might peradventure draw thence some argument to salve and helpe this bold speech of Pliny: *Solum certum, nihil esse certi, et homine nihil miserius aut superbius*:¹ "This only is sure, that there is nothing sure; and nothing more miserable, and yet more arrogant then man.

CHAPTER XV.

That our Desires are encreased by Difficultie.

THERE is no reason but hath another contrary unto it, saith the wisest party of Philosophers. I did erewhile ruminate upon this notable saying, which an ancient writer alleageth for the contempt of life. No good can bring us any pleasure, except that against whole losse we are

prepared: *In aquo est, dolor amisse rei, et timor amittendæ*:¹ "Sorrow for a thing lost, and feare of losing it, are on an even ground." Meaning to gaine thereby, that the fruition of life cannot perfectly be pleasing unto us, if we stand in any feare to lose it. A man might nevertheless say on the contrary part, that we embrace and claspe this good so much the harder, and with more affection, as we perceive it to be lesse sure, and feare it should be taken from us. For, it is manifestly found, that as fire is rouzed up by the assistance of cold, even so our will is whetted on by that which doth resist it.

*Si nunquam Danae habuisset aenea turris,
Non esset Danae de Iove facta parens.*²

If Danae had not bene clos'd in brazen Tower,
Jove had not clos'd with Danae in golden shower.

And that there is nothing so naturally opposite to our taste as satiety, which comes from ease and facility, nor nothing that so much sharpeneth it as rarenesse and difficulty. *Omnium rerum voluptas ipso quo debet fugare periculo crescit*: "The delight of all things encreaseth by the danger, whereby it rather should terrifie them that affect it."

*Galla nega: satiatur amor, nisi gaudia
torquent.*³

Good wench, deny, my love is cloied,
Unlesse joyes grieve, before enjoyed.

To keepe love in breath and longing, Lyncurgus ordained that the married men of Lacedemonia might never converse with their wives but by stealth, and that it should be as great an imputation and shame to finde them luid together, as if they were found lying with others. The difficulty of assignments or matches appointed, the danger of being surprised, and the shame of ensuing to-morrow,

*- et languor, et silentium,
Et latere petitus imo spiritus.*⁴

And whispering voice, and languishment.
And breath in sighes from deepe sides sent.

are the things that give relish and tartnesse to the sawce. How many most lasciviously-pleasant sports proceed from modest and shamefast manner of speech, of the daliances and workes of love? Even voluptuousnesse seekes to provoke and stirre it selfe up by smarting. It is much sweeter when it itcheth, and endeared when it gaulleth. The curtezan Flora was wont to say that she never lay

¹ SEN. *Epist.* xxviii.

² OVID. *Amor.* l. ii. *El.* xix. 2.

³ MART. l. iv. *Epig.* xxxviii.

⁴ HOR. *Epod.* xi. 13.

¹ PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* l. ii. 7.

with Pompey but she made him carry away the markes of her teeth.

*Quod petiere, premunt arctè, faciuntque dolorem
Corporis, et dentes intidunt sæpe labellis:
Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant ledere id
ipsam*

*Quodcumque est, rabies unde illi germina
surgunt,¹*

So goes it every where: rarenesse and difficulty giveth esteeme unto things. Those of Marca d'Ancona, in Italy, make their vowes, and goe on pilgrimage rather unto lames in Galicin, and those of Galicia rather unto our Lady of Loreto. In the country of Liege they make more account of the Bathes of Luca; and they of Tuscany esteeme the Baths of Spawe more than their owne. In Rome the Fence-schools are ever full of Frenchmen, when few Romans come unto them. Great Cato, as well as any else, was even cloied and distasted with his wife so long as she was his owne, but when another mans, then wished he for her, and would faine have lickt his fingers at her. I have heretofore put forth an old stalion to soile, who before did no sooner see or smell a mare but was so lusty that no man could rule him, nor no ground hold him; ease and facilitie to come to his owne when he list, hath presently quailed his stomacke, and so cloyed him that he is weary of them. But toward strange mares, and the first that passeth by his pasture, there is no hoe with him, but suddenly he returns to his old wonted neighings and furious heate. Our appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choice and owne possession, to runne after and pursue what he hath not.

Transvolat in medio posita, et fugientia captat.²

It over flies what open lies,
Pursuing onely that which flies.

To forbid us anything is the ready way to make us long for it.

nisi tu servare puellam

Incipis, incipit de-invere esse mea.³

If you begin not your wench to enshrine,
She will begin to leave off to be mine.

And to leave it altogether to our will is but to breede dislike and contempt in us. So that to want and to have store breedeth one selfe same inconvenience.

Tibi quod super est, mihi quod desit, dolet.⁴

You grieve because you have too much;
It grieves me that I have none such.

Wishing and enjoying trouble us both alike. The rigor of a mistress is yrkesome, but ease and facility (to say true) much more; forasmuch as discontent and vexation proceed of the estimation we have of the thing desired, which sharpen love and set it afire. Whereas satiety begets distaste: it is a dull, blunt, weary, and drouzy passion.

Si qua vult regnare diu, contemnat amantem,¹

If any list long to beare sway,
Scorne she her lover, ere she play.

- contemnite amantes,

Sic hodie veniat, si qua negavit heri,²

Lovers your lovers scorne, contemne, delude,
deride;

So will shee come to-day, that yesterday denied.

Why did Poppea devise to maske the beauties of her face, but to endear them to her lovers? Why are those beauties veiled downe to the heeles, which all desire to shew, which all wish to see? Why doe they cover with so many lets, one over another, those parts where chiefly consisteth our pleasure and theirs? And to what purpose serve those baricadoes and verdugalles wherewith our women arme their flanks, but to allure our appetite, and enveagle us to them by putting us off?

Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.³

She to the willows runs to hide,
Yet gladly would she first be spide.

Interdum tunica duxit aperta moram.⁴

She cover'd with her cote in play,
Did sometime make a short delay.

Whereto serves this mayden-like bashfulness, this willfull quaintnesse, this severe countenance, this seeming ignorance of those things which they know better than our selves, that goe about to instruct them, but to increase a desire and endear a longing in us to vanquish, to gourmandize, and at our pleasure to dispose all this squeamish ceremonie, and all these peevish obstacles? For, it is not only a delight but a glory to besot and debauch this dainty and nice sweetness, and this infantine bashfulness, and to subject a marble and sterne gravity to the mercy of our flame. It is a glory (say they) to triumph over modesty, chastity and temperance: and who dissuadeth ladies from these parts, betrayeth both them and himselfe. It is to be supposed that their heart yerneth for feare, that the sound of our wordes woundeth the purity of their eares, for which they hate us, and with a forced constraint agree to withstand our

¹ LUCR. l. iv. 1070.

² HOR. Ser. l. i. Sat. ii. 107.

³ OVID. Amor. l. ii. El. xix. 47.

⁴ TER. Phor. act i. sc. 3.

¹ OVID. Amor. l. ii. El. xix. 33.

² PROPERT. l. ii. El. xiv. 29.

³ VIRG. Buco. Ecl. iii. 65.

⁴ PROPERT. l. ii. Eleg. xv. 6.

importunitie. Beauty with all her might hath not wherewith to give a taste of herself without these interpositions. See in Italie, where most, and of the finest beauty is to be sold, how it is forced to seek other strange meanes, and subtle devices, arts and tricks, to yeeld her selfe pleasing and acceptable: and yet in good sooth, doe what it can, being venal and common, it remaineth feeble, and even languishing. Even as in vertue of two equall effects, we hold that the fairest and worthiest, wherein are proposed more lets, and which affordeth greater hazards. It is an effect of Gods providence, to suffer his holy Church to be vexed and turmoyled as we see with so many troubles and stormes, to rouze and awaken by this opposition and strife the godly and religious soules, and raise them from out a lethall security and stupified slumber, wherein so long tranquillity had plunged them. If we shall counterpoize the losse we have had by the number of those that have strayed out of the right way, and the profit that accrue unto us, by having taken hart of grace, and by reason of combate raised our zeale and forces; I wot not whether the profit doth surmount the losse. We thought to tie the bond of our marriages the faster by removing all meanes to dissolve them, but by how much faster that of constraint hath bin tried, so much more hath that of our will and affection bin slackened and loosed: Whereas, on the contrary side, that which so long time held marriages in honour and safety in Rome, was the liberty to break them who list. They kept their wives the better, forso much as they might leave them; and when divorces might freely be had, there past five hundred years and more before any would ever make use of them.

*Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acrius urit.*¹

What we may doe, doth little please:
It woormes us more, thane hath lesse ease.

To this purpose might the opinion of an ancient writer be adjoynd, that torments do rather encourage vices than suppress them; that they beget not a care of well-doing, which is the worke of reason and discipline, but only a care not to be surprized in doing evil.

Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt.

Th' infection of the plague nigh spent
And rooted out, yet further went.

I wot not whether it be true, but this I know by experience, that policie was never found to be reformed that way. The order and regiment of maners dependeth of some

other meane. The Greeke stories make mention of the Agrippians neighbouring upon Scithia, who live without any rod or staffe of offence, where not onely no man undertakes to buckle with any other man but whosoever can but save himselfe, there (by reason of their vertue and sanctity of life) is as it were in a Sanctuary: And no man dares so much as touch him. Many have recourse to them, to attone and take up quarrels and differences, which arise amongst men else where. There is a nation where the inclosure of gardens and fields they intend keepe severall, are made with a seely twine of cotton, which amongst them is found to be more safe and fast than are our ditches and hedges. *Furem signata sollicitant, Aperta effractorius præterit.*¹ "Things sealed up sollicite a thief to break them open: Whereas a common burglarer will passe by quietly things that lie open." Amongst other meanes, ease and facility doth haply cover and fence my house from the violence of civill wares: Inclosure and fencing drawe on the enterprise, and distrust, the offence. I have abated and weakened the souldiers designe by taking hazard and all means of military glory from their exploits, which is wont to serve them for a title, and stead them for an excuse. What is performed courageously, at what time justice lieth dead, and law hath not her due course, is ever done honourably. I yeeld them the conquest of my house dastardly and treacherous. It is never shut to any that knocketh. It hath no other guardian or provision but a porter, as an ancient custome, and used ceremony, who serveth not so much to defend my gate as to offer it more decently and courteously to all comers. I have nor watch nor sentinell but what the starres keepe for mee. That gentleman is much to blame who makes a shew to stand upon his garde, except he be very strong indeed. Who so is open on one side is so every where. Our fore-fathers never dreamed on building of frontire townes and castles.

The meanes to assaile (I meane without battery and troopes of armed men) and to surprise our houses, encrease daily beyond the meanes of garding or defending. Mens wits are generally exasperated and whetted on that way. An invasion concerneth all, the defence none but the rich. Mine was sufficiently strong, according to the times when it was made. I have since added nothing unto it that way; and I would feare the strength^{of} it should turne against my selfe. Seeing a peaceable time will require we shall unfortifie them. It is

¹ OVID. *Amer.* l. ii. *Æl.* xix. 3.

¹ SEN. *Epist.* lxi.

dangerous not to be able to recover them againe, and it is hard for one to be assured of them. For concerning intestine broils, your owne servant may be of that faction you stand in feare of. And where religion serveth for a pretence, even alliances and consanguinitie become mistrustful under colour of justice. Common rents cannot entertaine our private garrisons. They should all be consumed. We have not wherewith, nor are wee able to doe it without our apparent ruine, or more incommodiouly and therewithall injuriously without the common peoples destruction. The state of my losse should not be much worse. And if you chance to be a looser, your owne friends are readier to accuse your improvidence and unhedinesse than to moane you, and excuse your ignorance and carelesnesse concerning the offices belonging to your profession. That so many strongly-garded houses have been lost, whereas mine continueth still, makes me suspect they were overthrowne onely because they were so diligently garded. It is that which affordeth a desire and minis-treth a pretence to the assailant. All gards beare a shew of warre, which if God be so pleased may light upon me. But so it is, I will never call for it. It is my sanctuary or retreat to rest my selfe from warres. I endeavour to free this corner from the publike storme, as I doe another corner in my soule. Our warre may change forme and multiply and diversifie how and as long as it list, but for my selfe I never stirre. Amongst so many barricaded and armed houses, none but my selfe (as farre as I know) of my qualitie hath merely trusted the protection of his unto the heavens: for I never removed neither plate, nor hangings, nor my evidences. I will neither feare nor save my selfe by halves. If a full acknowledgement purchaseth the favour of God, it shall last me for ever unto the end: if not, I have continued long enough to make my continuance remarkable and worthy the registering. What, is not thirtie yeares a goodly time?

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Glory.

THERE is both name, and the thing: the name is a voice which noteth and signifieth the thing: the name is neither part of thing nor of substance: it is a name joyned to the thing and the thing who in and by himselfe is all fulnesse, and the type of all perfection, cannot inwardly be augmented or encreased:

yet may his name be encreased and augmented by the blessing and praise which we give unto his exterior workes; which praise and blessing, since we cannot incorporate into him, forso-much as no accession of good can be had unto him, we ascribe it unto his name, which is a part without him, and the nearest unto him. And that is the reason why glory and honour appertaineth to God only. And there is nothing so repugnant unto reason as for us to goe about to purchase any for our selves: for being inwardly needy and defective, and our essence imperfect and ever wanting amendment, we ought only labour about that. We are all hollow and empty, and it is not with breath and words we should fill our selves. We have need of a more solide substance to repaire our selves. An hunger starved man might be thought most simple rather to provide himselfe of a faire garment then of a good meales-meat: we must runne to that which most concerneth us. *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus.*¹ "Glory be to God on high, and peace on earth amongst men," as say our ordinary prayers. We are in great want of beautie, health, wisdom, vertue, and such like essentiall parts. Exterior ornaments may be sought for when we are once provided of necessary things. Divinitie doth very amply and pertinently treat of this subject, but I am not very conversant with it. Chrysippus and Diogenes have beene the first and most constant authors of the contempt of glory. And amongst all sensualities, they said, there was none so dangerous nor so much to be avoided as that which commeth unto us by the approbation of others. Verily experience makes us thereby feele and undergoe many damageable treasons. Nothing so much empoisoneth princes as flattery. Nor nothing whereby the wicked minded gaine so easie credit about them; nor any enticement so fit, nor pandership so ordinary to corrupt the chastity of women, then to feed and entertaine them with their praises. The first enchantment the Syrens employed to deceive Ulysses is of this nature.

*Deça vers nous, deça, o treslouable Ulysse,
Et le plus grand honneur dont la Grece
fleuriesse.*

Turne to us, to us turne, Ulysses thrice-renowned,
The principall renowne wherewith all Greece is
crowned.

Philosophers said that all the worlds glory deserved not that a man of wisdom should so much as stretch forth his finger to acquire it.

¹ Luke ii. xiv.

*Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?*¹

Never so glorious name,
What ist, be it but fame?

I say for it alone: for it draws many commodities after it, by which it may yeeld it selfe desirable: it purchaseth us good will: it makes us lesse exposed to others injuries and offences, and such like things. It was also one of the principall degrees of Epicurus: for that precept of his sect, *HIDE THY LIFE*, which forbideth men to meddle with public charges and negotiations, doth also necessarily presuppose that a man should despise glory, which is an approbation the world makes of those actions we give evidence of. He that bids us to hide our life and care but for our selves, and would not have us know of others, would also have us not to be honoured and glorified thereby. So doth he counsel Idomeneus by no means to order his actions by the vulgar opinion and publike reputation: unless it be to avoide other accidentall incommodities which the contempt of men might bring unto him. Those discourses (are in mine advise) very true and reasonable: but I wot not how we are double in our selves, which is the cause that what we beleeve we beleeve it not, and cannot rid our selves of that which we condemne. Let us consider the last words of Epicurus, and which he speaketh as he is dying: they are notable and worthy such a Philosopher: but yet they have some badge of his names commendations, and of the humour which by his precepts he had disavowed. Behold here a letter which he edited a little before he yeelded up the ghost. "Epicurus to Hermachus, health and greeting: Whilst I passe the happy, and even the last day of my life, I write this, accompanied neverthesse with such paine in my bladder and anguish in my entrails, that nothing can be added unto the greatnesse of it; yet was it recompensed with the pleasure which the remembrance of my inventions and discourses brought unto my soule. Now as requireth the affection which even from the infancy thou hast borne me and Philosophy, embrace the protection of Metrodorus his children." Loe here his letter. And which makes me interpret that the pleasure which in his soule he saith to feele of his inventions, doth in some sort respect the reputation which after his death he thereby hoped to attaine, is the ordinance of his last will and testament, by which he willeth that Aminomachus and

Timocrates his heires should for the celebration of his birth-day every month of January supply all such charges as Hermachus should appoint: and also for the expence he might be at on the twentieth of every moon for the feasting and entertainment of the Philosophers his familiar friends, who in the honour of his memorie and of Metrodorus should meete together. Carneades hath been chiefe of the contrary opinion and hath maintained that glory was in it selfe to bee desired, even as we embrace our posthumes for themselves, having neither knowledge nor jovissance of them. This opinion hath not missed to be more commonly followed as are ordinarily those that fit most and come nearest our inclinations. Aristotle amongst externall goods yeeldeth the first ranke unto it: and avoideth as two extreme vices the immoderation either in seeking or avoiding it. I beleeve that had we the bookes which Cicero writ upon this subject, we should heare strange matters of him: for he was so fond in this passion as had he dared he would (as I thinke) have easily false in the excess that others fell in; which is that even vertue was not to be desired but for the honour which ever waited on it:

*Paulum sepulchra distat inertia
Celata virtus.*²

There is but little difference betweene
Vertue conceal'd, unskillfulness unseene.

Which is so false an opinion, as I am vexed it could ever enter a mans understanding that had the honour to beare the name of a philosopher. If that were true, a man needed not to be virtuous but in publike: and we should never need to keepe the soules operations in order and rule, which is the true seate of vertue, but only so much as they might come to the knowledge of others. Doth then nothing else belong unto it, but craftily to faile, and subtilly to cozen? If thou knowest a serpent to be hidden in any place (saith Carneades) to which he by whose death thou hopest to reape commoditie goeth unawares to sit upon, thou committest a wicked act if thou warne him not of it: and so much the more because thy action should be knowne but to thy selfe. If we take not the law of well-doing from our selves: if impunity be justice in us: to how many kindes of treacherie are we daily to abandon our selves? That which Sp. Peduceus did, faithfully to restore the riches which C. Plotius had committed to his only trust and secrecie, and as my selfe have done often, I thinke

¹ JUVEN. Sat. vii. 4

² HOR. Car. l. iv. Od. ix. 29.

not so commendable, as I would deeme it execrable, if we had not done it. And I thinke it beneficiall we should in our daies be mindfull of Publius Sextilius Rufus his example, whom Cicero accuseth that he had received a great inheritance against his conscience: not only not repugnant, but agreeing with the lawes. And M. Crassus and Q. Hortensius, who by reason of their authority and might, having for certaine Quidities been called by a stranger to the succession of a forged will, that so he might make his share good: they were pleased not to be partakers of his forgery, yet refused not to take some profit of it: very closely had they kept themselves under the countenance of the accusations, witnesses, and lawes. *Meminerint Deum se habere testem, id est (ut ego arbitror) mentem suam:* "Let them remember they have God to witnesse, that is (as I construe it) their owne minde." Vertue is a vaine and frivolous thing if it draw her commendation from glory. In vaine should we attempt to make her keepe her rancke apart, and so should we disjoyne it from fortune: for what is more casuall then reputation? *Profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: Ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque:* "Fortune governeth in all things, and either advanceth or abaseth them rather by froward disposition then upright judgement." To make actions to be knowne and seene, is the meere worke of fortune. It is chance that applieth glory unto us, according to her temeritie, I have often seene it to goe before desert; yea, and many times to outgoe merit by very much. He that first bethought himselfe of the resemblance betweene shadow and glory, did better than he thought of. They are exceeding vaine things. It also often goeth before her body, and sometimes exceeds by much in length. Those who teach nobilitie to seeke in valor nothing but honour: *Quasi non sit honestum quod nobilitatum non sit:* "As though it were not honest except it were ennobled:" what gaine they by it? But to instruct them never to hazard themselves unless they be seene of others; and to be very heedy whether such witnesses are by that may report newes of their valour, whereas a thousand occasions to doe well are daily offered, and no man by to marke them? How many notable particular actions are buried in the throng of a battell? Whosoever ammuseth himselfe to controule others, in so confused a hurly-burly, is not greatly busied about it: and produceth the testimony which he giveth of his fellowes proceedings or exploits against himselfe. *Vera et sapiens animi magnitudo, honestum illud*

quod maxime naturam sequitur, in facti positum, non in gloria indicat: "A true and wise magnanimitie esteemeth that honesty which especially followeth Nature, to consist in good actions and not in glory." All the glory I pretend in my life is, that I have lived quietly. Quietly, not according to Metrodorus, Arcesilas, or Aristippus, but according to my selfe. Since philosophy could never find any way for tranquillity that might be generally good, let every man in his particular seeke for it. To whom are Cæsar and Alexander beholding for that infinite grates of their renowe, but to fortune? How many men hath she suppressed in the beginning of their progresse, of whom we have no knowledge at all, who bare the same courage that others did, if the ill fortune of their chance had not staid them even in the building of their enterprises? Amongst so many and so extreame dangers (to my remembrance) I never read that Cæsar received any hurt. A thousand have dyed in lesse danger than the least of those he escaped. Many worthy exploits and excellent deedes must be lost before one can come to any good. A man is not alwaies upon the top of the breach, nor in the front of an army, in the sight of his generall, as upon a stage. A man may be surprised betweene a hedge and a ditch. A man is sometimes put to his sodaine shifts, as to try his fortune against a hens-roost, to ferret out foure seely shotte out of some barne, yea and sometimes straggle alone from his troupes; and enterprise according as necessity and occasion offereth it selfe. And if it be well noted (in mine advice) it will be found, and experience doth teach it, that the least blazoned occasions are the most dangerous, and that in our late home-warres, more good men have perished in slight and little importing occasions, and in contention about a small cottage, than in worthy achievements and honourable places. Whoso thinketh his death ill employed, except it be in some glorious exploit or famous attempt, in lieu of dignifying his death, he happily obscureth his life: suffering in the meane time many just and honour-affording opportunities to escape, wherein he might and ought adventure himselfe. And all just occasions are glorious enough; his owne conscience publishing them sufficiently to all men. *Gloria nostra est testimonium conscientie nostrae:* "Our glory is the testimony of our conscience." He that is not an honest man but by that which other men know by him, and because he shall the better be esteemed; being knowne

to be so, that will not do well but upon condition his vertue may come to the knowledge of men; such a one is no man from whom any great service may be drawne, or good expected.

*Credo ch'il resto di quel verno, cose
Faccese degne di tenerne conto,
Ma fur fin, a quel tempo si nascose,
Che non è colpa mia s'hor' non le conto,
Perche Orlando a far'opre virtuosse
Piu ch' à narrarle poi sempre era pronto;
Ne mai fu alcun' de li suoi fatti espresso,
Senon quando hebbe i testimonii appresso.*¹

I guesse, he of that winter all the rest
Atchiev'd exploits, whereof to keepe account,
But they untill that time were so suppress,
As now my fault 'tis not, them not to count,
Because Orlando ever was more prest
To doe, than tell deeds that might all surmount.
Nor was there any of his deeds related
Unless some witness were associated.

A man must goe to warres for his devoirs
sake, and expect this recompence of it,
which cannot faile all worthy actions, how
secret soever; no not to vertuous thoughts:
it is the contentment that a well disposed
conscience receiveth in it selfe by well doing.
A man must be valiant for himselfe and for
the advantage he hath to have his courage
placed in a constant and assured seate, to
withstand all assaults of fortune.

*Virtus repulsa nescia sordida,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec sumit aut ponit securus
Arbitrio popularis aures.*²

Vertue unskill'd to take repulse that's base,
In undefil'd honors clearly shines,
At the dispose of peoples airy grace
She signes of honor tak's not, nor resignes.

It is not only for an exterior shew or
ostentation that our soule must play her
part, but inwardly within our selves, where
no eyes shine but ours: there it doth shroud
us from the feare of death, of sorrowes and
of shame: there it assureth us from the losse
of our children, friends, and fortunes; and
when opportunitie is offerd, it also leades
us to the dangers of warre. *Non emolumento
aliquo, sed pius honestatis decore.*³ "Not
for any advantage, but for the gracefulness
of honestie it selfe." This benefit is much
greater, and more worthe to be wished and
hoped then honor and glory, which is nought
but a favorable judgement that is made of
us. We are often driven to enipanel and
select a jury of twelve men out of a whole
countrie to determine of an acre of land:
And the judgement of our inclinations and
actions (the weightiest and hardest matter
that is) we referre it to the idle breath of
the vaine voice of the common sort and base

raskalitie, which is the mother of ignorance,
of injustice and inconstancie. Is it reason
to make the life of a wise man depend on
the judgement of fooles? *An quidquam
stullius, quam quos singulos contemnas, eos
aliquid putare esse universos?*⁴ "Is there
anything more foolish then to thinke that
all together they are oughts, whom every
one single you would set at noughts?"
Whosoever aimeth to please them hath
never done: It is a Butt, that hath neither
forme nor holdfast. *Nil tam inestimabile
est, quam animi multitudinis:* "Nothing
is so incomprehensible to be just waied, as
the minds of the multitude." Demetrius
said merrily of the common peoples voice,
that he made no more reckoning of that
which issued from out his mouth above, then
of that which came from a homely place
below; and saith moreover: *Ego hoc
judico, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non
esse non turpe, quum id à multitudine
laudetur.*⁵ "Thus I esteem of it, if of it
selfe it be not dishonest, yet can it not but
be dishonest, when it is applauded be the
many." No art, no mildnesse of spirit
might direct our steps to follow so stragling
and disordered a guide. In this breathie
confusion of brutes and frothy Chaos of
reports and of vulgar opinions, which still
push us on, no good course can be estab-
lished. Let us not propose so fleeing and
so wavering an end unto our selves. Let us
constantly follow reason: And let the
vulgar approbation follow us that way.
If it please: And as it depends all on
fortune, we have no law to hope for it,
rather by any other way then by that.
Should I not follow a strait path for its
straightnesse, yet would I do it because
experience hath taught me that in the end
it is the happiest and most profitable. *Dedit
hoc providentia hominibus munus ut honesta
magis jucerent:* "Mans providence hath
given him this gift, that honest things should
more delight and availle him." The ancient
Sailer said thus to Neptune in a great
storme, "Oh God, thou shalt save me if
thou please, if not, thou shalt lose me; yet
will I keep my helme still fast." I have
in my daies seene a thousand middle,
mungrell and ambiguous men, and whom
no man doubted to be more worldly-wise
than my selfe, lose themselves where I
have saved my selfe.

*Risi successu posse carere dolos.*⁶

I smild to see that wily plots
Might want successe (and leave men sots).

¹ ARIOSTO, *Orl. cant. xi. stan. 81.*

² HOR. *Car. l. iii. Od. ii. 17.* ³ CIC. *Fin. l. i.*

⁴ ELIAN. *Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 1.*

⁵ CIC. *Fin. Ben. l. ii.*

⁶ QUID. *Epist. Penel. v. 18.*

Paulus Æmilius going to the glorious expedition of Macedon, advertized the people of Rome during his absence not to speake of his actions: for the licence of judgements is an especial let in great affaires. Forasmuch as all men have not the constancy of Fabius against common, contrary and detracting voices: who loved better to have his authority dismembred by mens vaine fantasies, then not to performe his charge so well, with favourable and popular applause. There is a kind of I know not what naturall delight that man liath to heare himselfe commended, but wee yeeld too-too much unto it.

*Laudari hand metuum, neque enim mihi cornea
fibra est.*

*Sed recti finemque extremumque esse recuso
Euge tuum et belle.¹*

Nor feare I to be prais'd, for my guttes are not
horne,
But that the utmost end of good should be, I
scorne,
Thy O well said, well done, well plaid.

I care not so much what I am with others, as I respect what I am in my selfe. I will bee rich by my selfe and not by borrowing. Strangers see but external apparances and events: every man can set a good face upon the matter, when within he is full of care, griefe and infirmities. They see not my heart when they looke upon my outward countenance. There is great reason the hypocrisie that is found in war should be discovered: for, what is more easie in a man of practise then to flinch in dangers and to counterfeit a gallant and a boaster when his heart is full of faintnesse and ready to droope for feare? There are so many waies to shunne occasions for a man to hazard himselfe in particular, that we shall have deceived the world a thousand times before we need engage our selves into any perillous attempt; and even when wee find our selves entangled in it, wee shall not want skill how to cloake our sport with a good face, stearne countenance, and bold speeches; although our heart doe quake within us. And hee that had the use of the Platonicall Ring, whose vertue was to make him invisible that wore it upon his finger, if it were turned toward the flat of the hand; many would hide themselves when they should most make shewe of their worth, and would be sorie to be placed in so honourable a place where necessity may be their warrant of safetie.

*Falsus honor iuvat, et mendax infamia terret
Quem, nisi mendosum et mendacem?²*

False honour tickles; false defame affrights,
Whom, but the faulty, and false-fied sprights?

See how all those judgements that men make of outward apparances are wonderfully uncertaine and doubtfull, and there is no man so sure a testimony, as every man is to himselfe: How many horse-boyes have we in them as partners and companions of our glory? He that keeps his stand in an open trench, what doth he more, but divers poore pioners doe as much before him, who open the way for him, and with their bodies shelter him for poore sixpence a day, and happily for lesse?

*— non quicquid turbida Roma
Elevet, accedas, examénque improbum in illa
Castiges trutinâ, nec te quasiveris extra.¹*

If troublous Rome set ought at naught,
make you not one,
Nor chastise you unjust examination
In balance of their lode:
Nor ceke your selfe abroad.

We call that a magnifying of our name, to extend and disperse the same in many mouthes; we will have it to be received in good part, and that its increase redound to his benefit: this is al that is most excusable in its desseigne. But the infirmity of its excesse proceeds so farre that many labour to have the world speake of them, howsoever it be. Trogus Pompeius saith of Herostratus, and Titus Livius of Manlius Capitolinus, that they were more desirous of great then good reputation. It is an ordinary fault; we endeavour more that men should speake of us, then how and what they speake, and it sufficeth us that our name run in mens mouthes, in what manner soever. It seemeth that to be knowne is in some sort to have life and continuance in other mens keeping. As for me I hold that I am but in my selfe; and of this other life of mine which consisteth in the knowledge of my friends, being simply and barely considered in my self, well I wot, I neither feele fruite or jovissance of it, but by the vanitie of fantasticall opinion. And when I shall be dead, I shall much lesse have a feeling of it: And shall absolutely lose the use of true utilities which sometimes accidentally follow it: I shall have no more fastnesse to take hold on reputation, nor whereby it may either concerne or come unto mee. For, to expect my name should receive it. First, I have no name that is sufficiently mine: of two I have, the one is common to all my race, yea and also to others. There is a family at Paris and another at Montpellier called Montaigne, another in Brittain, and one in Xaintonge, surnamed

¹ PERS. Sat. i. 47. ² HOR. l. i. Epist. xvi. 39.

¹ PERS. Sat. . 5.

de la Montaigne. The removing of one onely syllable may so confound our webbe, as I shall have a share in their glory, and they perhaps a part of my shame. And my Ancestors have heretofore bene surnamed Higham or Eyquem, a surname which also belongs to a house well known in England. As for my other name, it is any bodies that shall have a minde to it. So shall I happily honour a Porter in my stead. And suppose I had a particular marke or badge for my selfe, what can it marke when I am no more extant? May it desseigne or favour inanity?

*nunc levior cippus non imprimit ossa?
Laudat posteritas; nunc non è Manibus illis,
Nunc non è tumultu fortunatque fuvilla
Nascuntur viole?*¹

Doth not the grave-stone on such bones sit light?
Posterity applauds: from such a spright,
From such a tombe, from ashes blessed so,
Shall there not violets (in cart-loads) grow?

But of this I have spoken elsewhere. As for the rest, in a whole battell, where ten thousand are either mayned or skaine, there are not peradventure fifteene that shall be much spoken off. It must be some eminent greatnes, or important consequence that fortune hath joyned unto it to make a private action prevaile, not of a meane shot alone, but of a chieftaine: for to kill a man or two or tenne; for one to present himselfe undantedly to death, is indeed something to every one of us in particular: for a mans free-hold goes on it: But in regarde of the world they are such ordinary things, so many are daily seene, and so sundry alike must concurre together to produce a notable effect, that wee can looke for no particular commendation by them.

*- casus multis hic cognitus, ac iam
Tritus, et è medio fortuna ductus acerbo.*

This case is knowne of many, worne with nothing,
Drawne from the middle heape of fortunes
doting.

Of so many thousands of worthie-valiant men, which fifteene hundred yeares since have died in France with their weapons in hand, not one hundred have come to our knowledge: The memory not onely of the Generals and Leaders, but also of the battels and victories lieth now low-buried in oblivion. The fortunes of more than halfe the world, for want of a register, stirre not from their place, and vanish away without continuance. Had I all the unknowne events in my possession, I am persuaded I might easily supplant those that

are knowne in all kindes of examples. What, of the Romanes themselves and of the Græcians, amongst so many writers and testimonies, and so infinit rare exploits and matchles examples, how are so few of them come to our notice?

*Ad nos vix tenuis fama perlabitur aura.*¹

Scarcely to us doth passe
Fames thin breath, how it was.

It shall be much, if a hundred yeares hence the civill warres which lately we have had in France, be but remembred in grosse. The Lacedemonians, as they were going to their battles, were wont to sacrifice unto the Muses, to the end their deedes might be well written and worthily registered; deeming it a divine favor and unusual grace, that noble actions might finde testimonies able to give them life and memory. Thinke we that at every shot that hits us, or at every dangerous attempt we runne into, to have a clarke present to enrole it: And besides, it may be that a hundred clarkes shall write them, whose commentaries shall not continue three daies, and shall never come to anybodys sight. We have but the thousandth part of ancient writings: It is Fortune, which according to her favor gives them either shorter or longer life; and what we have, we may lawfully doubt of, whether it be the worse, since we never saw the rest. Histories are not written upon every small trifle: It is requisite that a man have bene conqueror of an Empire or of a Kingdome; a man must have obtained two and fiftie set battles, and ever with a lesser number of men, as Cæsar did. Tenne thousand good-fellowes, and many great captaines have died most valiantly and coragiously in pursuite of her, whose names have continued no longer then their wives and children lived:

*— quos fama obscura recondit.*²

Whom fame obscure before
Layes up in unknowne store.

Even of those whom we see to doe excellently well, if they have but once continued so three months, or so many yeares, there is no more speech of them then if they had never bin. Whosoever shall in due measure proportion and impartially consider, of what kinde of people, and of what deedes the glory is kept in the memory of bookes, he shall finde there are few actions and very few persons that may justly pretend any right in them. How many vertuous men have we seene to survive their owne reputation, who even in their presence

¹ PERS. Sat. i. 37.

² JUVEN. Sat. xiii. 9.

¹ VIRG. ÆN. l. vii. 646.

² Ib. l. v. 292.

have seen the honor and glorie which in their young daies they had right-justly purchased, to be cleane extinguished? And doe we for three yeares of this fantastical and imaginarie life lose and foregoe our right and essentiall life, and engage our selves in a perpetuall death? The wiser sort propose a right-fairer and much more just end unto themselves, to so urgent and weighty an enterprise. *Recte facti, secisse merces est: Officii fructi, ipsum officium est:*

'The reward of well-doing is the doing, and the fruit of our duty is our duty.' It might peradventure be excusable in a Painter or other artificer, or also in a Rhetorician or Gramarian, by his labours to endeavor to purchase a name: But the actions of vertue are themselves too-too noble to seeke any other reward then by their own worth and merit, and especially to seeke it in the vanity of mans judgement. If this false-fond opinion doe notwithstanding serve and stead a common wealth to hold men in their dutie: if the people be thereby stirred up to vertue: if Princes be any way touched to see the world lesse and commend the memorie of Trajan, and detest the remembrance of Nero: if that doth moove them to see the name of that arch-villaine, heretofore so dreadfull and so much redoubted of all, so boldly cursed and so freely outraged by the first scholer that undertakes him: Let it hardly be increased, and let us (as much as in us lieth) still foster the same amongst ourselves. And Plato employing all meanes to make his Citizens vertuous, doth also perswade them not to contemne the peoples good estimation. And saith that through some divine inspiration it commeth to passe that even the wicked know often, as well by word as by opinion, how to distinguish justly the good from the bad. This man, together with his master, are wonderfull and bold workmen to joyne divine operations and revelations wheresoever humane force faileth. And therefore did perverture Timon (deeming thereby to wrong him) surname him the great forger of miracles. *Ut tragici poetæ confugiunt ad Deum, cum explicare argumenti exitum non possunt.*² "As Poets that write Tragedies have recourse to some God when they cannot unfold the end of their argument." Since men by reason of their insufficiencie cannot well pay themselves with good lawfull coine, let them also employ false money. This meane hath beene practised by all the law-givers: And there is no common wealth where there is not some mixture either of ceremonious

vanity or of false opinion, which as a restraint serveth to keepe the people in awe and dutie. It is therefore that most of them have such fabulous grounds and trifling beginnings, and enriched with supernaturall mysteries. It is that which hath given credit unto adulterate and unlawfull religions, and hath induced men of understanding to favour and countenance them. And therefore did Numa and Sertorius, to make their men have a better believe, feed them with this foppery: the one, that the Nymph Egeria, the other that his white Ilinde, brought him all the counsels he tooke from the Gods. And the same authoritie which Numa gave his lawes under the title of this Goddesses patronage, Zoroaster, Law-giver to the Bactrians and Persians, gave it to his, under the name of the God Oromazis. Trismegistus, of the Egyptians, of Mercury: Zamolzis, of the Scythians, of Vesta: Charondas, of the Chalcedonians, of Saturne: Minos, of the Candiot, of Jupiter: Lycurgus, of the Lacedemonians, of Apollo: Dracon and Solon, of the Athenians, of Minerva. And every common wealth hath a God to her chiefe: al others falsly, but that truly which Moses instituted for the people of Jewry descended from Egypt. The Bedoins religion (as saith the Lord of Jouinvile) held among other things that his soule which among them all died for his Prince went directly into another more happy body much fairer and stronger than the first: by means whereof they much more willingly hazarded their lives for his sake.

*In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces Mortis: et ignavum est redituræ parcere vitæ.*¹ Those men sword minded, can death entertaine, Thinke base to spare the life that turnes againe.

Loe here, although very vaine, a most needfull doctrine and profitable belief. Everie Nation hath store of such examples in it selfe. But this subject would require a severall discourse. Yet to say a word more concerning my former purpose: I do not counsell Ladies any longer to call their duty honour: *ut enim consuetudo loquitur, id solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari famâ gloriosum.*² "For as custome speakes, that only is called honest which is glorious by popular report." Their duty is the marke; their honour but the barke of it. Nor doe I perswade them to give us this excuse of their refusall in payment; for I suppose their intentions, their desire, and their will, which are parts wherein honour can see nothing, forasmuch as nothing

¹ SEN. *Epist.* lxxxii.² CIC. *Nat. Deor.* l. i.¹ LUCAN. l. i. 461.² CIC. *Fin.* l. ii.

appeareth outwardly, there are yet more ordered then the effects.

*Qua, quia non licent, non facit, illa facit.*¹

She doth it, though she do it not,
Because she may not doe't (God wot).

The offence both toward God and in conscience would be as great to desire it as to effect the same. Besides, they are in themselves actions secret and hid; it might easily be, they would steale some one from others knowledge, whence honour dependeth, had they no other respect to their duty and affection which they beare unto chastity, in regard of it selfe. Each honorable person chuseth rather to lose his honour than to forgoe his conscience.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of Presumption.

THERE is another kind of glory, which is an over-good opinion we conceive of our worth. It is an inconsiderate affection, wherewith wee cherish our selves, which presents us unto our selves other then we are. As an amorous passion addeth beauties and lendeth graces to the subject it embraceth and maketh such as are therewith possessed, with a troubled conceit and distracted judgement, to deeme what they love, and finde what they affect, to bee other, and seeme more perfect, then in truth it is. Yet would I not have a man, for feare of offending in that point, to mis-acknowledge himselfe, nor thinke to bee lesse then hee is: A true judgement should wholly and in every respect maintaine his right. It is reason, that as in other things, so in this subject hee see what truth presenteth unto him. If he be Cæsar, let him boldly deeme himselfe the greatest Capitaine of the world. We are nought but ceremonie; ceremonie doth transport us, and wee leave the substance of things; we hold-fast by the boughs, and leave the trunk or body. Wee have taught ladies to blush, onely by hearing that named which they nothing feare to doe. Wee dare not call our members by their proper names, and feare not to employ them in all kind of dissolutenesse. Ceremonie forbids us by words to expresse lawfull and naturall things; and we beleieve it. Reason willet us to doe no bad or unlawfull things, and no man giveth credit

unto it. Here I find my selfe entangled in the lawes of Ceremonie, for it neither allowes a man to speake ill or good of himselfe. Therefore will wee leave her at this time. Those whom fortune (whether we shall name her good or bad) hath made to passe their life in some eminent or conspicuous degree, may by their publike actions witness what they are; but those whom she never employed but in base things, and of whom no man shall ever speake, except themselves doe it, they are excusable if they dare speake of themselves to such as have interest in their acquaintance, after the example of Lucilius:

*Ille velut fides arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris: neque si male cesserat, usquam
Decurrens aliud, neque si bene: quo fit, ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita semis.*¹

He trusted to his booke, as to his trusty friend
His secrets, nor did he to other refuge bend,
How ever well, or ill, with him his fortune went.
Hence is it, all the life is seene the old man spent,
As it were in a Table noted,
Which were unto some God devoted.

This man committed his actions and imaginations to his paper, and as he felt, so he pourtraied himselfe. *Nec id Rutillio et Scauro citra fidem, aut obtrECTIONIS fuit:*² "Nor was that without credit, or any imputation to Rutillius or Scaurus." I remember then, that even from my tenderest infancy, some noted in me a kind of I know not what fashion in carrying of my body and gestures, witnessing a certaine vaine and foolish fiercenesse. This I will first say of it, that it is not inconvenient to have conditions so peculiar, and propensions so incorporated in us, that we have no meane to feele, or way to know them. And of such naturall inclinations, unknowne to us, and without our consent, the body doth easily retaine some signe or impression. It was an affectation witting of his beauty, which made Alexander to bend his head a little on one side, and Alcibiades, his speech somewhat effeminate and lispings: Iulius Cæsar was wont to scratch his head with one finger, which is the countenance of a man surcharged with painefull imaginations: and Cicero (as I remember) had gotten a custome to writh his nose, which signifieth a naturall scoffer. Such motions may unawares and imperceptibly possesse us. Others there be which are artificiall, whereof I will not speake. As salutations, reverences, or congos, by which some doe often purchase the honour (but wrongfully) to be

¹ OVID, *Amor.* l. iii. *El.* iv. 4.

¹ HOR. *Ser.* l. ii. *Sat.* i. 30.

² CORN. TACIT. *Vit. Jul. Agric.*

humble, lowly, and courteous: a man may be humble through glory. I am very prodigall of cappings, namely in Summer, and I never receive any from what quality of men soever, but I give them as good and as many as they bring, except he be some servant of mine. I wish that some Princes whom I know would be more sparing and impartiall dispensers of them, for, being so indiscreetly employed, they have no force at all: If they be without regard, then are they without effect. Amongst disordered countenances, let us not forget the sterne looke of Constantius the Emperour, who in publike held ever his head bolt-upright, without turning or bending the same on any side, no not so much as to looke on them that saluted him sideling, holding his body so fixt and unmoveable, that let his coche shake never so much, he kept still up-right: he durst never spit nor wipe his nose nor drie his face before the people. I wot not whether those gestures which were noted in me were of this first condition, and whether in truth I had any secret propension to this fault, as it may well be: and I cannot answer for the motions of my body. But concerning those of the soule, I will here ingenuously confesse what I thinke of them. There are two parts in this glory: which is to say, for a man to esteeme himselfe overmuch, the other, not sufficiently to esteeme of others. For the one, first me thinks these considerations ought somewhat to be accompted of. I feele my selfe surcharged with one error of the mind, which both as bad, and much more as importunate, I utterly dislike. I endeavour to correct it; but I cannot displace it. It is, because I abate the just value of those things which I possesse; and enhance the worth of things by how much they are more strange, absent and not mine owne. This humor extends it selfe very farre, as doth the prerogative of the authority, wherewith husbands looke upon their owne wives with a vicious disdain, and many fathers upon their children: so doe I, and betweene two like workes would I ever weigh against mine. Not so much that the jealousie of my preferment, and amendment troubleth my judgement, and hindereth me from pleasing my selfe, as that mastery her self begets a contempt of that which a man possesseth and oweth. Policies, far customes and tongues flatter me; and I perceive the Latine tongue by the favour of her dignity to deceive me, beyond what belongs unto her, as children and the vulgar sort. My neighbours economie; his house, and his horse, though but of equal value, is more worth then mine by how much more it is not mine owne. Besides, because I am most

ignorant in mine owne matters, I admire the assurance, and wonder at the promise that every man hath of himselfe: whereas there is almost nothing that I wot I know, nor that I dare warrant my selfe to be able to doe. I have not my faculties in proposition or by estate, and am not instructed in them but after the effect: as doubtfull of mine owne strength, as uncertaine of anothers force. Whence it followeth, if commendably I chance upon any one piece of worke, I rather impute it to my fortune, then ascribe it to mine industry; forasmuch as I designe them all to hazard and in feare. Likewise I have this in general, that of all the opinions which Antiquity hath had of men in grose, those which I most willingly embrace, and whereon I take most hold, are such as most vilifie, condemne, and annihilate us. Me thinks Philosophy hath never better cardes to shew then when she checketh our presumption, and crosseth our vanity; when in good sooth she acknowledgeth her irresolution, her weaknesse and her ignorance. Me seemeth the over good conceit and selfe-weening opinion man hath of himselfe, is the nurse-mother of the falsest opinions, both publike and particular. Those which a cocke-horse will perch themselves upon the Epicicle of Mercury, and see so farre into heaven, they even pull out my teeth. For in the study which I professe, the subject whereof is Man, finding so extreme a varietie of judgements, so inextricable a labyrinth of difficulties one upon the necke of another, so great diversitie, and so much uncertaintie, yea even in the schoole of wisdome it selfe: you may imagine since those men could never be resolved of the knowledge of themselves and of their owne condition, which is continually before their eyes, which is ever within them; since they know not how that moveth, which themselves cause to move, nor how to set forth the springs, and decipher the wards, which themselves hold and handle, how should I thinke of the true cause of the flux and reflux of the river Nilus? The curiositie to know things hath bene given to men (as saith the holy Scripture) for a scourge. But to come to my particular, it is very hard (mee seemeth) that some other regardeth him selfe lesse, yea and some other esteemeth me lesse than I esteeme my selfe. I accompt my selfe of the common sort, except in that I deeme my selfe guiltie of the basest, and culpable most popular defects: but not disavowed nor excused. And I only prise my selfe wherein I know my worth. If any glory be in me, it is but superficially infused into me; by the treason of my complexion: and hath no solide body appearing

to the sight of my judgement. I am but sprinkled over, but not thoroughly dyed. For in truth, touching the effects of the spirit in what manner soever, there never came any thing from me that contented me. And others approbation is no current payment for me. My judgement is tender and hard, especially in mine owne behalf. I feeble my self to waver and bend through weaknesse : I have nothing of mine owne to satisfie my judgement. My sight is indifferently cleare and regular ; but if I take any serious worke in hand, it is troubled and dimmed : as I perceive most evidently in poesie : I love it exceedingly : I have some insight or knowledge in other mens labours, but in truth I play the novice when I set my hand unto it : then can I not abide my selfe. A man may play the foole every where else, but not in poesie :

mediocribus esse poetis

*Non dit, non homines, non concessere, columnæ.*¹
Nor Gods, nor men, nor pillars gave the graunt,
That Poets in a meane, should meanelly chaunt.

I would to God this sentence were found in the front of our printers or stationers shops, to hinder the entrance of so many baldrimers.

— *verum*
*Nil securius est malo Poeta.*²
Nothing securer may be had,
Then is a Poet bold and bad.

Why have we no such people? Dionysius the father esteemed nothing in himselfe so much as his poesie. In the times of the Olimpike games, with chariots exceeding all other in magnificence, he also sent poets and musitians to present his verses, with tents and pavillions gilt and most sumptuously tapistried. When they first beganne to rehearse them, the favour and excellencie of the pronunciation did greatly allure the peoples attention ; but when they beganne to consider the fondnesse of the composition, they fell as soone to contemne them : and being more and more exasperated, fell furiously into an uproare, and headlong ranne in most spitefull manner to teare and cast downe all his pavillions. And forasmuch as his rich chariots did no good at all in their course, and the ship which carried his men, returning homeward, missed the shore of Sicilie, and was by violent stormes driven and spilt upon the coast of Tarentum, they certainly beleaved the wrath of the Gods to have beene the cause of it, as being greatly offended both against him and his vile and wicked poeme : yea and the mari-

ners themselves that escaped the shipwracke did much second the peoples opinion : to which the oracle that foretold his death seemed in some sort to subscribe : which implied that Dionysius should be neare his end, at what time he had vanquished those that should be of more worth than himselfe : which he interpreted to be the Carthaginians, who exceeded him in might. And having at any time occasion to fight or grapple with them, that he might not incurre the meaning of his prediction, he would often temper and avoide the victorie. But he mis-understood the matter, for the God observed the time of advantage, when as through partiall favour and injustice he obtained the victory over the tragicall poets of Athens, who were much better than he was, where he caused, in contention of them, his tragedie, entitled the Leneiens, to be puklikely acted. After which usurped victorie, he presently deceased : and partly through the excessive joy he thereby conceived. What I finde excusable in mine is not of it selfe and according to truth : but in comparison of other compositions, worse then mine, to which I see some credit given. I envie the good the happe of those which can applaude and gratifie themselves by their owne labours ; for it is an easie matter for one to please himselfe, since he drawes his pleasure from himselfe : especially if one be somewhat constant in his owne wilful-

know a poetaster, gainst whom both weake and strong, in company and at home, both heaven and earth, affirme and say he hath no skill or judgement in poesie, who for all that is nothing dismayed, nor will not abate one jote of that measure whereunto he hath fitted himselfe ; but is ever beginning againe, ever consulting anew, and alwaies persisting ; by so much the more fixed in his opinion by how much the more it concerneth him alone, and he only is to maintaine it. My compositions are so farre from applauding me, that as many times as I looke them over, so often am I vexed at them.

*Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,
Me quoque qui feci, iudice, digna lini.*¹
When I re-read, I shame I write ; for much I see,
My selfe, who made them, being judge, blotted
to be.

I have ever an idea in my mind which presents me with a better forme then that I have alreadie framed ; but I can neither lay hold on it nor effect it. Yet is that idea but of the meaner stamp. I thereby conclude that the productions of those rich and

¹ HOR. *Art. Poet.* 372.

² MART. l. xii. *Epig.* lxiy.

³ OVID. *Pont.* l. i. c. vi. 15.

great mindes of former ages are farre beyond the extreame extention of my wish and imagination. Their compositions doe not only satisfie and fill me, but they astonish and wrap me into admiration. I judge of their beauty, I see it, if not to the end, at least so farre as it is impossible for me to aspire unto it. Whatsoever I undertake (as Plutarke saith of one) I owe a sacrifice to the Graces, hoping thereby to gaine their favour.

— *si quid enim placet,
Si quid dulce hominum, sensibus influit,
Debentur lepidis omnia gratis.*

If ought do please, if any sweet
The sense of men with pleasures greet,
To thank the Graces it is meet.

They altogether forsake me : what I doe, it is but bunglingly, and wants both polishing and beauty. I can rate them at no higher value then they are worth. My workmanship addeth no grace unto the matter. And that's the reason I must have it strong, with good holdfast, and shining of it selfe. If I chance to seize on any popular or more gay, it is to follow me, who love not a ceremonious prudence and gloomy wisdom, as doth the world ; and to glad my selfe, not my stile, who would rather have it grave and severe ; if at least I may call that a stile which is formelesse and abrupt speech ; a popular gibrish, and a proceeding without definition, without partition, and sans conclusion, troubled as that of Amasanius and Rabirius. I am neither pleased, nor glad, nor tickled. The best tale in the world comming into my hands becomes withered and tarnished. I cannot speake but in good earnest, and am altogether barren of that facility which I see in many of my companions, to entertaine commers, to keep a whole troupe in talk, to amuse a princes eares with all manner of discourses and never to be weary, and never to want matter, by reason of the graces they have in applying their first approaches, and fitting them to the humour and capacity of those they have to doe withall. Princes love not greatly serious and long discourses, nor I to tell tales. The first and easiest reasons (which are commonly the best taken) I can neither employ nor make use of them. I am an ill orator to the common sort. I speake the utmost I know of all matters. Cicero thinks, in discourses of philosophy, the exordium to be the hardest part : if it be so, I wisely lay hold on the conclusion. Yet should a man know how to turne his strings to all aires : and the sharpest comes ever last in play. There is at last as much perfection in raising up an empty as to uphold

a weighty thing : a man must sometimes handle matters but superficially, and at other times dive into them. I wot well that most men keep themselves on this low stage because they conceive not of things but by the outward shew. I also know that the greatest clarkes, yea Xenophon and Plato, are often seene to yeeld to this low and popular fashion, in speaking of matters, upholding it with those graces which they never want. As for the rest, my language hath neither facility nor fluency in it, but is harsh and sharpe, having free and unsinnowy dispositions. And so it liketh me, if not by my judgement, yet by my inclination. But yet I perceive that sometimes I wade too farre into it, and that forcing my selfe to avoide art and affectation, I fall into it another way.

— *brevi esse laboro :*

*Q. Virius flo.*¹
To be short labour I ?
I darker grow thereby.

Plato saith, that either long or short are not properties that either diminish or give price unto speech. If I should undertake to follow this other smoothe, even and regular stile, I should never attaine unto it. And although the cadences and breakings of Salust doe best agree with my humour, yet doe I finde Caesar both greater and lesse easie to be represented. And if my inclination doth rather carrie mee to the imitation of Senecaes stile, I omit not to esteeme Plutarke much more. As well in silence as in speech, I am simply my naturall forme, whence happily ensueth that I am more in speaking than in writing. The motions and actions of the body give life unto words, namely, in them that move roundly and without affectation, as I doe, and that will be earnest. Behaviour, the face, the voice, the gowne, and the place, may somewhat endear those things which in themselves are but meane, as prating. Messala complaineth in Tacitus of certaine strait garments used in his time, and discommendeth the fashion of the benches whereon the Orators were to speak, saying they weakened their eloquence. My French tongue is corrupted both in the pronunciation and elsewhere by the barbarisme of my country. I never saw men of these hither-countries that did not evidently taste of his home-speech, and who often did not wound those eares that are purely French. Yet it is not because I am so cunning in my Perigordin : for I have no more use of it than of the Dutch, nor doe I greatly care.

¹ HOR. ART. POET. 25.

It is a language (as are many others round about me) like to that of Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoulesme, Limosin, and Auvergne, squatting, dragling, and filthie. There is about us, towards the mountaines, a Gascoine tongue, which I much commend and like, sinnowie, pithie, short, significant, and in truth man-like and military, more than any other I understand. As compendious, powerfull, and pertinent as the French is gracious, delicate, and copious. As for the Latine, which was given me for my mother-tongue, by reason of discontinuance, I have so lost the promptitude of it, as I cannot well make use of it in speech, and scarcely in writing, in which I have heretofore bene so ready, that I was called a master in it. Loe heere my little sufficiencie in that behalfe.

Beauty is a part of great commendation in the commerce and societie of men. It is the chiefe meane of reconciliation betweene one and other. Nor is there any man so barbarous and so hard-hearted, that in some sort feeleth not himselfe stricken with her sweetnes. The body hath a great part in our being, and therein keepees a speciall rancke. For his structure and composition are worthy due consideration. Such as goe about to sunder our two principall parts, are much to blame: they ought rather to be coupled and joyned fast together. The soule must be enjoyned not to retire her selfe to her quarter, nor to entertaine her selfe apart, nor to despise and leave the body (which she cannot well doe, except it be by some counterfained, apish trick) but ought so combine and cling fast unto him, to embrace, to cherish, assist, correct, perswade, and advise him, and if hee chance to sway or stray, then to leade and direct him: In fine, she should wed and serve him instead of a husband, that so their effects may not seeme contrary and divers, but agreeing and uniforme. Christians have a particular instruction concerning this bond, for they know that Gods justice alloweth this societie, and embraceth this conjunction of the body and soule, yea so farre as to make the body capable of everlasting rewards. And that God beholds the whole man to worke, and will have him entirely to receive either the punishment or the recompence, according to his demerits. The Peripatetike Sect (of all Sects the most sociable) attributeth this onely care unto wisdom, in common to procure and provide the good of these two associated parts: and declareth other sects to have partialized overmuch, because they had given themselves to the full consideration of this mixture; this one for the body, this other

for the soule, with one like error and oversight, and had mistaken their subject, which is man; and their guide, which in generall they avouched to be Nature. The first distinction that hath bene amongst men, and the first consideration that gave preeminences to some over others, it is very likely it was the advantage of beauty.

— *agros divisere atque dedere*
Pro facie cuiusque et viribus ingenique:
*Nam facies multum valuit, virtusque vigeant.*¹
 They lands divided, and to each man shared
 As was his face, his strength, his wit compared,
 For face and strength were then
 Much prized amongst men.

I am of a stature somewhat under the meane. This default hath not only uncomliness in it, but also incommoditie. Yea even in those which have charge and commandement over others; for the authoritie which a faire presence and corporall majestie endoweth a man withal is wanting. Caius Marius did not willingly admit any Souldiers in his bands that were not six foot high. The Courtier hath reason to require an ordinary stature in the gentleman he frameth, rather than any other: and to avoid all strangenesse that may make him to be pointed at. But if he misse of this mediocritie, to chuse that he rather offend in lownes than in tallnes, I would not doe it in a militarie man. Little men, saith Aristotle, are indeed pretty, but not beauteous, nor goodly; and in greatnes is a great soule knowne as is beauty in a great and high body. The Ethiopians and Indians, saith he, in chusing of their Kings and Magistrates, had an especial regard to the beautie and tallnes of the persons. They had reason, for it breedeth an awfull respect in those that follow him, and a kinde of feare in his enemies, to see a goodly, tall, and handsome man march as chiefe and generall in the head of any armie, or front of a troupe:

Ipse inter primos præstanti corpore Turnus
*Virtutis, arma tenens, et toto vertice super.*²
 Turnus, a goodly man, amongst them that led,
 Stood arm'd, then all they higher by the head.

Our great, divine, and heavenly King, all whose circumstances ought with much care, religion, and reverence, to be noted and observed, hath not refused the bodies commendation. *Speciosus forma præ filiis hominum.*³ "In favor beautiful above the sonnes of men." And Plato wisheth beautie to be joynd unto temperance and fortitude in the preservers of his Common-

¹ LUCR. l. v. 11, 20. ² VIRG. *Æn.* l. vii. 725. ³ PS. xlv. 3.

wealth. Is it not a great spite, if being amongst your owne servants, a stranger commeth to yourselfe to ask you where your Lord or Master is? And that you have nothing but the remainder of a capping, which is as well put off to your Barber, or to your Secretarie? As it happened to poore Philopœmen, who having left his company behind, and coming alone into a house where he was expresly looked for, his hostess, who knew him not, and saw him to be so ill-favored a fellow, employed him to help her maides draw water, and to mend the fire for the service of Philopœmen. The gentlemen of his traine being come and finding him so busily at work (for he failed not to fulfil his hostesses commandement), enquired of him what he did, who answered, "I pay the penaltie of my unhandsonnesse." Other beauties are for women. The beautie of a handsome comely tallnesse is the only beautie of men. Where lownesse and littlenesse is, neither the largenesse nor roundnesse of a forehead, nor the whitenesse nor lovelinesse of the eyes, nor the pretty fashion of a nose, nor the slendernes of the eare, littlenesse of the mouth, order and whitenesse of teeth, smooth thickness of a beard, browne like a chesse-nut, well-curved and upstanding haire, just proportion of the head, freshnes of colour, the cheereful aspect of a pleasing face, the sweet-smelling of a body, nor the well decorated composition of all limmes, can make a handsome beauteous man. As for me, I am of a strong and well compacted stature, my face is not fat but full, my complexion betweene joviall and melancholy, indifferently sanguine and hot.

Vnde rigent setis mihi crura, et pectora villis: 1

Whereby my legs and brest,
With rough haire are oppress,

My health is blith and lustie, though well-stroken in age, seldome troubled with diseases: Such I was, for I am now engaged in the approaches of age, having long since past over forty yeares.

*— minutatim vires et robur adultum
Frangit, et in partem pejorem liquitur ætas. 2*

By little and a little age breakes strength,
To worse and worse declining melts at length.

What hereafter I shall be will be but half a being. I shall be no more my selfe. I daily escape, and still steale my selfe from my selfe:

Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes. 3

¹ MART. l. vi. *Epig.* lvi. 1.

² LUCR. l. ii. 1140.

³ HOR. l. ii. *Epist.* ii. 55.

Yeares as they passe away,
Of all our things make prey.

Of addressing, dexteritie, and disposition, I never had any, yet am I the son of a well disposed father, and of so blithe and merry a disposition, that it continued with him even to his extreamest age. He seldome found any man of his condition, and that could match him in all exercises of the body; as I have found few that have not out-gone me, except it were in running, wherein I was of the middle sort. As for musicke, were it either in voice, which I have most harsh, and very unapt, or in instruments, I could never be taught any part of it. As for dancing, playing at tennis, or wrestling, I could never attaine to any indifferent sufficiencie, but none at all in swimming, in fencing, in vaulting, or in leaping. My hands are so stiffe and nummie, that I can hardly write for my selfe, so that what I have once scribled, I had rather frame it a new than take the paines to correct it; and I reade but little better. I perceive how the auditorie censureth me; otherwise I am no bad clarke. I cannot very well close up a letter, nor could I ever make a pen. I was never good carver at the table. I could never make readie nor arme a horse; nor handsomely array a hawke upon my fist, nor cast her off, or let her flie, nor could I ever speake to dogges, to birds, or to horses. The conditions of my body are, in fine, very well agreeing with those of my minde, wherein is nothing lively, but onely a compleate and constant vigor. I endure labour and paine, yet not very well, unlesse I carry my selfe unto it, and no longer than my desire leadeth and directeth me.

Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem. 1

While earnestnesse for sport or gaine,
Sweetly deceives the sowrest paine.

Otherwise, if by any pleasure I be not allured, and if I have other direction than my genuine and free will, I am nothing worth, and I can never fadge well: for I am at such a stay, that except for health and life, there is nothing I will take the paines to fret my selfe about, or will purchase at so high a rate as to trouble my wits for it, or be constrained thereunto.

*— Tanti mihi non sit opaci
Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare volvitur
aurum: 2*

So much I weigh not shadow Tagus sande,
Nor gold that roules into the Sea from land,

I am extreame lie lazie and idle, and exceedingly free, both by nature and art. I

¹ SER. l. ii. *Sat.* ii. 12. ² JUVEN. *Sat.* iii. 54.

would as willingly lend my blood as my care. I have a minde free and altogether her owne; accustomed to follow her owne humor. And to this day never had, nor commanding, nor forced master. I have gon as farre, and kept what pace pleased me best; which hath enfeebled and made me unprofitable to serve others, and made me fit and apt, but onely for my selfe. And as for me, no man ever needed to force this heavie, lithen, and idle nature of mine: for, having even from my birth found my selfe in such a degree of fortune, I have found occasion to stay there (an occasion notwithstanding, that a thousand others of mine acquaintance would have taken as a plancke to passe over to search, to agitation and to unquietnes). And as I have sought for nothing, so I have taken nothing.

*Non agimur tumidis ventis Aquilone secundo,
Nou tamen adversis atatem ducimus austris:
V'ribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,
Extremi primorum, extremis usque prioris.*¹

With full sailes, prosperous winde, we do not drive,
Nor yet with winde full in our teeth doe live.
In strength, in wit, in virtue, shape, goods,
place,
Last of the first, before the last we pace.

I have had no need but of sufficiencie to content my selfe: which being well taken is ever a regiment for the mind, equally difficult in all sorts of conditions; and which by use we see more easily found in want than in plenty; peradventure, because that according to the course of our other passions, the greedinesse of riches is more sharpened by their uses than by their need: and the vertue of moderation more rare than that of patience. And I have had no need but to enjoy those goods quietly, which God of his bounty had bestowed upon me. I have tasted no kinde of tedious trouble. I have seldome managed other than mine owne businesse: or if I have, it hath beene upon condition I might do it at my leisure, and according to my will, committed unto me, by such as trusted me and knew me well, and would not importune me. For the skilfull rider will reape some service of a restie and wind-broken jade. My very childe-hood hath beene directed by a soft, milde, gentle and free fashion, and ever exempted from rigorous subjection. Al which hath endowed me with a delicate kinde of complexion, and made me incapable of any care: So that I love men should conceale my losses from me and the disorders which concerne me. In the chapter of my charges and expences, I have

set downe what my negligence or carelesnesse costs me, both to feed and entertaine my selfe.

— *hec nempe super sunt,
Quæ dominum fallant, quæ prosint furibus.*¹
This remnant of accompts I have,
Which may deceive Lords, help a Knave.

I love not to know an accompt of what I have, that I may lesse exactly feeble my losses: I desire those that live with me, where they want affection or good effects, to cozen and pay me with good apparances. For want of sufficient constancy to endure the importunity of contrary or crosse accidents, whereunto we are subject; and because I cannot alwaies keepe my selfe prepared to governe and order my affaires as much as I am able, I foster this opinion in me, relying wholly upon fortune, and ready to take everything at the worst, and resolve to beare that worst mildly and patiently. About that only doe I busie my selfe, and to that end do I direct all my discourses. In any dangerous matter I care not so much how I may avoide it, and how little it importeth whether I avoide it or no; and what were it if I would continue in it? Being unable to direct events, I governe my selfe; and if they apply not themselves to me, I apply my selfe to them: I have no great art to shunne fortune, and how to scape or force it, and with wisdomed to addresse matters to my liking: I have also lesse sufferance to endure the sharpe and painefull care which belongeth to that. And the most toilesome state for me is to be doubtful in matters of weight, and agitated between feare and hope. To deliberate, be it but in slight matters, doth importune me. And I feel my spirit more perplexed to suffer the motions of doubt and shakings of consultation, than to be settled and resolved about any accident whatsoever after the chance is once cast. Few passions have troubled my sleepe, but of deliberations the least doth trouble it. Even as of high-waies, I willingly seeke to avoide the downe-hanging and slippery, and take the beaten-path, though myrie and deepe, so I may go no lower, and there seeke I safetie. So love I pure mishapes, and which exercise and turmoile me no more, after the uncertaintie of their mending: and which even at the first cast, drive me directly into sufferance.

— *dubia plus torquent malis.*²
Evils yet in suspence,
Doe give us more offence.

¹ HOR. l. ii. *Epist.* ii. 101.

¹ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* vi. 45.

² SEN. *Agam.* act iii. sc. 1, 29.

In events, I carry my selfe man-like ; in the conduct childishly. The horror of a fall doth more hurt me than the blow. The play is not worth the candle. The covetous man hath a worse reckoning of his passion than the poore ; and the jealous man than the cuckold. And it is often lesse harme for one to loose his farme, than pleade and wrangle for it : the slowest march is the safest. It is the seate of constancie. Therein you have no need but of your selfe. There she takes her footing and wholly resteth upon her selfe. This example of a gentleman, whom many have knowne, hath it not some Philosophicall shew ? This man having passed all his youth like a good fellow, a jollie companion, a great talker, and a merry ladd, being now well in yeares, would needs be married. Remembering himselfe how much the subject of cuckoldry had given him cause to speake and scoff at others ; to put himselfe under covert-baron, he tooke him a wife from out that place where all men may have them for money, and with her made his alliance : good morrow whoore, good morrow cuckold. And there is nothing wherewith he oftener and more openly entertained such as came unto him, than with this tale : whereby he bridled the secret prattlings of mockers, and blunted the point of their reproch.

Concerning ambition, which is next neighbor, or rather daughter, to presumption, it had bene needfull (to advance me) that fortune had come to take me by the hand : for to put my selfe into any care for an uncertaine hope, and to submit my selfe to all difficulties, waiting on such as seeke to thrust themselves into credite and reputation, in the beginning of their progresse I could never have done it.

— *Spem pretio non emo,*¹

Expence of present pay
For hope, I do not lay.

I fasten myself on that which I see and hold, and go not far from the shore :

*Alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat arenas,*²

Keepe water with one oare,
With th' other grate the shore.

Besides a man seldom comes to these preferments but in hazarding first his owne : and I am of opinion if that which a man hath sufficeth to maintaine the condition wherein he was borne and brought up, it is folly to let it goe upon the uncertaintie of encreasing the same. He fo whom fortune refuseth meanes to settle his estate and

establish a quiet and reposed being, is excusable if he cast what he hath at hazard, since thus as well as thus necessitie sends him to shift and search out.

*Capienda rebus in malis precepta via est.*³

A headlong course is best,
When mischiefs are addrest.

And I rather excuse a younger brother to make sale of his inheritance than him who hath the honor of his house in charge, who cannot fall into wants but through his default. I have by the counsell of my good friends of former times found the way shorter and easier to rid my selfe of this desire and keepe my selfe huslit :

*Cui sit conditio dulcis, sine pulvere palma.*⁴

Who like it well to beare the prize,
But take no toile in any wise.

Judging also rightly of my forces that they were not capable of great matters : and remembering the saying of Lord Oliver, whilome Chancellor of France, who said that Frenchmen might be compared to apes, who, climbing up a tree, never cease skipping from bough to bough, till they come to the highest, where they shew their bare tails.

Turpe est quod nequeat capiti committere pondus,

*Et pressum inflexo mox dare terga genu.*⁵

'Tis shame, more than it can well beare, on head to packe,
And thereby soone oppress't with bended knee flie backe.

Such qualities as are now in me void of reproach, in that age I deemed unprofitable. The facilitie of my maners had been named faintnesse and weaknes, faith and conscience would have bene thought scrupulous and superstitious : liberty and freedome, infortunate, inconsiderate, and rash. Misfortune serveth to some purpose. It is not amiss to be born in a much depraved age : for in comparison of others, you are judged vertuous, very cheape. In our dayes he that is but a paricide, or a sacrilegious person, is a man of honesty and honor.

*Nunc si depositum non inficiatur amicus,
Si reddat veterem cuncta tota urugine foetum,
Prodigiosa fides, et Thuscis digna libellis,
Quaque coronat lustrari debeat agna.*⁶

If now a friend deny not what was laid in trust,
If wholly he restore th' old bellows with their rust :

A wondrous trust, to be in chronicles related,
And should with sacrifice, as strange, be expiated.

¹ SEN. *Agam.* act ii. sc. 1. 47.

² HOR. l. i. *Epist.* i. 51.

³ PROP. l. iii. *Eleg.* viii. 5.

⁴ JUVEN. *Sat.* xiii. 60.

¹ TER. *Adel.* act ii. sc. 2.

² PROP. l. iii. *Eleg.* ii. 23.

And never was there time or place wherein more assured and great reward was proposed unto Princes for goodnesse and justice. The first that shall be advised by these meanes to thrust himselfe into favour and credit, I am much deceived if in part of payment he get not the start of his fellowes. Force and violence can do very much, but never all. Wee see merchants, country justices, and artificers to march cheeke by jowl with our nobilitie in valour and militarie discipline. They performe honourable combates, both publike and private. They batter and defend townes and cities in our present warres. A Prince smothereth his commendation amid this throng. Let him shine over others with humanitie, with truth, loyaltie, temperance, and above all with justice, markes now adays rare, unknowne, and exiled. It is only the peoples will wherewith he may effect what he pleaseth : and no other qualities can allure their will so much as they, as being the profitablest for them : *Nihil est tam popolare quam bonitas* : "Nothing is so popular as goodnesse is." By this proposition I had been a rare great man ; as by that of certaine ages past I am now a pigme and popular man ; in which it was common, if stronger qualities did not concur with all, to see a man temperate in his revenges, milde in revenging of offences, religious in keeping of his word, neither double nor over tractable, nor applying his faith to others will, or to every occasion. I would rather let all affaires go to wracke than breake my word for their avails. For touching this new-found vertue of faining and dissimulation, which now is so much in credit, I hate it to the death : and of all vices I finde none that so much witnesseth demisnesse and basenesse of heart. It is a coward and servile humour for a man to disguise and hide himselfe under a maske, and not dare to shew himselfe as he is. Thereby our men address themselves to trecherie : being trained to utter false words, they make no conscience to breake them. A generous minde ought not to belie his thoughts, but make shew of his inmost parts : there all is good, or at least all is humane. Aristotle thinks it an office of magnanimitie to hate and love openly, to judge and speake with all libertie, and never (though the prise of truth goe on it) to make esteeme either of the approbation or reprobation of others. Apollonius said it was for servants to lie, and for freemen to speake truth. It is the chiefe and fundamentall part of vertue. Shee must be loved for her owne sake. He that speaketh truth because he is bound to doe so, and for

that he serveth, and that feares not to tell a lie when it little importeth another man, is not sufficiently true. My mind of her own complexion detesteth falsehood, and hateth to think on it. I feele an inward bashfulness and a stinging remorse if at any time it scape me, as sometimes it doth if unpremeditated occasions surprise me. A man must not alwaies say all he knowes, for that were follie : but what a man speaks ought to be agreeing to his thoughts, otherwise it is impiety. I know not what benefit they expect that ever faine, and so uncessantly dissemble ; except it be not to be beleaved, even when they speake truly. That may deceive men once or twice, but to make a profession to cary it away smoothly, and as some of our Princes have done, to boast that if their shirt were privie to their secret and true cogitations, they would burne it : which was the saying of ancient Metellus Macedonicus ; and that he who cannot dissemble cannot reign, serves but only to warne those who have to deale with them, that what they say is but untruth and dissimulation : *Quo quis versutior et callidior est hoc inuisior et suspectior, detracta opinione probitalis* : "The finer-headed and more subtle-brained a man is, the more is he hated and suspected if once the opinion of honesty be taken from him." It were great simplicity for a man to suffer himselfe to be misled either by the looks or wordes of him that outwardly professeth what he is not inwardly, as did Tiberius. And I know not what share such people may challenge in the commerce of men, never producing any thing that may be taken for good payment. He who is disloyall to truth is likewise false against lying. Such as in our daies ; in the establishing of a Princes dutie, have only considered the good and felicitie of his affaires, and preferred the same before the respect of his faith and conscience, would say something to a Prince whose affaires fortune hath so disposed that with once breaking and falsifying of his word he might for ever confirme and establish them. But it goeth otherwise. A man may more than once come to such a bargain. A man during his life concludeth more than one peace or treatie. The commodity or profit that inviteth them to the first disloyalty (and daily some offer themselves, as to all other trecheries), sacrileges, murders, rebellions, treasons, are undertaken for some kinde of profit. But this first gaine brings ever infinite losses and dangers with it : casting this Prince from out all commerce and meanes of negotia-

tion by the example of this infidelitie. Soliman of the Ottomans race (a race little regarding the keeping of promises or performance of covenants), at what time he caused his armie to land at Otranto (I being then but a child), having knowne that Mercurin of Gratinara, and the inhabitants of Castro, were detained prisoners after the towne was yielded, contrary to that which by his captaines had beene capitulated with them, he sent word they should be released, and that having other weighty enterprises in hand in that country, such disloyalty, although it had apparance of great and present benefit, yet in time to come it would bring a distrust and reproch of infinite prejudice. As for me, I had rather be importunate and indiscreet than a flatterer and a dissembler. I allow a man may entermingle some point of fiercenesse and wilfulness to keepe himselfe so entire and open as I am, without consideration of others. And mee seemeth I become a little more free where I should be lesse, and that by the opposition of respect I grow earnest. It may also be that for want of art I follow mine owne nature. Presenting to the greater sort the very same licence of speech and boldnes of countenance that I bring from my house : I perceive how much it inclineth towards indiscretion and incivillitie. But although I be so fashioned, my spirit is not sufficiently yielding to avoid a sudden question, or to scape it by some winding, nor to dissemble a truth, nor have I memory able to continue it so fained, nor assurance sufficient to maintaine it; and I play the braggard through feebleness. And therefore I apply my selfe to ingenuitie, and ever to speake truth and what I think, both by complexion and by intention; leaving the successe thereof unto fortune. Aristippus said that the chiefest commoditie he reaped by philosophy was, that he spake freely and sincerely to all men. Memory is an instrument of great service, and without which, judgement wil hardly discharge his duty, wherof I have great want. What a man will propose unto me, he must doe it by peece-meales : for, to answer to a discourse that hath many heads, lieth not in my power. I cannot receive a charge, except I have my writing tables about me : and if I must remember a discourse of any consequence, be it of any length, I am driven to this vile and miserable necessitie, to learne every word I must speake by rote; otherwise I should never do it wel or assuredly, for feare my memory should in my greatest need faile me; which is very hard unto me, for I must have three houres to learne three verses. Moreover, in any long discourse,

the libertie or authoritie to remove the order, to change a word, uncessantly altering the matter, makes it more difficult to be confirmed in the authors memory. And the more I distrust it, the more it troubleth me. It serveth me better by chance, and I must carelesly sollicite her, for if I urge her, she is astonished; and if it once beginne to waver, the more I sound her, the more entangled and intricate she proveth. She wil wait upon me when she list, not when I please. And what I feele in my memorie, I feele in many other parts of mine. I eschew commandement, duty, and compulsion. What I doe easily and naturally, if I resolve to doe it by expresse and prescribed appointment, I can then doe it no more. Even in my body, those parts that have some liberty, and more particular jurisdiction, doe sometimes refuse to obey me if at any time I appoint and enjoin them to doe me some necessarie services. This forced and tyrannicall preordnance doth reject them, and they either for spight or feare shrinke and are quailed. Being once in a place where it is reputed a barbarous discourtesie not to pledge those that drinke to you, where although I were used with al libertie, in favor of certaine ladies that were in company, according to the fashion of the country, I would needs play the good fellow. But it made us all mery; for the threats and preparation, that I should force my selfe beyond my naturall custome, did in such sort stop and stuffe my throat, that I was not able to swallow one drop, and was barr'd of drinking all the repast. I found my selfe gluttied and ful of drink by the overmuch swilling that my imagination had fore-conceived. This effect is more apparant in those whose imagination is more vehement and strong: yet it is naturall: and there is no man but shall sometimes have a feeling of it. An excellent archer being condemned to death, was offered to have his life saved if he would but shew any notable triall of his profession, refused to make proofe of it; fearing lest the contention of his will should make him to misse-direct his hand, and that in lieu of saving his life, he might also lose the reputation he had gotte in shooting in a bow. A man whose thoughts are busie about other matters, shall very neere within an inch keepe and alwaies hit one selfe same number and measure of paces, in a place where he walketh; but if heedily he endeavour to measure and count them, he shall finde that what he did by nature and chance, he cannot doe it so exactly by desseign. My library (which, for a cuntry library, may passe for a very faire one) is seated in

a corner of my house? If any thing come into my minde, that either I must goe seeke or write in it, for feare I should forget it in crossing of my court, I must desire some other body to remember the same for me. If speaking, I embolden my selfe never so little to digresse from my discourse, I do ever lose it; which makes me to keepe my selfe in my speech, forced, neere and close. Those that serve me, I must ever call them either by their office or countrey: for I finde it very hard to remember names. Well may I say it hath three syllables, that its sound is harsh, or that it beginneth or endeth with such a letter. And should I live long, I doubt not but I might forget mine own name, as some others have done heretofore. Messala Corvinus lived two yeeres without any memory at all, which is also reported of George Trapezoncius. And for mine owne interest, I doe often ruminate what manner of life theirs was, and whether wanting that part, I shall have sufficient to maintaine my selfe in any good sort: which looking neere unto, I feare that this defect, if it be perfect, shall lose all the functions of my soule.

*Plenus rimarum sum, hâc atque illâc perfluo.*¹

I am so full of holes, I cannot hold,

I runne out ev'ry way, when tales are told.

It hath often befallen me to forget the word which but three houres before I had either given or received of another, and to forget where I had laid my purse; let Cicero say what he list. I helpe my selfe to loose what I particularly locke up. *Memoria certe non modo philosophiam, sed omnis vitæ usum, omnesque artes una maxime continet*: "Assuredly memorie alone, of all other things, compriseth not onely philosophy, but the use of our whole life, and all the sciences." Memorie is the receptacle and the case of knowledge. Mine being so weake, I have no great cause to complaine if I know but little. I know the names of Arts in generall, and what they treat of, but nothing further. I turne and tosse over bookes, but do not studie them; what of them remains in me is a thing which I no longer acknowledge to be any bodies else. Onely by that hath my judgement profited: and the discourses and imaginations wherewith it is instructed and trained up. The authours, the place, the words, and other circumstances, I sodainly forget: and am so excellent in forgetting, that as much as any thing else I forget mine owne writings and compositions. Yea, mine owne sayings are every hand-while alleadged against my

selfe, when God wot I perceive it not. He that would know of me, whence or from whom the verses or examples which here I have huddled up are taken, should greatly put me to my shifts, and I could hardly tell it him. Yet have I not begged them, but at famous and very wel known gates, which though they were rich in themselves, did never please me, unlesse they also came from rich and honourable hands, and that authority concur with reason. It is no great marvell if my booke follow the fortune of other bookes, and my memory forgo or forget as wel what I write as what I read: and what I give as well as what I receive. Besides the defect of memory, I have others, which much further my ignorance. My wit is dull and slow, the least cloud dimmth it, so that (for example sake) I never proposed riddle unto it (were it never so easie) that it was able to expound. There is no subtiltie so vaine but confounds me. In games wherein wit may beare a part, as of chesse, of cards, of tables, and others, I could never conceive but the common and plainest draughts. My apprehension is very sluggish and gloomy; but what it once holdeth, the same it keepeth fast: and for the time it keeps it, the same it embraceth generally, strictly, and deeply. My sight is quicke, sound, perfect, and farre-seeing, but easily wearied if much charged or emploied. By which occasion I can have no great commerce with bookes but by others service which reade unto me. Plinie the younger can instruct those that have tried it, how much this fore-slowing importeth those that give themselves to this occupation. There is no spirit so wretched or so brutish, wherein some particular facultie is not seene to shine; and none so low buried, but at one hole or other it will sally out sometimes. And how it commeth to passe that a minde blinde and slumbering in all other things, is in some particular effects, lively, cleare, and excellent, a man must inquire of cunning masters. But those are the faire spirits which are universall, open, and readie to all, if not instructed, at least to be instructed. Which I alleage to accuse mine: for, be it either through weakenesse, or retchlessnesse (and to be carelesse of that which lieth at our feet, which wee have in our hands, which nearest concerneth the use of life, is a thing farre from my dogma or doctrine) there is none so simple or so ignorant as mine, in diyers such common matters, and of which, without imputation or shame, a man should never be ignorant; whereof I must needs tell some examples. I was borne and brought up in the countrey, and amidst

¹ TER. ENN. act i, sc. 2.

husbandry : I have since my predecessours quit me the place and possession of the goods I enjoy, both businesse and husbandry in hand, I cannot yet cast account either with penne or counters. There are divers of our French coines I know not : nor can I distinguish of one graine from another, be it in the field or in the barne, unlesse it be very apparant : nor do I scarcely know the difference betweene the cabige or lettice in my garden. I understand not the names of the most usuall tooles about husbandrie, nor of the meanest principles of tillage, which most children know. I was never skilfull in mechanickall arts, nor in traffike or knowledge of merchandize, nor in the diversitie and nature of fruits, wines, or cates, nor can I make a hawke, physike a horse, or teach a dogge. And since I must make ful shew of my shame or ignorance, it is not yet a moneth since that I was found to be ignorant wherto leaven served to make bread withal ; or what it was to cunne wine. The Athenians were anciently wont to thinke him very apt for the mathematikes, that could cunningly order or make up a faggot of brushe wood ? Verily a man might drawe a much contrarie conclusion from me : for let me have all that may belong to a kitchen, yet shall I be ready to starve for hunger. By these parts of my confession one may imagine divers others to my cost and detriment. But howsoever I make my selfe knowne, alwaies provided it be as I am, indeed I have my purpose. And I excuse not my selfe that I dare set downe in writing so base and frivolous matters as these. The basenesse of the subject forceth me thereunto. Let who so list accuse my project, but not my progresse. So it is that without being warned of others I see very well how little this weigheth or is worth, and I perceive the fondnesse of my purpose. It is sufficient that my judgement is not dismayed or distracted, whereof these be the Essaies.

*Nasutus sis usque licet, sis denique nasus
Quantum noluerit ferre rogatus Atlas :*

Et possis ipsum tu deridere Latinum,

Non potes, in nugis dicere plura meas,

Ipe ego quam dixi : quid dentem dente juvabit

Roderi ? carne opus est, si satur esse velis.

Ne perdas operam, qui se mirantur, in illos

Virus habe, nos hac novimus esse ntki.¹

Suppose you were long-nos'd, suppose such nose you weare

As Atlas, if you should intreat him, would not beare,

Yet you in flouting old Latinus can be fine.

Yet can you say no more against these toys of mine,

Then I have said ; what boote tooth with a tooth to whet ?

You must have fleshe, if you to glut your selfe be set.

Loose not your paines ; 'gainst them who on themselves are doting

Keep you your sting : we know these things of ours are nothing.

I am .not bound to utter no follies, so I be not deceived to know them : and wittingly to erre is so ordinarie in me that I erre not much otherwise ; and seldome erre casually. It is a small matter to yeeld the fond actions unto the rashnesse of my humors, since I cannot warrant my selfe ordinarily to yeeld them the vicious. Being at Barleduc I saw for the commendation of Renate the King of Sicilies memory a picture which with his owne hands he had made of himselfe, presented unto our King Francis the second : why is it not as lawfull for every man else to pourtray himself with his pen, as it was for him to do it with a pensell ? I will not then forget this blemish, unfit to be scene of all. That is irresolution, a most incommodious defect in the negotiation of worldly affaires : I cannot resolve in matters admitting doubtfullnesse :

Ne si, ne no, nel cuor mi suona intiero.¹

Nor yea, nor nay, sounds clearly in my heart.

I can maintaine an opinion, but not make choice of it : for in humane things what side soever a man leaneth on, many apparances prevent themselves unto us, which confirm us in them : and Chrysippus the Philosopher was wont to say that he would learne nothing else of his maisters, Zeno and Cleanthes, but their doctrines simply : for proofes and reasons he would finde enough of himselfe. Let me turne to what side I will, I ever finde sufficient matter and liklihood to keepe my selfe unto it. Thus keepe I doubt and liberty to my selfe, to chuse, untill occasion urge me, and then (to confesse the truth), as the common saying is, I cast my feather to the wind, and yeeld to fortunes mercie. A verie light inclination and a slender circumstance carries me away.

*Ubi in dubio est animus paulo momento huc
atque illuc impellitur.²*

While mind is in suspence, with small ado,

'Tis hither, thither, driven fro and to.

The uncertainty of my judgement is in many occurrences so equally balanced as I would willingly compromise it to the deciding of chance and of the dice. And I note with great consideration of our humane

¹ MART. I. xiii. *Epiq.* ii. 1.

¹ PETR. Pa. i. Son. cxxxviii. 8.

² TER. *And.* act i. sc. 3.

imbecillitie, the examples which the history of God it selfe hath left us of this use, to remit the determination of elections in doubtfull matters unto fortune and hazard. *Sors cecidit super Matthiam* : "The lot fell upon Matthias." Humane reason is a two-edged dangerous sword; even in Socrates his hand, her most inward and familiar friend, marke what a many-ended staffe it is. So am I only fit to follow, and am easily carried away by the throng. I doe not greatly trust mine owne strength, to undertake to command or to lead. I rejoyce to see my steps traced by others. If I must run the hazard of an uncertaine choice, I would rather have it be under such a one who is more assured of his opinions, and more wedded to them, then I am of mine; the foundation and platforme of which I find to be very slippery; yet am I not very easie to change, forsomuch as I perceive a like weaknesse in contrary opinions. *Ipsa consuetudo assuetudini periculosa esse videtur, et lubrica*.² "The very custome of assenting seemeth hazardous and slippery." Namely in politike affaires, wherein is a large field open to all motions, and to contestation :

*Iusta pari premitur veluti cum pondere libra, Prona nec hæc plus parte sedet, nec surgit ab illa.*³

As when an even skale with equall weight is peized,
Nor fallies it downe this way, or is it that way raised.

As for example, Machiavels discourses were very solid for the subject; yet hath it been very easie to impugne them, and those that have done have left no lesse facilitie to impugne theirs. A man might ever find answeres enough to such an argument, both rejoinders, double, treble, quadruple, with this infinite contexture of debates, that our pettie-foggers have wrye-drawne and wrested as much as ever they could in favour of their pleas and processes :

*Cædimur, et totidem plagis consumimus hostem.*⁴

Wee by our foes are beaten, if not slaine,
Wee with as many strokes waste them againe ;

Reasons having no other good ground than experience, and the diversity of humane events presenting us with infinite examples of all manner of formes. A wise man of our times saith that where our Almanakes say warme should a man say cold, and in lieu of drie, moyst ; and ever set downe the contrarie of what they foretell ; were he to lay a wager of one or

others successe, he would not care what side he tooke, except in such things as admit no uncertaintie ; as to promise extreame heat at Christmas, and exceeding cold at Midsummer. The like I thinke of these politike discourses. What part soever you are put unto, you have as good a game as your fellow ; provided you affront not the apparant and plain principles. And therefore (according to my humour) in publike affaires there is no course so bad (so age and constancie be joynd unto it) that is not better then change and alteration. Our manners are exceedingly corrupted, and with a marvellous inclination bend towards worse and worse. Of our lawes and customes many are barbarous, and divers monstrous ; notwithstanding, by reason of the difficultie to reduce us to better estate, and of the danger of this subversion, if I could fixe a pegge into our wheel and stay it where it now is, I would willingly doe it.

— *nunquam adeo fedis adeoque prudens
Utimur exemplis, ut non peiora super sint.*¹

Examples of so filthy shamefull kinde
We never use, but worse remains behind.

Instabilitie is the worst I find in our state, and that our lawes, no more than our garments, can take no settled forme. It is an easie matter to accuse a state of imperfection, since all mortall things are full of it. As easie is it to beget in a people a contempt of his ancient observances : No man ever undertooke it, but came to an end : But to establish a better state in place of that which is condemned and raced out, divers who have attempted it have shronk under the burthen. Touching my conduct, my wisdom hath small share therein. I am very easily to be directed by the worlds publike order. Oh happy people that doth what is commanded, better then they which command, without vexing themselves about causes ; which suffer themselves gently to be rowled on, according to the heavens rowling. Obedience is never pure and quiet in him who talketh, pleadeth, and contendeth. In some (to returne to my selfe) the only matter for which I make some account of my selfe is that wherein never man did thinke himselfe defective. My commendation is vulgar, common, and popular ; for who ever thought he wanted wit ? It were a proposition which in it selfe would imply contradiction. It is an infirmity that is never where it is seene, it is very strong and fast-holding, but yet pierced and dissipated by the first beame of the patients sight, as doth the sunnes raies scatter and disperse a gloomie

¹ ACTS, ch i. v. 26.

² Cic. Acad. Qu. i. iv.

³ TIBUL. l. iv. *Herp.* v. 41.

⁴ HOR. l. ii. *Epist.* ii. 97.

¹ Juv. Sat. viii. 183.

mist. For a man to accuse himselfe were to excuse himselfe of that subject; and to condemne himselfe, an absolving of himselfe. There was never so base a porter, nor so silly a woman, but thought he had sufficient wit for his provision. We easily know in others the advantage of courage, of bodily strength, of experience of disposition, and of beaultie, but we never yeeld the advantage of judgement to any body: and the reasons which part from the simple naturall discourse in others, wee thinke that had we but looked that way, wee had surely found them. The skill, the knowledge, the stile, and such like parts which we see in strange workes, we easily perceive whether they exceede ours; but the meere productions of wit and understanding every man deemeth it lyeth in him to meete with the very like, and doth hardly perceive the weight and difficultie of it, except (and that very scarcely) in an extreame and incomparable distance. And he that should clearly see the height of a strangers judgement, would come and bring his unto it. Thus is it a kinde of exercising whereof a man may hope but for meane commendation and small praise, and a manner of composition of little or no harme at all. And then for whom do you write? The wiser sort, unto whom belongeth bookish jurisdiction, know no other price but of doctrine, and avow no other proceeding in our wits but that of erudition and art. If you have mistaken one Scipio for an other, what of any worth have you left to speake-of? He that is ignorant of Aristotle (according to them) he is therewithall ignorant of himselfe. Popular and shallow-headed mindes cannot perceive the grace or comelinesse, nor judge of a smooth and quaint discourse. Now these two kindes possess the world. The third, unto whose share you fall, of regular wits, and that are strong of themselves, is so rare that justly it hath neither name or ranke amongst us; he loseth halfe his time that doth aspire or endeavour to please it. It is commonly said that the justest portion nature hath given us of the graces is that of sense and understanding: for there is no man but is contented with the share she hath allotted him. Is it not reason? He who should see beyond that, should see further then his sight. I perswade my selfe to have good and sound opinions: bat who is not so perswaded of his owne? Oneof the best trials I have of it is the small esteeme I make of myselfe: for had they not been well assured they would easily have suffered themselves to be deceived by the affection I beare unto my selfe, singular, as he who brings it

almost all unto my selfe, and that spill but a little besides. All that which others distribute thereof unto an infinite number of friends and acquaintances, to their glorie and greatnesse, I referre to the repose of my spirit and to myselfe. What else-where escapes of it is not properly by the appointment of my discourse:

— *mihî nempe valere et vivere doctus.*

Well learn'd in what concerneth me,
To live, and how in health to be.

As for my opinions, I finde them infinitely bold and constant to condemne mine insufficiencie. And to say truth, it is a subject whereabout I exercise my judgement as much as about any other. The world looks ever for right, I turne my sight inward, there I fix it, there I amuse it. Every man lookes before himselfe, I looke within my selfe: I have no busines but with my selfe. I uncessantly consider, controule and taste my selfe: other men goe ever else-where if they thinke well on it: they goe ever forward.

— *nemo in sese tentat descendere.*¹

No man attempteth this Essay,
Into himselfe to finde the way.

as for me, I roule me unto my selfe. This capacite of sifting out the truth, what and howsoever it be in me, and this free humour I have, not very easily to subject my beliefe, I owe especially unto my selfe, for the most constant and generall imaginations I have are those which (as one would say) were borne with me: they are naturall unto me, and wholly mine. I produced them raw and simple, of a hardy and strong production, but somewhat troubled and unperfect: which I have since established and fortified by the authoritie of others, and by the sound examples of ancients, with whom I have found my selfe conformable in judgement: those have assured me of my hold-fast of them, and have given me both the enjoying and possession thereof more absolute and more cleare. The commendation which every man seeks after for a vivacitie and promptitude of wit, I challenge the same by the order of a notable and farre-sounding action, or of some particular sufficiencie; I pretend it by the order, correspondencie, and tranquillitie of opinions and customes. *Omnino si quidquam est decorum, nihil est profecto magis quam æqualitas universæ vitæ, tum singularum actionum: quam conservare non possis, sit aliorum nat uram imitans, omittas tuam:* "Clearly if any thing bee decent for a man, nothing is more than an even car-

¹ PERS. Sat. iv. 23.

² Cic. Off. l. 2.

riage and equability of his whole life, and every action therein : which you cannot uphold if following the nature of others you let *passer* your owne." Behold here then how far forth I finde my selfe guilty of that first part I said to be in the vice of presumption. Concerning the second, which consisteth in not esteeming sufficiently of others, I wot not whether I can so well excuse my selfe ; for whatsoever it cost me, I intend to speake what is of it. It may be the continuall commerce I have with ancient humours, and the idea of those rich mindes of former ages doth bring me out of liking and distaste both of others and of my selfe, or that in truth we live in an age which produeth things but meane and indifferent. So it is that I know nothing worthy any great admiration. Also I know not many men so familiarly as I should to be able to judge of them ; and those with whom the quality of my condition doth ordinarily make me conversant are for the most part such as have little care for the manuring of the soule, and to whom nothing is proposed for chiefe felicity but honour, and for absolute perfection but valour. Whatsoever I see or beauteous or worthy in any other man, I willingly commend and regard ; yea, and I often endear my selfe with what I thinke of it, and allow my selfe to lie so farre forth : for I cannot invent a false subject. I willingly witness with my friends what I finde praise-worthy in them. And of an inch of valour, I willingly make an inch and a halfe ; but to lend them qualities they have not, I cannot ; and openly to defend their imperfections, I may not : yea, bee they mine enemies, I shall sincerely give them their due in witnessing their worth or honour. My affection may change ; my judgement never. And I confound not my quarrell with other circumstances that are impertinent and belong not unto it. And I am so jealous of the liberty of my judgement, that for what passion soever I can hardly quit it. I wrong my selfe more in lying than him of whom I lie. This commendable and generous custome of the Persian nation is much noted ; they speake very honourably and justly of their mortall enemies, and with those with whom they were at deadly fude and warre, so farre forth as the merit of their vertue deserved. I know divers men who have sundry noble and worthy parts ; some wit, some courage, some dexteritie, some conscience, some a readinesse in speech, some one science, and some another ; but of a great man in general, and that hath so many excellent parts together, or but one in such a degree of excellencie as hee may thereby be ad-

mired, or but compared to those of former ages whom we honour, my fortune hath not permitted me to see one. And the greatest I ever knew living (I meane of naturall parts of the minde, and the best borne) was Estienne de la Boëtie. Verily it was a compleat minde, and who set a good face and shewed a faire countenance upon all matters ; a minde after the old stampe, and which, had fortune therewith beene pleased, would no doubt have brought forth wondrous effects, having by skill and study added very much to his rich naturall gifts. But I know not how it comes to passe, and surely it doth so, there is as much vanitie and weakenesse of understanding found in those that professe to have most sufficiency, that will entermeddle with learned vacations, and with the charges that depend of books, as in any sort of people ; whether it be because there is more required and expected at their hands, and common faults cannot be excused in them, or that the selfe-opinion of knowledge emboldeneth them the more to produce and discover themselves over-forward, whereby they lose and betray themselves. As an artificer doeth more manifest his sottishnesse in a rich piece of worke which he hath in hand, if foolishly and against the rules of his trade he seeke to apply it and entermeddle, than in a vile and base one ; and men are more offended at a fault or oversight in a statue of gold than in one of clay. These doe as much when they set forth things which in themselves and in their place would be good ; for they employ them without discretion, honouring their memory at the cost and charge of their understanding ; and doing honour to Cicero, to Galen, to Ulpian, and to Saint Jerome to make themselves ridiculous. I willingly returne to this discourse of the fondnesse of our institution : whose aime hath beene to make us not good and wittie, but wise and learned. She hath attained her purpose. It hath not taught us to follow vertue and embrace wisdom : but made an impression in us of its Etymologie and derivation. We can decline vertue, yet can we not love it. If wee know not what wisdom is by effect and experience, wee know it by prattling and by rote. We are not satisfied to know the race, the alliances, and the pedigrees of our neighbours, but we wil have them to be our friends and contract both conversation and intelligence with them : It hath taught us the definitions, the divisions and distinctions of vertue, as of the surnames and branches of a genealogie, without having other care to contract practise of familiaritie or private

acquaintance betwene us and it. She hath appointed us for our learning, not booke that have sounder and truer opinions, but volumes that speake the best Greeke or Latine; and amongst her choice words hath made the vainest humours of antiquitie to glide into our conceits. A good institution changeth judgement and manners, as it hapned to Polemon. This dissolute young Græcian, going one day by chance to heare a lecture of Xenocrates, where he not onely marked the eloquence and sufficiency of the reader, and brought not home the knowledge of some notable thing, but a more apparant and solide fruit, which was the sodaine change and amendment of his former life. Who ever heard such an effect of our discipline?

— *faciasne quod olim Mutatus Polemon, pona insignia morbi, Fasciolas, cubital, focalia potus uille, Dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas, Postquam est imprauis correptus uoce magistri?*

Can you doe as did Polemon reformed, Cast-off your sickness signes, which you deformed, Your bolsters, mufflers, swathes? As he drink-
lis de,
His drunken garland covertly decline,
By speech of fasting reader discipline?

The least disdainfull condition of men, me thinks, is that which through simplicitie holds the last ranke, and offereth us more regular commerce. The customes and discourses of countrie-clownish-men, I finde them commonly to be more conformable and better disposed, according to the true prescription of Philosophie, then are those of our Philosophers. *Plus sapit vulgus, quia tantum, quantum opus est, sapit*: "The vulgar is the wiser, because it is but as wise as it must needs." The worstiest men I have judged by externall apparances (for, to judge them after my fashion, they should be sifted nearer) concerning war and military sufficiency have been, the Duke of Guise, that died before Orleans, and the whilom Marshal Strozzi: For men extraordinarily sufficient and endowed with no vulgar vertue, Oliver and L'Hospital, both great Chancelors of France. Poesie hath likewise in mine opinion had hir vogue and credit in our age. We have store of cunning and able men in that profession: Aurate, Beza, Buchanan, L'Hospital, Mont-doré, and Turnebus. As for French-men, I thinke they have attained the highest degree of perfection that can or ever shall be, and in those parts wherein Ronsart and excellent Bellay have written, I thinke they are not farre short of the ancient perfection. Adrianus Turnebus

knew more, and better what he knew, than any man in his age or of many ages past. The lives of the late Duke of Alva and of our Constable Mommorcencie have bene very noble, and have had sundrie rare resemblances of fortune. But the worthily-faire and glorious death of the last in the full sight of Paris and of his King, for their service against his nearest friends and alliance in the front of an armie, victorious through his conduct of it, and with an hand-stroke in that old age of his, deserveth in mine opinion to be placed and registred amongst the most renowned and famous accidents of my times. As also the constant goodnes, the mildnes in behaviour, and conscionable facility of Monsieur de la Noue in such an unjustice of armed factions (a very schoole of treason, of inhumanitie and brigandage) wherein he was ever brought up, a worthie and famous man of warre and most experienced in his profession. I have greatly pleased my selfe in publishing in sundrie places the good hope I have of Marie de Gournay le Lars, my daughter in alliance, and truly of me beloved with more then a fatherly love, and as one of the best parts of my being enfeofed in my home and solitarines. There is nothing in the world I esteem more then hir. If childe-hood may presage any future successe, hir minde shal one day be capable of many notable things, and amongst others, of the perfection of this thrice-sacred amitie whereunto we read not, hir sex could yet attaine; the sinceritie and soliditie of her demeanors are therein already sufficient; hir kind affection towards me is more then superabounding and such indeede as nothing more can be wished unto it, so that the apprehension which she hath of my aproching end, by reason of the fiftie five years wherein her hap hath bene to know me, would somewhat lesse cruelly trouble hir. The judgement she made of my first Essayes, being a woman of this age so yong, alone where shee dwelleth, and the exceeding vehemencie wherewith she loved me and long time by the onely esteem which before ever she saw me, she had by them conceived of me she desired me, is an accident most worthy consideration. Other vertues have had little or no currantnesse at all in this age: but valour is become popular by reason of our civill warres, and in this part there are minds found amongst us very constant, even to perfection and in great number, so that the choice is impossible to be made. Lo heere what hitherto I have knownen of any extraordinary and not common greatnesse.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of giving the Lie.

YEA but, will some tell me, this desaigne in a man to make himself a subject to write of might be excused in rare and famous men, and who by their reputation had bred some desire in others of their acquaintance. It is true, I confesse it, and I know that a handicraftsman will scarcely looke off his worke to gaze upon an ordinary man: whereas to see a notable great person come into a towne, he will leave both worke and shop. It ill-beseemeth any man to make himself known, onely he excepted that hath somewhat in him worthy imitation, and whose life and opinions may stand as a pattern to all. Cæsar and Xenophon have had wherewithall to ground and establish their narration in the greatnesse of their deedes as on a just and solid ground-worke. So are the jorall bookes of Alexander the great, the Commentaries which Augustus, Cato, Brutus, Sylla, and divers others had left of their gests, greatly to be desired. Such mens images are both beloved and studied, be they either in brasse or stone. This admonition is most true, but it concerneth me very little.

*Non recto cuiquam: nisi amicis, idque rogatus,
Non ubiis, coramque quibuslibet. In medio qui
Scripta foro recitant sunt multi, quique
lavantes.*¹

My writings I reade not, but to my friends,
to any,
Nor each-where, nor to all, nor but desir'd,
yet many
In market-place read theirs,
In bathes, in barbers-chaires.

I erect not here a statue to be set up in
the market-place of a towne, or in a
church, or in any other publike place:

*Non equidem hoc studeo bullatis ut mihi ungis
Pagina turgescat:*²

I studie not, my written leaves should grow
Big-swolne with bubled toys, which vaine
breath's blow.

*Secreti loquimur.*³
We speake alone,
Or one to one.

It is for the corner of a library, or to
amuse a neighbour, a kinsman, or a friend
of mine withall, who by this image may
happily take pleasure to renew acquaint-
ance and to converse with me. Others
have beene emboldned to speake of them.

selves, because they have found worthy
and rich subject in themselves. I, con-
trariwise, because I have found mine so
barren and so shallow, that it can-
not admit suspition of ostentation. I
willingly iudge of other mens actions; or
mine by reason of their nullity, I give small
cause to judge. I finde not so much good
in my selfe, but I may speake of it without
blushing. Oh what contentment were it
unto me to hear somebody that would
relate the custome, the visage, the coun-
tenance, the most usuall words, and the
fortunes of my ancestors. Oh, how atten-
tively would I listen unto it. Verily it were
an argument of a bad nature, to seeme to de-
spise the very pictures of our friends and pre-
decessors, the fashion of their garments and
armes. I keepe the writing, the manuall
scale, and a peculiar sword: and I reserve
still in my cabinet certaine long switches or
wands which my father was wont to carry
in his hand. *Paterna vestis et annulus,
tanto charior est posteris, quanto erga pa-
rentes maior affectus:* "The fathers garment
and his ring is so much more esteemed of his
accessors, as their affection is greater to-
wards their progenitors." Notwithstanding
if my posteritie be of another minde, I shall
have wherewith to be avenged, for they
cannot make so little account of me, as
then I shal doe of them. All the commerce
I have in this with the world is that I borrow
the instruments of their writing, as more
speedy and more easie: in requitall whereof
I may peradventure hinder the melting of
some piece of butter in the market or a grocer
from selling an ounce of pepper.

*Ne toga cordyllis, ne penula desit olivis,*¹
Lest fish-fry should a fit gowne want,
Lest cloakes should be for olives scant.

*Fit laxus scombris sepe dabo tunicas.*²
To long-tail'd mackrels often I,
Will side-wide (paper) cotes apply.

And if it happen no man read me, have I
lost my time to have entertained my selfe
so many idle houres about so pleasing and
profitable thoughts? In framing this pour-
traite by my selfe, I have so often beene
faine to frizle and trimme me, that so I
might the better extract my selfe, that the
patterne is thereby confirmed, and in some
sort formed. Drawing my selfe for others,
I have drawne my selfe with purer and
better colours than were my first. I have
no more made my booke then my booke
hath made me. A booke consubstantiall to
his author: of a peculiar and fit occupa-

¹ HOR. Ser. l. i. Sat. iv. 73.

² PERS. Sat. v. 19.

³ Ib. 21.

¹ MART. l. xiii. Epig. i. 1.

² CATUL. Epig. Eleg. xxvii. 8.

tion. A member of my life. Not of an occupation and end strange and forraine, as all other bookes. Have I mis-spent my time to have taken an account of my selfe so continually and so curiously? For those who onely run themselves over by fantasie, and by speech for some houres, examine not themselves so primely and exactly, nor enter they into themselves, as he doth who makes his studie his work, and occupation of it; who with all his might, and with all his credit, engageth himselfe to a register of continuance. The most delicious pleasures, though inwardly digested, shun to leave any trace of themselves, and avoide the sight not onely of the people, but of any other. How often hath this busines diverted me from tedious and yrksome cogitations? (and all frivolous ones must bee deemed tedious and yrksome). Nature hath endowed us with a large faculty to entertaine our selves apart, and often calleth us unto it: to teach us that partly we owe our selves unto society, but in the better part unto our selves. To the end I may in some order and project marshall my fantasie even to dote and keepe it from loosing and straggling in the aire, there is nothing so good as to give it a body and register so many idle imaginations as present themselves unto it. I listen to my humours and harken to my conceits, because I must enroule them. How often, being grieved at some action, which civility and reason forbad me to withstand openly, have I disgorged my selfe upon them here, notwithstanding an intent of publike instruction? And yet these poetick rods,

*Zou dessus l'œil, con sur le groin,
Zou sur le dos du Sagoin,*

are also better imprinted upon paper than upon the quicke flesh; what if I lend mine ears somewhat more attentively unto bookes, sith I but watch if I can filch something from them wherewith to enammell and uphold mine? I never studie to make a booke, yet have I somewhat studied, because I had already made it (if to nibble or pinch, by the head or feet, now one Authour, and then another be in any sort to study), but nothing at all to forme my opinions. Yea, being long since formed to assist, to second, and to serve them. But whom shall we believe, speaking of himselfe in this corrupted age? since there are few or none who may beleeve speaking of others, where there is lesse interest to lie. The first part of customes corruption is the banishment of truth: for, as Pindarus said, to be sincerely true is the beginning of a great vertue; and the first article Plato requireth in the Governor of his Commonwealt. Now adaies, that is

not the truth which is true, but that which is perswaded to others. As we call money not onely that which is true and good, but also the false; so it be currant. Our nation is long since taxed with this vice. For Salvianus Massiliensis, who lived in the time of Valentinian the Emperour, saith that amongst French-men to lie and forswear is no vice, but a manner of speech. He that would endear this testimonie might say, it is now rather deemed a vertue among them. Men frame and fashion themselves unto it as to an exercise of honour; for dissimulation is one of the notabest qualities of this age. Thus have I often considered whence this custome might arise, which we observe so religiously, that we are more sharply offended with the reproach of this vice, so ordinary in us, than with any other; and that it is the extremest injury may be done us in words, to upbraid and reproach us with a lie. Therein I find that it is naturall for a man to defend himselfe most from such defects as we are most tainted with. It seemeth that if we but shew a motion of revenge, or are but moved at the accusation, we in some sort discharge our selves of the blame of imputation; if we have it in effect, at least we condemne it in apparence. May it not also be that this reproch seemes to enfold cowardice and faintnesse of hart? Is there any more manifest than for a man to eate and deny his owne word? What, to deny his word wittingly? To lie is a horrible filthy vice; and which an ancient writer setteth forth very shamefully, when he saith that whosoever lieth witnesseth that he contemneth God and therewithall feareth men. It is impossible more richly to represent the horreur, the vilenesse and the disorder of it: for, what can be imagined so vile and base as to be a coward towards men and a boaster towards God? Our intelligence being onely conducted by the way of the word: whoso falsifieth the same betraith publike society. It is the onely instrument by meanes whereof our wils and thoughts are communicated: it is the interpretour of our soules: If that faile us, we hold our selves no more, we enter-know one another no longer. If it deceive us, it breaketh al our commerce, and dissolveth al bonds of our policie. Certaine Nations of the new Indiaes (whose names we need not declare, because they are no more, for the desolation of this conquest hath extended it selfe to the absolute abolishing of names and ancient knowledge of places, with a marvellous and never the like heard example) offered humane blood unto their Gods, but no other than that which was drawne from their tongues and eares for an expiation of the sinne of lying

as well heard as pronounced. That good fellow Græcian said children were dandled with toies, but men with words. Concerning the sundry fashions of our giving the lie, and the lawes of our honour in that and the changes they have received, I will refer to another time to speake what I thinke and know of it, and if I can I will in the meane time learne at what time this custome tooke his beginning, so exactly to weigh and precisely to measure words, and tie our honour to them: for it is easie to judge that it was not anciently amongst the Romans and Græcians. And I have often thought it strange to see them wrong and give one another the lie, and yet never enter into quarrell. The lawes of their duty tooke some other course than ours. Cæsar is often called a thiefe, and sometimes a drunkard to his face. We see the liberty of their invecitives, which they write one against another: I meane the greatest Chieftaines and Generals in war, of one and other nation, where words are onely retorted and revenged with words, and never wrested to further consequence.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Liberty of Conscience.

IT is ordinarily seene how good intentions, being managed without moderation, thrust men into most vicious effects. In this controversie, by which France is at this instant molested with civill warres, the best and safest side is no doubt that which maintained both the ancient religion and policy of the country. Nevertheless amongst the honest men that follow it (for my meaning is not to speake of those who use them as a colour, either to exercise their particular revenges, or to supply their greedy avarice, or to follow the favour of Princes: but of such as do it with a true zeale towards their religion, and an unfained holy affection, to maintaine the peace and uphold the state of their country), of those I say divers are seene, whome passion thrusts out of the bounds of reason, and often forceth them to take and follow unjust, violent and rash counsels. Certaine it is, that when first our religion began to gaine authoritie with the lawes, its zeale armed many against all sorts of Pagane bookes, whereof the learned sort have a great losse. My opinion is that this disorder hath done more hurt to learning than all the Barbarian flames. Cornelius

Tacitus is a sufficient testimonie of it, for, howbeit the Emperor Tacitus his kinsman had by expresse appointment stored all the libraries in the world with it, notwithstanding one onely entire copy could not escape the curious search of those who sought to abolish it, by reason of five or sixe vaine clauses contrary to our beleefe. They have also had this easily to afford false commendations to all the Emperours, that made for us, and universally to condemne all the actions of those which were our adversaries, as may plainly be seene in Julian the Emperor, surnamed the Apostate; who in truth was a notable-rare-man, as he whose mind was lively endowed with the discourses of Philosophy, unto which he professed to conforme all his actions; and truly there is no kinde of vertue whereof he hath not left most notable examples. In chastity (whereof the whole course of his life giveth apparent testimony) a like example unto that of Alexander and Scipio is read of him, which is, that of many wonderfull faire captive ladies brought before him, being even in the very prime of his age (for he was slain by the Parthians about the age of one and thirty yeares) he would not see one of them. Touching justice, himselfe would take the paines to heare all parties: and although for curiosity sake, he would enquire of such as came before him what religion they were of, nevertheles the enmitie he bare to ours did no whit weigh downe the ballance. Himselfe made sundrie good lawes, and revoked diverse subsidies and impositions, his predecessors before him had received. We have two good historians as eye-witnesses of his actions. One of which (who is Marcellinus) in sundry places of his historie bitterly reproveth this ordinance of his, by which he forbade schooles and interdicted all Christian rhetoricians and grammarians to teach, saying he wished this his action might be buried under silence. It is very likely, if he had done anything else more sharpe or severe against us, he would not have forgot it, as he that was well affected to our side. Hee was indeede very severe against us, yet not a cruell enemy. For, our people themselves report this historie of him that walking one day about the city of Calcedon, Maris, Bishop thereof, durst call him wicked and traitor to Christ, to whom he did no other thing but answered thus: "Goe, wretched man, weepe and deplore the losse of thine eyes;" to whom the Bishop replied: "I thank Jesus Christ that he hath deprived me of my sight, that so I might not view thy impudent face;" affecting thereby (as they say) a kind of Philosophicall patience. So it is this part cannot be referred to the

cruelties which he is said to have exercised against us. He was (saith Eutropius, my other testimony) an enemy unto Christianity, but without shedding of blood. But to returne to his justice, he can be accused of nothing but of the rigors he used in the beginning of his Empire, against such as had followed the faction of Constantius, his predecessour. Concerning sobriety, he never lived a souldiers kinde of life, and in time of peace would feed no otherwise than the one who prepared and enured himselfe to the austeritie of war. Such was his vigilancie that he divided the night into three or foure parts, the least of which he allotted unto sleepe; the rest he employed in visiting the state of his army and his guards, or in study, for, amongst other his rare qualities, he was most excellent in al sorts of learning. It is reported of Alexander the Great, that being laid downe to rest, fearing lest sleep should divert him from his thoughts and studies, he caused a bason to be set neere his bed side, and holding one of his hands out, with a brazen ball in it, that, if sleep should surprise him, loosing his fingers ends, the ball falling into the bason, might with the noyse rouse him from out his sleep. This man had a mind so bent to what he undertook, and by reason of his singular abstinence so little troubled with vapours, that he might well have past this devise. Touching military sufficiencie he was admirable in all parts belonging to a great Capitaine. So was he almost al his life time in continual exercise of war, and the greater part with us in France against the Almains and Franconians. Wee have no great memory of any man that either hath seen more dangers, nor that more often hath made triall of his person. His death hath some affinitie with that of Epaminondas, for being stricken with an arrow, and attempting to pull it out, he had surely done it, but that being sharpe-cutting, it hurt and weakened his hand. In that plight he earnestly requested to be carried forth in the midst of his army, that so he might encourage his souldiers, who without him courageously maintained the battel, until such time as darke night severed the armies. He was beholding to philosophie for a singular contempt, both of himselfe and of all humane things. He assuredly believed the eternitie of soules. In matters of religion, he was vicious every-where. He was sur-named Apostata, because he had forsaken ours; notwithstanding, this opinion seemes to mee more likely, that he never took it to heart, but that for the obedience which he bare to the law he dissembled til he had gotten the empire into his hands. He was

so superstitious in his, that even such as lived in his time, and were of his owne religion, mocked him for it; and it was said that if he had gained the victory of the Parthians, he would have consumed the race or breede of oxen to satisfie his sacrifices. He was also besotted with the art of sooth-saying, and gave authoritie to all manner of prognostikes. Amongst other things he spake at his death, he said he was much beholding to the Gods, and greatly thanked them that they had not suffered him to be slain sodainly or by surprize, as having long before warned him both of the place and houre of his end; nor to die of a base and easie death, more becoming idle and effeminate persons, nor of a lingering, languishing, and dolorous death; and that they had deemed him worthy to end his life so nobly in the course of his victories and in the flower of his glory. There had before appeared a vision unto him, like unto that of Marcus Brutus, which first threatened him in Gaule, and afterward even at the point of his death presented it selfe to him in Persia. The speech he is made to speak when he felt himselfe hurt, "Thou hast vanquished, O Nazarean," or, as some will have it, "Content thy selfe, O Nazarean," would scarce have bene forgotten, had it bene believed of my testimonies, who being present in the army, have noted even the least motions and words at his death, no more than certaine other wonders which they annex unto it. But to return to my theame, he had long before (as saith Marcellinus) hatched Paganisme in his hart, but forsomuch as he saw al those of his armie to be Christians, he durst not discover himselfe. In the end, when he found himselfe to be sufficiently strong, and durst publish his minde, he caused the Temples of his Gods to be opened, and by all meanes endeavoured to advance idolatrie. And to attaine his purpose, having found in Constantinople the people very loose, and at odds with the Prelates of the Christian Church, and caused them to appeare before him in his pallace, he instantly admonished them to appease all their civill dissensions, and every one without hindrance or feare apply themselves to follow and serve religion. Which he very carefully solicited, hoping this licence might encrease the factions and controversies of the division, and hinder the people from growing to any unity, and by consequence from fortifying themselves against him by reason of their concord and in one mind-agreeing intelligence: having by the cruelty of some Christians found that there is no beast in the world so much of man to be feared as

man," loe, here his very words, or very neare: wherewith this is worthy consideration, that the Emperor Julian useth the same receipt of libertie of conscience, to enkindle the trouble of civill dissention, which our Kings employ to extinguish. It may be said on one side that, to give faction the bridle to entertaine their opinion is to scatter contention and sow division, and as it were to lend it a hand to augment and encrease the same: there being no barre or obstacle of lawes to bridle or hinder his course. But on the other side it might also be urged that to give factions the bridle to uphold their opinion, is by that facilitie and ease the readie way to mollifie and release them, and to blunt the edge which is sharpened by rarenesse, noveltie, and difficultie. And if for the honour of our Kings devotion, I believe better it is that since they could not doe as they would, they have fained to will what they could not.

CHAPTER XX.

We taste nothing purely.

THE weaknes of our condition causeth that things in their naturall simplicitie and puritie cannot fall into our use. The elements we enjoy are altered: metals likewise, yea gold, must be empaired with some other stuffe to make it fit for our service. Nor vertue so simple, which Ariston, Pyrrho, and Stoikes made the end of their life, hath been able to doe no good without composition: nor the Cirenaike sensualitie or Aristippian voluptuousnes. "Of the pleasures and goods we have, there is none exempted from some mixture of evil and incommoditie."

*- medio de fonte leporum
Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus
angat.¹*

From middle spring of sweetes some bitter
springs,
Which in the very flower smartly stings.

Our exceeding voluptuousnesse hath some aire of groning and wailing. Would you not say it dieth of anguish? Yea, when we forge its image in hir excellencie, we deck it with epithets of sickish and dolorous qualities: languor, effeminacy, weaknesse, fainting and morbidezze, a great testimony of their consanguinity and consubstantiality.

Excessive joy hath more severity then jolity: extreme and full content more settlednes then cheerfulness. *Ipsa felicitas, se nist temperat, premitt.* "Felicitie it selfe, unlesse it temper it selfe, distempers us." Ease consumeth us. It is that which an old Greeke verse saith of such a sense: "The Gods sell us all the goods they give us;" that is to say, they give us not one pure and perfect, and which we buy not with the price of some evill. Travail and pleasure, most unlike in nature, are notwithstanding followed together by a kind of I wot not what natural conjunction. Socrates saith that some God attempted to huddle up together and confound sorrow and voluptuousnesse; but being unable to effect it, he bethought himselfe to couple them together, at least by the taile. Metrodorus said that in sadnesse there is some aloy of pleasure. I knowe not whether he meant any thing else, but I imagine that for one to enure himselfe to melancholy, there is some kinde of purpose of consent and mutuall delight: I meane besides ambition, which may also be joynd unto it. There is some shadow of delicacy and quaintnesse which smileth and fawneth upon us even in the lap of melancholy. Are there not some complexions that of it make their nourishment?

— est quidam flere voluptas.²

It is some pleasure yet
With teares our cheekes to wet.

And one Attalus in Seneca saith the remembrance of our last friends is as pleasing to us as bitterness in wine that is over old.

*Minister veteris puer salerni
Ingere mi calices amariore: ³*

Sir boy, my servitor of good old wine,
Bring me my cup thereof, bitter, but fine.

And as of sweetly-sower apples, nature discovereth this confusion unto us: painters are of opinion that the motions and wrinkles in the face which serve to weepe serve also to laugh. Verily before one or other be determined to expresse which, behold the pictures success, you are in doubt toward which one enclineth. And the extremitie of laughing entermingles it selfe with teares. *Nullum sine auctoramento malum est: ⁴* "There is no evill without some obligation." When I imagine man fraught with all the commodities may be wished, let us suppose all his severall members were for ever possessed with a pleasure like unto that

¹ SENT. *Quere, &c.*

² OVID. *Trist.* l. iv. *Eleg.* iii. 37.

³ CAT. *Lyr. Eleg.* xxiv. 1. ⁴ SEN. *Epig.* lxxix.

¹ LUCR. l. iv. 12, 24.

of generation, even in the highest point that may be: I finde him to sinke under the burden of his ease, and perceive him altogether unable to beare so pure, so constant, and so universall a sensuality. Truly he flies when he is even upon the nicke, and naturally hasteneth to escape it, as from a step whereon he cannot stay or containe himselfe, and feareth to sinke into it. When I religiously confesse my selfe unto my selfe, I finde the best good I have hath some vicious taint. And I feare that Plato in his purest vertue (I that am as sincere and loyall an esteemer thereof, and of the vertues of such a stampe, as any other can possibly be) if he had neerely listened unto it (and sure he listened very neere) he would therein have heard some harsh tune of humane mixture, but an obscure tune, and onely sensible unto himselfe. Man all in all is but a botching and party coloured worke. The very lawes of Justice can not subsist without some commixture of injustice. And Plato saith they undertake to cut off Hidraes heads that pretend to remove all incommodities and inconveniences from the lawes. *Omne magnum exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra singulos utilitate publica rependitur*:¹ "Every great example hath some touch of injustice which is requited by the common good against particulars," saith Tacitus. It is likewise true that for the use of life and service of publike society there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnes hath overmuch subtilty and curiositie. They should be made heavy and dull to make them the more obedient to example and practice, and they must be thickened and obscured to proportion them to this shady and terrestriall life. Therefore are vulgar and lesse wire drawne wits found to be more fit and happy in the conduct of affaires. And the exquisite and high-raised opinions of Philosophy unapt and unfit to exercise. This sharpe vivacity of the spirit, and this supple and restlesse volubility troubleth our negotiations. Humane enterprises should be managed more grosely and superficially, and have a good and great part of them left for the rights of fortune. Affaires need not be sifted so nicely and so profoundly. A man looseth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lustres and diverse formes. *Voluntantibus res inter se pugnantes, obtorpuerant animi*:² "Their, mindes were astonished while they revolved things so different." It is that which our elders re-

port of Simonides; because his imagination concerning the question Hieron the King had made unto him (which the better to answer he had diverse dayes allowed him to thinke of it) presented sundry subtilly and sharpe considerations unto him; doubting which might be the likeliest; he altogether dispaireth of the truth. Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances and embraceth all the consequences thereof hindereth his election. A meane engine doth equally conduct and sufficeth for the executions of great and little weights. It is commonly seene that the best husbands and the thriftiest are those who cannot tell how they are so: and that these cunning arithmeticians doe seldome thrive by it. I know a notable prater and an excellent blasoner of all sorts of husbandry and thrift who hath most pitteously let ten thousand pound sterling a yeare passe from him. I know another who saith he consulteth better than any man of his counsell, and there cannot be a properer man to see unto or of more sufficiency; notwithstanding, when he cometh to any execution, his owne servants finde he is far otherwise: this I say without mentioning or accounting his ill lucke.

CHAPTER XXI.

Against Idleness, or doing Nothing.

THE Emperour Vespasian, lying sicke of the disease whereof he died, omitted not to endeavour to understand the state of the empire; and lying in his bed, uncessantly dispatched many affaires of great consequence; and his physicians chiding him, as of a thing hurtfull of his health, he answered that an Emperour should die standing upright. Loe heere a notable saying, fitting my humour, and worthy a great prince. Adrian the Emperour used the same afterward to like purpose. And Kings ought often to be put in minde of it, to make them feele that this great charge which is given them of the commandement over so many men is no idle charge: and that there is nothing may so justly distaste a subject from putting himselfe in paine and danger for the service of his Prince then therewithal to see him given to lazinesse, to base and vaine occupations, and to have care of his conservation, seeing him so carelesse of ours. If any shall go about to maintaine that it is better for a Prince to manage his wars by others than

¹ TACIT. *Ann.* l. xiv. *Cassi.*² *Liv. Dec.* iv. l. ii.

by himself. Fortune will store him with sufficient examples of those whose lieutenants have achieved great enterprises, and also of some whose presence would have been more hurtfull then profitable. But no vertuous and coragious Prince will endure to be entertained with so shamefull instructions. Under colour of preserving his head (as the statue of a Saint) for the good fortune of his estate, they degrade him of his office, which is altogether in military actions, and declare him incapable of it. I know one would rather choose to be beaten then sleepe whilst others fight for him; and who without jealousy never saw his men performe any notable act in his absence. And Selim the first had reason to say that he thought victories gotten in the masters absence not to be complete. So much more willingly would he have said that such a master ought to blush for shame, who onely by his name should pretend any share in it, having thereunto employed nothing but his thought and verbal direction. Nor that since in such a busines the advices and commandements which bring honour are only those given in the field and even in the action. No Pilot exerciseth his office standing still. The Princes of Otomans race (the chiefeest race in the world in warlike fortune) have earnestly embraced this opinion. And Baiazeth the second, with his sonne, who, amusing themselves about sciences and other private home matters, neglected the same, gave diverse prejudiciall blowes unto their Empire. And Amurath the third of that name, who now reigneth, following their example, beginneth very wel to feele their fortunes. Was it not the King of England, Edward the third, who spake these words of our King Charles the fifth: "There was never King that lesse armed himselfe; and yet was never King that gave me so much to doe, and put me to so many plunges." He had reason to thinke it strange, as an effect of fortune, rather than of reason. And let such as will number the Kings of Castile and Portugall amongst the warlike and magnanimous conquerors, seeke for some other adherent then my selfe; forsomuch as twelve hundred leagues from their idle residence they have made themselves masters of both Indias, onely by the conduct and direction of their factors, of whom it would be knowne whether they durst but goe and enjoy them in person. The Emperor Iulian said moreover that a Philosopher and gallant minded man ought not so much as breathe; that is to say, not to give corporall necessities, but what may not be refused them; ever holding both minde and bodie busied about notable,

great and vertuous matters. He was ashamed any man should see him spitte or sweate before people (which is also said of the Lacedemonian youths, and Xenophon reporteth it of the Persian) forsomuch as he thought that continuall travell, exercise, and sobriety should have concocted and dried up all such superfluities. What Seneca saith shall not impertinently be alleaged here; that the ancient Romans kept their youth upright, and taught their children nothing that was to be learned sitting. It is a generous desire to endeavor to die both profitable and manlike; but the effect consisteth not so much in our good resolution, as in our good fortune. A thousand have resolved to vanquish or to die fighting, which have missed both the one and other: Hurts or imprisonment crossing their desseigne and yeelding them a forced kinde of life. There are diseases which vanquish our desires and knowledge. Fortune should not have seconded the vanitie of the Romane Legions, who by oath bound themselves either to die or conquer. *Victor, Marce Fabi, revertar ex acie: Si fullo, lovem patrem Gradinumque Martem aliosque iratos invoco Deos;*¹ "I will, O Marcus Fabius, returne conqueror from the armie. If in this I deceive you, I wish both great Iupiter and Mars, and the other Gods offended with me." The Portugalles report that in certain places of their Indian conquests they found some souldiers who with horrible execrations had damned themselves never to enter into any composition, but either they would be killed or remaine victorious; and in signe of their vowe wore their heads and beards shaven. We may hazard and obstinate our selves long enough. It seemeth that blowes shunne them who over-joyfully present themselves unto them; and unwillingly reach those that overwillingly goe to meet them and corrupt their end. Some unable to lose his life by his adversaries force, having assaid all possible meanes, hath been enforced to accomplish his resolution, either to beare away the honour, or not to carry away his life, and even in the fury of the fight to put himselfe to death. There are sundrie examples of it, but note this one. Philistus, chiefe Generall of yong Dionysius his navie against the Siracusans, presented them the battle, which was very sharply withstood, their forces being alike; wherein by reason of his prowess he had the better in the beginning. But the Siracusans flocking thicke and threefold about his gally to grapple and board him, having performed many worthy exploits with his owne person

¹ Liv. *Dec.* i. l. ii.

to ridde himselfe from them, despairing of all escape, with his owne hand deprived him selfe of that life which so lavishly and in vaine he had abandoned to his enemies hands. Moly Moluch, King of Fez, who not long since obtained that famous victory against Sebastian, King of Portugall, a notable victorie, by reason of the death of three Kings, and transmission of so great a Kingdome to the crowne of Castile, chanced to be grievously sicke at what time the Portugals with armed hand entred his dominions, and afterwards, though he foresaw it approaching nearer unto death, enpaired worse and worse. Never did man more stoutly or more vigorously make use of an undanted courage than he. He found himselfe very weake to endure the ceremonious pompe which the Kings of that country, at their entrance into the camp are presented withall, which according to their fashion is full of all magnificence and state, and charged with all manner of action; and therefore he resigned that honour to his brother, yet resigned he nothing but the office of the chiefe Captaine. Himselfe most gloriously executed and most exactly perfourmed all other necessary duties and profitable offices; holding his body laid along his couch, but his minde upright and courage constant, even to his last gasp, and in some sort after. He might have undermined his enemies, who were fond-hardly advanced in his dominions, and was exceedingly grieved that for want of a little longer life and a substitute to manage the warre and affaires of so troubled a state, he was enforced to seeke a bloody and hazardous battel, having another pure and undoubted victory in hand. He notwithstanding managed the continuance of his sicknesse so miraculously that he consumed his enemy, diverted him from his sea-fleete and maritime places he held along the coast of Affricke, even untill the last day of his life, which by designe he reserved and employed for so great and renowned a fight.

He ranged his battel in a round, on every side besieging the Portugals army, which bending round and comming to close, did not only hinder them in the conflict (which through the valour of that yong assailant King was very furious), since they were to turne their faces on all sides, but also hindered them from running away after the rowte. And finding all issues seized, and all passages closed, they were constrained to turne upon themselves: *Coacervanturque non solum cædæ, sed etiam fugæ*: "They fall on heapes, not only by slaughter but by flight;" and so pel-mell to heape one on anothers neck, preparing a most murder-

ous and compleat victory to the conquerors. When he was even dying he caused himselfe to be carryed and haled where-ever neede called for him; and passing along the files he exhorted the captaines and animated the souldiers one after another. And seeing one wing of the fight to have the worst, and in some danger, no man could hold him, but he would needs, with his naked sword in hand, get on hors-backe striving by all possible means to enter the throng, his men holding him, some by the bridle, some by the gowne, and some by the stirrups. This toyle and straining of himselfe made an end of that little remainder of his life; then was he laid on his bed: but comming to himselfe again, starting up as out of a swoon, each other faculty failing him, he gave them warning to conceale his death (which was the necessariest commandement he could give his servants, lest the souldiers, hearing of his death, might fall into despaire) and so yeelded the Ghost, holding his fore-fingers upon his mouth, an ordinary signall to impose silence. What man ever lived so long and so neere death? Who ever died so upright and undaunted? The extreamest degree, and most naturall, courageously to manage death, is to see or front the same, not onely without amazement, but without care; the course of life continuing free even in death. As Cato, who amused himselfe to studie and sleepe, having a violent and bloody death present in his heart, and as it were holding it in his hand.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of Running Posts, or Couriers

I HAVE been none of the weakest in this exercise, which is proper unto men of my stature, well-trussed, short and tough, but now I have given it over: it toyles us over-much to hold out long. I was even now reading how King Cyrus, that he might more speedily receive news from all parts of his Empire (which was of exceeding great length), would needs have it tried how far a horse could in a day goe outright without baiting, at which distance he caused stations to be set up, and men to have fresh horses ready for al such as came to him. And some report this swift kind of running answereth the flight of cranes. Cæsar saith that Lucius Vibullis Rufus, making hast to bring Pompey an advertisement, rode day and night, and to make more

speed shifted many horses. And himselfe (as Suetonius writeth) would upon an hyred coache runne a hundred miles a day. And sure he was a rancke-runner : for where any river hindred his way he swam it over, and never went out of his way to seek for a bridge or foard. Tiberius Nero going to visite his brother Drusus, who lay sick in Germanie, having three coaches in his company, ranne two hundred miles in foure and twenty houres. In the Romane warres against King Antiochus, *Titus Sempronius Gracchus* (saith Titus Livius) *per dispositos equos prope incredibili celeritate ab Amphisa tertio die Pellam pervenit* :¹ "By horse laid poste, with incredible speede within three dayes he past from Amphisa to Pella." And viewing the place, it seemeth they were set stations for postes, and not newly appointed for that race. The invention of Cecina in sending newes to those of his house had much more speede; he carried certaine swallows with him, and having occasion to send newes home, he let them flie toward their nests, first marking them with some colour proper to signifie what he meant, as before he had agreed upon with his friends. In the theaters of Rome the household masters carried pigeons in their bosomes, under whose wings they fastened letters, when they would send any word home, which were also taught to bring back an answer. D. Brutus used some, being besieged in Mutina, and others else-where. In Peru they went poste upon mens backs, who tooke their masters upon their shoulders, sitting upon certaine beares or chaires with such agilitie that, in full running speede, the first porters, without any stay, cast their load upon other who upon the way waited for them, and so they to others. I understand that the Valachians, which are messengers unto the great Turk, use extreame diligence in their businesse, forasmuch as they have authoritie to dismount the first passengers they meet upon the high-way, and give him their tyred horse. And because they shal not be weary, they are wont to swaith themselves hard about the bodie with a broad swathe or searcloth, as diverse others doe with us : I could never finde ease or good by it.

¹ LIVIUS,

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of Bad Meanes employed to a Good End.

THERE is a wonderfull relation and correspondencie found in this universall policie of Natures workes, which manifestly sheweth it is neither casual nor directed by diverse masters. The infirmities and conditions of our bodies are likewise seene in states and governments: kingdomes and commonwealths as well as we, are borne, florish, and fade through age. We are subject unto a repleatnesse of humours, hurtfull and unprofitable, yea be it of good humours (for even physitions feare that, and because there is nothing constant in us; they say, that perfection of health, over joyful and strong, must by art be abated and diminished, lest our nature, unable to settle it selfe in any certaine place, and for hir amendment to ascend higher, should over-violently recoile backe into disorder; and therefore they prescribe unto wrestlers purging and phlebotomie, to subtract that superabundance of health from them) or of bad, which is the ordinary cause of sickness. Of such like repletion Aristotles often seene to be sicke, and divers purgations are wont to be used to purge them. As wee have seene some to dismisse a great number of families (chiefly to disburthen the country) which elsewhere goe to seeke where they may at others charge seat themselves. In this sorte our ancient French, leaving the high countries of Germanie, came to possesse Gaule, whence they displaced the first inhabitants. Thence grew that infinite confluence of people which afterward, under Brennus and others, overranne Italie. Thus the Gothes and Vandalls, as also the nations which possesse Greece, left their naturall countries to go where they might have more elbow-roume: and hardly shall we see two or three corners in the world that have not felt the effect of such a remooving alteration. The Romanes, by such meanes, erected their colonies; for, perceiving their citie to growe over-populous, they were wont to discharge it of unnecessary people, which they sent to inhabit and manure the countries they had subdued. They have also sometimes maintained warre with some of their enemies, not onely thereby to keepe their men in breath, lest idleness, the mother of corruption, should cause them some worse inconvenience.

*Et patimur longa pacis mala, seivior armis
Luxuria incumbit.*¹

¹ Juv. Sat. vi. 190.

We suffer of long peace the soking harmes,
On us lies luxury more fierce then armes.

But also to let the Common-wealth bloud
and somewhat to allay the over vehement
heat of their youth, to lop the sprigs and
thin the branches of this over-spreading
tree, too much abounding in ranknesse and
gaillardise. To this purpose they main-
tained a good while war with the Cartha-
ginians. In the treaty of Bretigny, Edward
the Third, King of England, would by no
meanes comprehend in that general peace
the controversie of the Dutchie of Britany,
to the end he might have some way to dis-
burthen himselfe of his men of war, and
that the multitude of English-men which he
had employed about the warres of France
should not returne into England. It was
one of the reasons induced Philip our king
to consent that his sonne John should be
sent to warre beyond the seas, that so he
might carry with him a great number of
yong hot-blouds which were amongst his
trained military men. There are divers now
adaies, which will speake thus, wishing this
violent and burning emotion we see and
feele amongst us might be derived to some
neighbor warre, fearing lest those offending
humours, which at this instant are predom-
inant in our bodie, if they be not diverted
elsewhere, will still maintaine our fever in
force, and in the end cause our utter de-
struction : And in truth a forraigne warre is
nothing so dangerous a disease as a civill :
But I will not beleve that God would favour
so unjust an enterprise, to offend and quar-
rell with others for our commodity.

*Nil mihi tam valde placeat Khamnusia virgo,
Quod temere invitis suscipiatur heris.*¹

That fortune likes me not which is constrained
By Lords unwilling rashly entertained.

Notwithstanding the weaknesse of our
ndition, doth often urge us to this neces-
sity, to use bad meanes to a good end.

temperance, by force to make the Helotes,
which were their servants, to be drunke,
that seeing them so lost and buried in wine,
the Spartans might abhor the excesse of
that vice. Those were also more to be
blamed, who anciently allowed that crimi-
nall offenders, what death soever they were
condemned unto, should by physicians all
alive be torne in pieces, that so they might
naturally see our inward parts, and thereby
establish a more assured certainty in their
minds: for if a man must needs erre or de-

bauch himselfe, it is more excusable if he
doe it for his soules health then for his
bodies good. As the Romans trained up
and instructed their people to valour, and
contempt of dangers and death, by the out-
ragious spectacles of gladiators and deadly
fighting fencers, who in presence of them
all combated, mangled, sliced, and killed
one another.

*Quid vesani aliud sibi vult ars impia ludi,
Quid mortes iuvenum, quid sanguine pasta
voluptas?*

What else meanes that mad art of impious sense,
Those yong-mens deaths, that bloud-fed pleasing
sense?

Which custome continued even untill the
time of Theodosius the Emperour.

*Arripe delatam tua dux in tempora famam,
Quotique patris superest successor laudis habeto:
Nullus in urbe cadat, cuius sit parva voluptas,
Iam solis contenta feris infamis arena,
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.*¹

The fau : defer'd to your times entertaine,
Enherite praise which doth from Sire remaine,
Let none die to give pleasure by his paine:
Be shamefull Theaters with beasts content,
Not in goar'd armes man-slaughter represent,

Surely it was a wonderfull example, and
of exceeding benefit for the peoples institu-
tion, to see dayly one or two hundred, yea
sometimes a thousand brace of men, armed
one against another, in their presence to
cut and hacke one another in pieces with so
great constancy of courage, that they were
never seene to utter one word of faintnes or
commiseration, never to turne their backe,
nor so much as to shew a motion of demisse-
nesse, to avoide their adversaries blowes :
but rather to extend their necks to their
swords, and present themselves unto their
strokes. It hath hapned to diverse of them,
who through many hurts being wounded to
death, have sent to ask the people whether
they were satisfied with their duty, before
they would lie down in the place. They
must not only fight and die constantly, but
they were cursed
in receiving their
ueam they were any way seene to strive,
yea madnesse encited them to it.

— *consurgit ad ictus,
Et quoties victor ferrum iugulo inserit, illa
Delicias ait esse suas, pectusque iacentis
Virgo modesta iubet conuerso pollice rumpi.*²

The modest maide, when wounds are giu'n,
upriseth ;
When victors sword the vanquisht throate
surpriseth,
She saith, it is hir sport, and doth command
T' embreue the conquer'd breast, by signe of
hand.

¹ PRUD. *Tost. Sym.* l. ii. f.

² PRUD. *Cont. Sym.* l. i. ii.

¹ CAT. *Epig. Eleg.* iv. 77.

The first Romans disposed thus of their criminals: but afterward they did so with their innocent servants; yea, of their free men, which were sold to that purpose: yea of Senators, and Roman Knights and women also.

*Nunc caput in mortem vendunt, et funus arena,
Atque hostem sibi quisque parat cum bella
quiescunt.*¹

They sell mens lives to death and stages sight,
When wars do cease, they finde with whom to
fight.

*Hos inter fremitus novosque lusus,
Stat sexus rudis insciusque ferri,
Et pugnas caput improbus viriles.*

Amidst these tumults, these strange sporting
sights,

That sex doth sit which knowes not how
sword bites,

And entertaines unmov'd those manly fights,

Which I should deem very strange and incredible; if we were not dayly accustomed to see in our wars many thousands of forraigne nations, for a very small sum of mony, to engage both their blood and life in quarrels wherein they are nothing interested.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Roman Greatnesse.

I WILL but speake a word of this infinite argument, and slightly glance at it, to show the simplicitie of those who compare the seely greatnesse of these times unto that. In the seaventh booke of Ciceroes familiar Epistles (and let Gramarians remove this title of familiar if they please, for, to say truth, it makes but little to the purpose: and they who in lieu of familiar have placed *ad familiares*, may wrest some argument for themselves, from that which Suetonius saith in Cæsars Life, that there was a volume of his Epistles *ad familiares*) there is one directed unto Cæsar then being in Gaule, in which Cæsar repeats these very words which were in the end of a former letter that Cæsar had written to him: "Touching Marcus Furius, whom thou hast commended unto me, I will make him King of Gaule, and if thou wilt have me preferre any other of thy friends, send them to me." It was not new in a simple Roman citizen (as Cæsar then was) to dispose of kingdomes, for as well deprived he King Deiotarus of his, to

give it to a gentleman of the city of Pergamo, called Mithridates. And those who writ his Life mention many kingdomes sold by him. And Suetonius reporteth that he at one time wrested three millions and five hundred thousand crownes of gold from King Ptolomæus, which amounted very neere unto the price of his kingdome.

*Tot Galatæ, tot Pontus eat, tot Lydia nummis:*¹
Forsomuch let Galatia go,
Forsomuch Lidia, Pontus so.

Marcus Antonius said, "The greatnesse of the Romane people was not so much discerned by what it tooke as by what it gave." Yet some ages before Antonius was there one amongst others of so wonderfull authoritie, as through all his history I know no marke carrieth the name of his credit higher. Antiochus possessed all Egypt, and was very neere to conquer Cyprus and others depending of that Empire. Upon the progresse of his victories, C. Popilius came unto him in the behalfe of the Senate, and at first arrivall refused to take him by the hand before he had read the letters he brought him. The King having read them, said he wold deliberate of them. Popilius with a wand encircled the place about where he stood, and thus bespake him: "Give me an answer to carry back to the Senate before thou goest out of this circle." Antiochus, amazed at the rudenesse of so urging a commandement, after he had paused a while, replied thus: "I will doe what the Senate commandeth me." Then Popilius saluted him as a friend unto the Roman people. To have renounced so great a Monarchy and forgon the course of so successfull prosperity by the only impression of three written lines! He had good reason, as afterward he did, by his Ambassadors to send the Senate word that he had received their ordinances with the same respect as if they had come from the immortall Gods. All the kingdomes Augustus subdued by right of war, he restored to those who had lost them, or presented strangers with them. And concerning this purpose, Tacitus, speaking of Cogidunus, King of England, by a wonderfull trait makes us perceive this infinit greatnes and might. The Romans (saith he) were from all antiquity accustomed to leave those kings whom they had vanquished in the possession of their kingdomes under their authoritie: *Ut haberent instrumenta servitutis et reges.*² "That they might have even Kings also for instruments

¹ CLAUD. in *Entrop.* l. i. 20, 3.

² CORN. TACIT. *Vit. Jul. Agric.*

¹ MANIL. *Ast.* l. iv. 2, 4.

of their bondage." It is very likely that Soliman, the great Turke, whom we have seene to use such a liberality and give away the Kingdome of Hungary and other dominions, did more respect this consideration then that he was wont to allage; which is, that he was over wearied with the many monarchies and surcharged with the severall dominions, which either his owne or his ancestors vertue had gotten him.

CHAPTER XXV.

How a Man should not Counterfeit to be Sicke.

THERE is an epigram in Martiall that may pass for a good one (for there are of all sorts in him), wherein he pleasantly relateth the storie of Cælius, who to avoide the courting of certaine great men in Rome, to give attendance at their rising, and to waite, assist and follow them, fained to be troubled with the goutte; and to make his excuse more likely, he caused his legges to be ointed and swathed and lively counterfeted the behaviour and countenance of a goutie man. In the end fortune did him the favour to make him goutie indeede.

*Tantum cura potest et ars doloris,
Desiit fingere Cælius podagram.*¹

So much the care and cunning can of paine: Cælius (growne gowty) leaves the gowt to faine.

As farre as I remember I have read a like history in some place of Appian, of one who, purposing to escape the proscriptions of the Triumvirat of Rome, and to conceale himselfe from the knowledge of those who pursued him, kept himselfe close and disguised, adding this other invention to it, which was to counterfeit blindness in one eye, who when he came somewhat to recover his liberty, and would have left off the plaster he had long time worne over his eyes, he found that under that mask he had altogether lost the sight of it. It may be the action of his sight was weakened, having so long continued without exercise and the usual vertue was wholly converted into the other eye. For we may plainly perceive that holding one eye shut, it convaileth some part of its effect into his fellow; in such sort as it will swell and grow bigger. As also the

idlenes, together with the warmth of the medicaments and swathing, might very well draw some goutie humour into the legge of Martials goutie fellow. Reading in Froissart the vow which a gallant troupe of young English-men had made to weare their eyes hudwinkt untill such time as they should passe into France, and there performe some notable exploite of armes upon us: I have often laughed with my selfe to think what they would have imagined if as to the fore alaged it had hapned to them, and had all beene blind of the left eye at what time they turned to look upon their mistresses, for whose sake they had made their vowe and undertaken such an enterprise. Mothers have great reason to chide their children when they counterfeit to be blind with one eye, crompt-backe, squint-cyed, or lame, and such other deformities of the body; for besides that the body thus tender may easily receive some ill custome, I know not how, it seemeth that fortune is glad to take us at our word: and I have heard diverse examples of some who have fallen sicke in very deede because they had purposed to faine sicknes. I have at all times enured my selfe, whether I be on horsebacke or afoote, to carry a good heave wand or cudgell in my hand; yea, I have endeavoured to doe it handsomely, and with an effected kinde of countenance to continue so. Many have threatned me that fortune will one time or other turne this my wantonnes into necessitie. I presume upon this that I should be the first of my race that ever was troubled with the gowt. But lett us somewhat amplifie this chapter, and patch it up with another piece concerning blindness. Plinie reports of one who, dreaming in his sleepe that he was blind, awaking the next morning, was found to be starke blinde, having never had any precedent sicknes. The power of imagination may very well further such things as elsewhere I have shewed; and Plinie seemeth to bee of this opinion; but it is more likely that the motions which the body felt inwardly (whercof Physitians may, if they please, finde out the cause), and which tooke away his sight, were the occasion of his dreame. Let us also adde another storie concerning this purpose, which Seneca reporteth in his Epistles. Thou knowest (saith he, writing unto Lucilius) that Harpaste, my wives foole, is left upon me as an hereditarie charge; for by mine owne nature I am an enemy unto such monsters, and if I have a desire to laugh at a foole, I neede not seeke one farre; I laugh at my selfe. This foolish woman hath sodainly lost her sight. I report a strange thing, but yet very true. She

¹ MART. l. vii. *Epig.* xxxviii. 8.

will not beleve she is blind, and urgeth her keeper uncessantly to lead her, saying still, my house is very darke. What we laugh at in her, I entreat thee to beleve that the same hapneth to each of us. No man knoweth himselfe to be covetous or niggardly. Even the blind require a guide, but wee stray from our selves. I am not ambitious, say we, but no man can live otherwise at Rome: I am not sumptuous, but the citie requireth great charges. It is not my fault if I be colerike; if I have not yet set downe a sure course of my life, the fault is in youth. Let us not seeke our evill out of us; it is within us, it is rooted in our entrailes. And only because we perceive not that we are sicke, makes our recoverie to prove more difficult. If we beginne not betimes to cure our selves, when shall we provide for so many sores, for so many evils? Yet have we a most sweete and gentle medicine of Philosophy; for of others no man feels the pleasure of them but after his recoverie, whereas she pleaseth, easeth, and cureth all at once. Loe here what Seneca saith, who hath some what diverted me from my purpose: but there is profit in the exchange.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of Thumbs.

TACITUS reporteth that amongst certaine barbarous kings, for the confirmation of an inviolable bonde or covenant, their manner was to joyn their right hands close and hard together with enterlacing their thumbs: and when by hard wringing them the blood appeared at their ends, they pricked them with some sharp point, and then mutually entersuckt each one the others. Physicians say thumbs are the master fingers of the hand, and that their Latine etymologie is derive^d. of Pollere. The Græcians call it ἀντιχείρ, as a man would say, another hand. And it seemeth the Latines likewise take them sometimes in this sense, *id est*, for the whole hand:

*Sed nec vocibus excitata blandis,
Molli pollice nec rogata surgit.*¹

It will not rise, though with sweet words excited, Nor with the touch of softest thumb invited.

In Rome it was heretofore a signe of favour to wring and kisse the thumbs:

*Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum;*²

¹ MART. l. xii. *Epig.* xcix. 8.

² HOR. l. i. *Epist.* xviii. 66.

He that applaudes will praise,
With both his thumbs, thy plaies:

and of disfavor or disgrace to lift them up and turne them outward.

— *converso pollice vulgi
Quemlibet occidunt populariter.*¹

When people turne their thumbs away,
They popularly any slay.

Such as were hurt or maymed in their thumbs were by the Romans dispensed from going to warre, as they who had lost their weapons hold-fast. Augustus did confiscate all the goods of a Roman knight, who through malice had cut off the thumbs of two young children of his, thereby to excuse them from going to warre: and before him the Senate in the time of the Italian warres had condemned Caius Vatinus to perpetuall prison, and confiscated all his goods, forsomuch as he had willingly cut off the thumb of his left hand, so to exempt himselfe from the voyage. Some one, whose name I remember not, having gained a great victory by sea, caused all the enemies whom he had vanquished and taken prisoners to have their thumbs cut off, thinking thereby to deprive them of all meanes of fighting, or rowing, or handling their oares. The Athenians likewise caused them to be cut off from them of Ægina, to take from them the preheminance in the art of navigation. Lacedæmon masters punished their schollers by byting their thumbs.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Cowardize the Mother of Cruelty.

I HAVE often heard it reported that cowardize is the mother of cruelty: and have perceived by experience that this malicious sharpnes and inhumane severitie of corage is commonly accompanied with feminine remissenesse. I have seene some of the cruellest subject to weepe easily, and for frivolous causes. Alexander the tyrant of Pheres could not endure to see tragedies acted in the theatres for feare his subjects should see him sob and weepe at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Andromache; he who without remorse or pitty caused daily so many poore people to be most cruelly massacred and barbarously murdered. May it be weaknesse of spirit makes them so pliable to all extremities?

¹ Juv. *Sat.* iii. 36.

valor (whose effect is onely to exercise it selfe against resistance,

*Nec nisi bellantis gaudet cervice inuenci.*¹

Nor takes he joy to domineere
But on the necke of sturdie steere.

refrains it selfe in seeing her enemy prostrate to her mercy : but pusillanimitie, to say that she also is of the feaste, since it cannot be joynd to the first part takes for her share the second, which is massacre and blood. Murthers after victories are commonly effected by the baser kinde of people and officers that waite upon the baggage and cariage. And the reason we see so many unheard-of cruelties in popular warres is that this vulgar rascalitie doth martially flesh and enure it selfe to diue in blood up to the elbowes, and mangle a body, or hacke a carcase lying and groveling at their feete, having no manner of feeling of other valor.

Et Lupus et turpes instant morientibus Ursa.

*Et quaecumque minor nobilitate fera est.*²

A Wolfe or filthie Beare the dying man oppresse,
Or some such beast as in nobilitie is lesse.

As the craven Curres, which at home or in their kennels will tugge and bite the skins of those wilde beastes which in the fields they durst not so much as bark at. What is it that now adaies makes all our quarrels mortall? And whereas our forefathers had some degree of revenge, we now beginne by the last; and at first brunt nothing is spoken of but killing? What is it, if it be not cowardice? Every man seeth it is more bravery and disdaine for one to beat his enemy than make an end of him, and to keep him at a bay, then make him die. Moreover, that the desire of revenge is thereby allayed and better contented; for it aymeth at nothing so much as to give or shew a motion or feeling of revenge onely of her self. And thats the reason we do not challenge a beast, or fall upon a stone when it hurts us, because they are incapable to feele our revenge. And to kill a man is to shelter him from our offence. And even as Bias exclaimed upon a wicked man : "I know that soone or late thou shalt be punished for thy lewdnes, but I feare me I shall not see it;" and moaned the Orchomenians, because the penance which Liciscus had for his treason committed against them, came at such a time as none of them were living whom it had concerned, and whom the pleasure of that punishment might most delight : so ought revenge to be moaned when he on whom it is inflicted looseth the

meanes to endure or feel it. For, even as the revenger will see the action of the revenge, that so he may feel the pleasure of it, so must he on whom he is revenged, both see and feele that he may hereby receive both repentance and griefe. He shall rew it, say we. And though he receive a stab, or a blow with a pistoll on his head, shal we think he wil repent? Contrariwise, if we marke him wel, we shal perceive that in falling he makes a moe or bob at us. Hee is farre from repenting when he rather seemes to be beholding us : inasmuch as we afford him the favourable office of life, which is to make him dye speedily and as it were insensibly. We are left to shift up and downe, runne and trot, and squat heere and there, and al to avoyd the officers or escape the magistrates that pursue us; and he is at rest. "To kill a man is good to escape a future offence, and not revenge the wrongs past." It is rather an action of feare than of bravery; of precaution than of courage; of defence than of an enterprise. It is apparent that by it we quit both the true end of revenge and the respect of our reputation : if he live we feare he will or may charge us with the like. It is not against him, it is for thee, thou riddest thy selfe of him. In the kingdome of Narsinga this expedient would be bootlesse. There not only souldiers, and such as professe armes, but every meane artificer, decide their quarrels with the swords point. The King never refuseth any man the combate that is disposed to fight, and if they be men of qualitie he wil be by in person, and reward the victor with a chaine of gold : which, whosoever hath a mind unto, and wil obtaine it, may freely challenge him that weareth the same, and enter combate with him. And having overcome one combate, hath many following the same. If we thought by vertue to be ever superiors unto our enemy, and at our pleasure gourmandize him, it would much grieve us he should escape us, as he doth in dying. We rather endeavour to vanquish surely then honourably. And in our quarrels we rather seeke for the end then for the glory. Asinius Pollio for an honest man lesse excusable, committed a like fault; who, having written many invectives against Plancus, staid untill he were dead to publish them. It was rather to flurt at a blind man, and raile in a dead mans eare, and to offend a senselesse man, than incurre the danger of his revenge. And men answered in this behalfe, that it onely belonged to hobgoblins to wrestle with the dead. He who stayeth till the author be dead whose writings he will combate, what saith he but that he is weake

¹ CLAUD. *Epist. ad Hadr.* v. 39.

² OVID. *Trist.* l. iii. *Eleg.* v. 35.

and quarrelous? It was told Aristotle, that somebody had spoken ill of him, to whom he answered, "Let him also whippe me, so my selfe be not by." Our forefathers were content to revenge an insult with the lie, a lie with a blowe, a blowe with bloud, and so in order. They were sufficiently valiant not to feare their adversary, though he lived and were wronged: whereas we quake for feare so long as we see him a foot. And that it is so, doth not our moderne practice pursue to death as well him who hath wronged us as him whom we have offended? It is also a kind of dastardlinesse which hath brought this fashion into our single combates, to accompany us in the fields with seconds, thirdes, and fourths. They were anciently single combates, but now they are skirmishes and battels. To be alone, feared the first that invented it. *Quum in se cuique minimum fiducia esset*: "When every man had least confidence in himselfe." For, what company soever it be, it doth naturally bring some comfort and ease in danger. In ancient time they were wont to employ third persons as sticklers, to see no treachery or disorder were used, and to beare witnes of the combates successe. But now this fashion is come up, let any man be engaged, whosoever is envited cannot well containe himselfe to be a spectator, lest it be imputed unto him it is either for want of affection or lack of courage. Besides the injustice of such an action and villany, for your honours protection, to engage other valour and force than your owne, I find it a disadvantage in an honest and worthy man, and who wholly trusts unto himselfe, to entermingle his fortune with a second man: every one runneth sufficient hazard for himselfe, and need not also runne it for another: and hath enough to do to assure himselfe of his owne vertue for the defence of his life, without committing so precious a thing into third mens hands. For, if the contrary hath not expresly beene covenanted of all foure, it is a combined party. If your fellow chance to faile, you have two upon you, and not without reason: and to say it is a Superchery, as it is indeed: as being well armed, to charge a man who hath but a piece of a sword, or being sound and strong, to set upon a man sore hurt. But if they be advantages you have gotten fighting, you may use them without imputation. Disparitie is not considered, and inequality is not balanced, but by the state wherein the fight is begun. As of the rest you must rely on fortune, and if alone or single you chance to have three upon you, your other two companions being slain, you have no more wrong done you than I should offer in

wars in striking an enemy whom at such an advantage I should finde grappled with one of my fellow-souldiers. The nature of societie beareth where troupe is against troupe (as where our Duke of Orleans chalenged Henry King of England, one hundred against another hundred; three hundred against as many, as did the Argians against the Lacedemonians; three to three, as were the Horatij against the Curatij), the pluralitie of either side is never respected for more than a single man. Wheresoever there is company, the hazard is confused and disordered. I have a private interest in this discourse. For my brother, the Lord of Matecoulom, being desired in Rome to second and accompany a gentleman with whom he had no great acquaintance, who was defendant and challenged by another, the fight begonne, my brother by chance found himselfe confronted with one neerer and better known to him (I would faine be resolved of these lawes of honour, which so often shock and trouble those of reason), whom after he had vanquished and dispatched, seeing the two principals of the quarrell yet standing and unhurt, he went to reskew his fellow. What could he doe lesse? should he have stood still, and (if chance would so have had it) see him defeated for whose defence he was entred the quarrell? What until then he had done was nothing to the purpose, and the quarrell was still undecided. Al the courtesie you can, you ought surely use to your enemy, especially when you have brought him under, and to some great advantage; I know not how a man may use it, when anothers interest depends on it, where you are but accessory, and where the quarrell is not yours. Hee could never be just nor courteous in hazard of him unto whom he had lent himselfe. So was he presently delivered out of the Italian prisons by a speedy and solemne letter of commendations from our King. Oh, indiscreet nation! We are not contented to manifest our follies and bewray our vices to the world by reputation; but we goe into forraigne nations, and there in person shew them. Place three Frenchmen in the deserts of Libya, and they will never live one moneth together without bawling, falling out, and scratching one another: you would say this peregrination is a party erected to please strangers with our tragedies; and those most commonly who rejoyce and scoffe at our evils. We travel into Italie to learne the art of fencing, and practise it at the cost of our lives, before we know it; it were requisite, according to the order of true discipline, we should preferre the theorie before the practice. We betray our apprenticeship.

*Primitiue iuuenum misera, bellique futuri
Dura rudimenta.*¹

The miserable first essayes of youth
And hard beginnings of warre that ensueth.

I know it is an art profitable to her end (in the single combat betweene the two Princes, cosin-Germans, in Spaine, the eldest of which (saith T. Livius) by the skil of his weapons, and by craft, overcame easily the dismayed forces of the younger) and as by experience I have knowen the knowledge and skil whereof hath puffed the heart of some beyond their naturall proportion. But it is not properly a vertue, since she draweth her stay from dexteritie and takes her foundation from other than from her selfe. The honour of combats consisteth in the jealousy of the heart, not of the science. And therefore have I seene some of my friends, renowned for great Masters in this exercise, in their quarels to make choice of weapons that might well take the meane of this advantage or odds from them; and which wholly depend on fortune and assurance that their victorie might not rather be imputed to their fencing then ascribed to their valour. And in my infancy our nobility scorned the reputation of a fencer, though never so cunning, as injurious; and if any learnt it they would sequester themselves from company, deeming the same as a mystery of craft and subtilty, derogating from true and perfect vertue.

*Non sciviar, non parar, non ritirarsi
Vogliono costor, ne qui destrezza ha parte;
Non danno i colpi finti hor pieni, hor scarsi;
Toglie l'ira e'l furor l'uso dell'arte,
Odi le spade horribilmente urtarsi
A mezzo il ferro, il pie d'orma non parte,
Sempre è il pie fermo, è la man sempre in mo'lo,
Ne scende taglio in van, ne punta a volo.*²

T' avoyde, toward retiring to give ground
They reke not, nor hath nimblenes heere part,
Nor give false blowes, nor full, nor scarce, nor sound,

Rage and revenge bereave all use of arte.
Their Swordes at halfe Sword horribly resound
You might heare mette: No foote from steppe doth parte:

Their foote still fast, their hand still faster
mooveth:

No stroke in vaine, no thrust in vaine, but
prooveth.

Shooting at Buts, Tilting, Torneyes, Barriers, the true images of martiall combats, were the exercises of our forefathers. This other exercise is so much the lesse noble, by how much it respecteth but a private end: which against the lawes of justice teacheth us to destroy one another,

and every way produceth ever mischievous effects. It is much more worthy and better beseeming for a man to exercise himselfe in things that assure and offend not our Commonwealth; and which respect publike securitie and generally glory. Publius Rutilius was the first that ever instituted the Souldier to manage his armes by dexteritie and skil, and joyned art unto vertue, not for the use of private contentions, but for the wars and Roman peoples quarrels; a popular and civill manner of fencing: and besides the example of Cesar, who appointed his souldier above all things to aime and strike at the face of Pompeyes men in the battell of Pharsalia: a thousand other Chieftaines and Generals have devised new fashions of weapons and new kindes of striking, and covering of themselves, according as the present affaires require. But even as Phiopemen condemned wrestling, wherein hee excelled others, forsomuch as the preparations appertaining to this exercise differed from those that belong to military discipline, to which he supposed men of honour should amuse and addict themselves, he thinkes also that this nimblenesse or agilitie to which men fashion and enure themselves, their limbes, their turnings, windings, and nimble-quick motions wherein youth is instructed and trained in this new schoole, are not only unprofitable but rather contrary and damageable for the use of militarie combat: And wee see our men do commonly employ particular weapons in their fence schools, and peculiarly appointed for that purpose. And I have seene it disallowed that a gentleman chalenged to fight with rapier and dagger should present himselfe in the equipage of a man at armes; or that another should offer to come with his cloake instead of a dagger. It is worthy the noting that Lachez in Plato, speaking of an apprenticeship how to manage armes conformable to ours, saith he could never see any notable warrior come of a school of fence, and especially from among the maisters. As for them our owne experience confirms as much. And for the rest we may at least say they are sufficiencies of no relation or correspondency. And in the institution of the children of his Commonwealth, Plato interdicts the artes of striking or playing with fists devised by Amycus and Epelus, and to wrestle invented by Antæus and Cercyo: because they aime at another end then to adapt youth to warlike service, and have no affinitie with it. But I digresse much from my theme. The Emperour Mauricius, being forewarned by dreames and sundry prognostications that one Phocas a

¹ STAT. Sylv. l. v.

² TASS. Gier. can. xii. st. 53.

souldier at that time yet unknowne, should kill him, demanded of Philip his sonne in law who that Phocas was, his nature, his conditions and customes, and how amongst other things Philip told him he was a faint, cowardly, and timorous fellow. The Emperour thereby presently concluded that he was both cruel and a murtherer. What makes tyrants so bloud-thirstie? it is the care of their securitie, and that their faint hart yeelds them no other meanes to assure themselves then by rooting out those which may in any sort offend them; yea, silly women, for feare that they should or bite or scratch them:

*Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet.*¹

Of all things he afraide,
At all things fiercely laide.

The first cruelties are exercised by themselves, thence proceedeth the feare of a just revenge, which afterward produces that swarme of new cruelties; by the one to stifle the other. Philip, the King of Macedon, who had so many crowes to pul with the Romanes, agitated by the horror of so many murders committed by his appointment, and unable to make his partie good, or to take any safe resolution against so many families, by him at severall times injured, resolved at last to seize upon all their children whom he had caused to be murdered, that so he might day by day one after another rid the world of them, and so establish his safety. Matters of worth are not impertinent wheresoever they be placed. I, who rather respect the weight and benefite of discourses then their order and placing, need not feare to place here at randome a notable storie. When they are so rich of their owne beautie, and may very well uphold themselves alone, I am content with a hairens end, to fite or joyne them to my purpose. Amongst others who had been condemned by Philip was one Herodius, Prince of the Thessalians: after whom he caused his two sonnes in lawe to be put to deathe, each of them leaving a young sonne behind. Theoxena and Arco were the two widdowes Theoxena, although she were instantly urged thereunto, could never be induced to marry againe. Arco tooke to husband Poris, a chiefe man amongst the Æneans, and by him had divers children, all which she left very young. Theoxena, moved by a motherly charitie toward her young nephews, and so to have them in her protection and bringing up, wedded Poris. Vpon this came out the proclamation of the Kings edict. This

noble-minded mother, distrusting the Kings crueltie and fearing the mercilessness of his satelities or officers towards these noble, hopefull and tender youths, feared not to say that shee would rather kil them with her own hands then deliver them. Poris, amazed at her protestations, promiseth her secretly to convey them to Athens, there by some of his faithful friends to be kept safely. They take occasion of a yearly feast which to the honour of Æneas was solemnized at Ænea, and thither they goe, where having all day long assisted at the ceremonies and publike banquet, night being come, they convey themselves into a shippe appointed for that purpose, in hope to save themselves by sea. But the winde fell out so contrarie that the next morning they found themselves in view of the towne whence the night before they had hoisted sailes, where they were pursued by the guarders and souldiers of the port. Which Poris perceiving, laboured to hasten and encourage the mariners to shift away: but Theoxena, engaged through love and revenge, remembering her first resolution, prepared both weapons and poisons, and presenting them to their sight, thus she bespake them: "Oh my dear children, take a good heart; death is now the onely meane of your defence and libertie, and shall be a just cause unto the Gods for their holy justice. These bright keen blades, these full cuppes shall free you the passage unto it. Courage therefore, and thou my eldest childe take this sword to die the strongest death." Who on the one side having so undaunted a perswader, and on the other their enemies ready to cut their throats in furious manner, ranne all to that which came next to his hand; and so all goared and panting were throwne into the sea. Theoxena, proud she had so gloriouslie provided for her children's safety, lovingly embraced her husband, said thus unto him: "Oh my dear heart, let us follow these boyes, and together with them enjoy one self-same grave;" and so close-claspe together they flung themselves into the maine: so that the ship was brought to shore againe, but emptie of her maisters. Tyrants, to act two things together, that is, to kill and cause their rage to be felt, have employed the utmost of their skill to devise lingering deathis. They will have their enemies die, yet not so soone but that they may have leisure to feele their vengeance. Wherin they are in great perplexity; for if the torments be over-violent, they are short; if lingring, not grievous enough. In this they employ their wits and devices, many examples wherof we see in antiquitie; and I wot not whether wittingly

¹ Claud. in EUTROP. l. i. 182.

we retaine some spice of that barbarisme. Whatsoever is beyoud a simple death seemeth to me meere crueltie. Our justice cannot hope that he whom the terror of death cannot dismay, be he to be hanged or beheaded, can in any sort be troubled with the imagination of a languishing fire, of a wheele, or of burning pincers. And I wot not whether in that meane time we bring him to despair; for what plight can the soule of man be in that is broken up on a wheele, or, after the old fashion, nailed to a crosse, and 24 howres together expects his death! Josephus reporteth that whilst the Roman warres continued in Jewrie, passing by a place where certain Jewes had been crucified three dayes before, he knew three of his friends amongst them, and having gotten leave to remove them, two of them died, but the third lived long after. Chalcohydylas, a man of credite, in the memories he left of matters happened in his time and thereabouts, maketh report of an extreame torment the Emperor Mechmet was often wont to put in practice, which was by one onely blow of a cimitary, or broad Persian sword, to have men cut in two parts, by the waste of the body, about the diaphragma, which is a membrane lying overthwart the lower part of the breast, separating the heart and lights from the stomacke, which caused them to die two deaths at once: and affirmeth that both parts were seen full of life, to move and stirre long time after, as if they had been in lingering torment. I do not thinke they felt any great torture in that moving. The gastliest torments to looke upon are not alwaies the greatest to be endured: and I finde that much more fiercely horrible, which other historians write, and which he used against certain Lords of Epirus, whom faire and leasurably he caused to be flead all over, disposed by so malicious a dispensation that their lives continued fiftene daies in that languor and anguish. And these two others: Cræsus having caused a gentleman to be apprehended, greatly favoured by Pantaleon his brother, led him in a fullers or cloth-workers shoppe, where with cardes and teazles belonging to that trade, he made him to be carded, scraped, and teazed so long until he died of it. George Sechel, ring-leader of the countrymen of Polina, who under the title of a croysada, wrought so many mischiefs, having beene defeated in a battell by the Vayvoda of Transilvania and taken prisoner, was for three dayes together tyed naked to a wooden horse, exposed to all manner of tortures any man might devise against him; during which time divers other prisoners were kept

fasting. At last, he yet living, saw Lucat his deare brother, and for whose safety he sued and entreated, forced to drinke his blood, drawing all the envie and hatred of his misdeeds upon himselfe. And twenty of his most favoured captaines were compelled to feed upon his flesh, which with their teeth they must teare off and swallow their morsels. The rest of his body and entrailes, he being dead, were boiled in a pan, and given for food to other of his followers.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

All Things have their Season.

THOSE who compare Cato the Censor to Cato the Younger that killed himselfe, compare two notable natures, and in forme neare one unto another. The first exploited his sundrie waies and excelleth in military exploits and utilitie of his publike vacations. But the youngers vertue (besides that it were blasphemy in vigor to compare any unto him) was much more sincere and unspotted. For who will discharge the Censors of envie and ambition that durst counter-checke the honour of Scipio in goodnes and all other parts of excellencie, farre greater and better than him or any other man living in his age? Amongst other things reported of him, this is one, that in his eldest yeares he gave himselfe with so earnest a longing to learn the Greek tongue, as if it had been to quench a long burning thirst, a thing in mine opinion not very honourable in him. It is properly that which we call doting, or to become a childe againe. All things have their season, yea the good and all. And I may say my Paternoster out of season. As T. Quintius Flaminius was accused, forasmuch as being generall of an army, even in the houre of the conflict he was seene to withdraw himselfe apart, amusing himselfe to pray God although he gained the battell.

Imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis.¹

A wise-man will use moderation,
Even in things of commendation.

Eudemondas seeing Xenocrates very old laboriously apply himselfe in his schoole-lectures, said, When will this man know something, since he is yet learning? And Philopæmen, to those who highly extolled King Ptolomey because he daily hardened his body to the exercise of armes: It is

not (said he) a matter commendable in a King of his age in them to exercise himselfe, he should now really and substantially imploy them. Wise men say that young men should make their preparations and old men enjoy them. And the greatest vice they note in us is, that our desires do uncessantly grow yonger and yonger. We are ever beginning anew to live. Our studies and our desires should sometimes have a feeling of age. We have a foote in the grave, and our appetites and pursuits are but new-borne.

*Tu secunda marmora
Locas sub ipsum finis, et sepulchri
Immemor, struis domos.*¹

You, when you should be going to your grave,
Put marble out to worke, build houses brave,
Unmindfull of the buriall you must have.

The longest of my desseignes doth not extend to a whole yeare : now I only apply my selfe to make an end : I shake off all my new hopes and enterprises : I bid my last farewell to all the places I leave, and daily dispossess my selfe of what I have. *Olim iam nec perit quicquam mihi, nec acquiritur. Plus superest viatici quam via.*² "It is a good while since I neither loose nor get any thing ; I have more to beare my charges then way to goe."

*Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi.*³
I have liv'd, and the race have past
Wherein my fortune had me plac't.

To conclude, it is all the ease I finde in my age, and that it suppresseth many cares and desires in me wherewith life is much disquieted. The care of the worlds course, the care of riches, of greatnesse, of knowledge, of health, and of my selfe. This man learneth to speake when he should rather learne to hold his peace for ever. A man may alwaies continue his study, but not schooling. O fond-foolish for an old man to be ever an Abecedarian.

*Diversos diverse iuvant, non omnibus annis
Omnia conveniunt.*⁴

Diverse delights to diverse, nor to all
Do all things at all yeares convenient fall.

If we must needs study, let us study something sortable to our condition, that we may answer as he did, who being demanded what his studies would stead him in his decrepity, answered that he might the better and with more ease leave this world. Such a study was yong Catoes in forefeeling his

approaching end, who lighted upon Platoes discourse of the soules immortality. Not as it may be supposed that long before he had not stored himselfe with all sorts of munition for such a dislodging. Of assurance, of constancy and instruction, he had more than Plato hath in all his writings. His science and his courage were in this respect above all Philosophy. Hee undertook this occupation, not for the service of his death, but as one who did not so much as interrupt his sleep in a deliberation of such consequence, who ever without choise or change continued his wonted studies, and all other accustomed actions of his life. The same night wherein the Pretorship was refused him he passed over in play. That wherein he must die, he spent in reading. The losse of life or office was all one to him.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of Vertue.

FINDE by experience that there is great difference betweene the sodaine fits and fantasies of the soule, and a resolute disposition and constant habitude : and I see there is nothing but we may attaine unto, yea, as some say, to exceede Divinitie it selfe ; forsomuch as it is more to become impassible of himselfe, then to be so by his originall condition : and that one may joine a resolution and assurance of God to mens imbecillitie. But it is by fits. And in the lives of those heroes or noble worthies of former ages, are often found wonderfull parts, and which seeme greatly to exceed our naturall forces : but they are pranks or parts consonant to truth : and it may hardly be believed mans soule may so be tainted and fed with those so high-raised conditions, that unto it they may become as ordinary and naturall. It hapneth unto our selves, who are but abortive broods of men, sometimes to rowse our soule farre beyond her ordinary pitch, as stirred up by the discourses or provoked by the examples of others. But it is a kinde of passion which urgeth, mooveth, agitateth, and in some sorte ravisheth her from out her selfe : for, that gust overblowne and storme past, wee see it wil unawares unbend and lose it selfe, if not to the lowest pitch, at least to be no more the same she was, so that upon every slight occasion, for a bird lost or for a glasse broken, we suffer our selves to be mooved and distempered very neere as one

¹ HOR. *Car.* l. ii. ed. xviii. 17.

² SEN. *Epist.* lxxvii.

³ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iv. 653.

⁴ CATUL. *Eleg.* i. 103.

of the vulgar sort. Except order, moderation and constancie, I imagine all things may bee done by an indifferent and defective man. Therefore say wise men, that directly to judge of a man, his common actions must specially be controuled, and he must every day be surprised in his work-day clothes. Pyrrho, who framed so pleasant a science of ignorance, assailed (as all other true philosophers) to fashion his life answerable to his doctrine. And forasmuch as he maintained the weakenesse of mans judgement to be so extreame as it could take nor resolution nor inclination: and would perpetually suspend it, ballancing, beholding and receiving all things as indifferent: it is reported of him that he ever kept himselfe after one fashion, looke and countenance. If he had begunne a discourse, he would end it, though the party to whom he spake were gone: and if he went any where, he would not goe an inche out of his path what let or obstacle soever came in his way; being kept from falls, from cartes, or other accidents by his friends. For, to feare or shunne any thing had beene to shooke his propositions, which remooved all election and certainty from his very senses. He sometimes suffered himselfe to be cut and cauterized with such constancy as he was never seen so much as to shrug, twitch, move, or winke with his eyes. It is something to bring the minde to these imagination, but more to joine the effects unto it, yet is it not impossible. But to joine them with such perseverance and constancy as to establish it for an ordinary course: verily in these enterprises so farre from common use, it is almost incredible to be done. The reason is this, that he was sometimes found in his house bitterly scolding with his sister, for which being reproved as he that wronged his indifference: "What!" said he, "m this seely woman also serve as a witness to my rules?" Another time, being found to defend himselfe from a dog: "It is," replied he, "very hard altogether to dispoile and shake off man:" and man must endeavour and enforce himselfe to resist and confront all things, first by effects, but if the worst befall, by reason and by discourse. It is now about seven or eight yeares since, that a country man, yet living not above two leagues from this place, having long before beene much vexed and troubled in minde for his wives jealousy; one day coming home from his worke, and she after her accustomed manner welcomming and entertaining him with brawling and scowlding, as one unable to endure her any longer, fell into such a moodie rage, that sodainely with a sickle which he held in his hand he clean

cut off those parts that were the cause of her jealousy, and flung them in her face. And it is reported that a yong gentleman of France, amorous and lustie, having by his perseverance at last mollified the heart of his faire mistresse, desperate, because coming to the point of his so long sued-for businesse, he found himselfe unable and unprepared, and that

— non viriliter
*Iners senile penis extulerat caput.*¹

As soone as he came home he deprived himselfe of it, and sent it as a cruel and bloody sacrifice for the expiation of his offence. Had he done it by discourse or for religions sake, as the priestes of Cybele were wont to do, what might we not say of so haughty an enterprise? Not long since at Bragerac, five leagues distance from my house, up the river of Dordaigne, a woman, having the evening before beene grievously tormented and sore beaten by hir husband, froward and skittish by complexion, determined, though it should cost hir the price of hir life, by one meane or other to escape his rudeness, and rising the next morning, went as she was accustomed to visite her neighbours, to whom in some sort she recommended the state of hir affaires, then taking a sister of hers by the hand, ledde hir along untill she came upon the bridge that crosseth the river, and having bid her harily farewell, as in the way of sport, without shewing any maner of change or alteration, headlong threw herselfe down into the river, where she perished. And which is more to be noted in hir, that this hir determination ripened a whole night in hir head. But the Indian wives may not here be forgotten as worthy the noting: whose custome is, that husbands have many wives, and for hir that is dearest unto hir husband to kill herselfe after him: every one in the whole course of hir life endeavoreth to obtaine this priviledge and advantage over all her fellow wives: and in the good offices and duties they shew their husbands, respect no other recompence than to be preferred to accompany them in death.

*Vbi mortifero jacta est fax ultima lecto,
Uxorum fustis, stat pia turba comis:
Et certamen habent Lethi, quæ viva sequatur
Coniugium, pudor est non licuisse mori:
Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.*²

When for his death-bed last flame is appli'd
With loose haire many kind wives stand beside,
And strive for death, which alive may be next
Hir wedlocke, who may not, is sham'd and vex't:

¹ T. B. l. *Ad Priap.* v. 4.

² PROPERT. l. iii, *Eleg.* xii. 17.

They that orecome, are burn'd, to flames give
way,
Their bodies burnt on their burnt husbands lay.

A late writer affirmeth that himselfe hath seene this custome highly reputed in the new discovered East Indies, where not only the wives are buried with their husbands, but also such slaves as he hath enjoyed; which is done after this manner. The husband being deceased, the widow may, if she will (but few do it), request two or three monthes space to dispose of hir busines. The day come, adorned as a sumptuous bride, she mounteth on horsbacke, and with a cheerefull countenance telleth everybody she is going to lie with her bridegroom, holding in her left hand a looking-glasse, and an arrow in the right. Thus having a while rid up and downe in great pomp and magnificence, accompanied with her friends and kinsmen, and much concourse of people, in feast and jollitie, she is brought into a publike place, purposely appointed for such spectacles; which is a large open place, in the midst whereof is a pit or grave full of wood, and neere unto it an upraised scaffold, with foure or five steppes to ascend, upon which she is brought, and served with a stately and sumptuous banquet, which ended, she beginneth to dance and sing, and when she thinks good, commandeth the fire to be kindled. That done, she commeth downe againe, and taking the nearest of hir husbands kindred by the hand, they goe together to the next river, where shee stripes hir selfe all naked, and distributeth hir jewels and cloathes among hir friends, then plungeth herselfe in the water, as if she meant to wash away hir sins; then comming out she enwrappeth her selfe in a yellow piece of linnen cloth, about the length of fourteene yards; and giving her hand againe unto hir husbands kinsman, they returne unto the mount, where she speaks unto the people, to whom (if she have any) she recommendeth hir children. Betweene the pitte and mount there is commonly a curtaine drawne, lest the sight of that burning furnace might dismay them: which many, to shew the greater courage, wil not have it drawne. Her speech ended, a woman presenteth her with a vessell full of oyl, therewith to annoint her head and body, which done, she casteth the rest into the fire, and therewithall sodainly flings herselfe into it: which is no sooner done but the people cast great stors of faggots and billets upon hir, lest she should languish over-long: and all their joy is converted into griefe and sorrow. If they be persons of meane quality, the dead mans body is carried to

the place where they intend to bury him, and there he is placed sitting; his widow kneeling before him with her armes close about his middle, and so keepeth herselfe whilst a wall is erected up about them both, which raised to the height of her shoulders, some of her kindred taking her by the head behind, wrings hir neck about, and having given the last gaspe, the wall is immediately made up close over their heads, wherein they remain buried. In the same country there was something like to this in their Gymnosophists, or wise men, who not by menaces or compulsions of others, nor by the violence of a sodaine humour, but by the expresse and voluntary profession of their rule, their maner was according as they attained unto a certaine age, or saw themselves threatned by some sicknesse, to cause a pile of wood to be erected and upon it a rich bedde; and having cheerefully feasted their friends and acquaintance, with such a resolution laid themselves downe in that bed, that fire set unto it, they were never seene to stirre nor hand nor foot; and thus died one of them named Calanus in the presence of all the army of Alexander the Great. And who had not so made himselfe away was neither esteemed holy nor absolutely happy among them; sending his soul purged and purified by fire after it had consumed whatsoever was mortal and terrestrial in it. This constant premeditation of al the life is that which makes the wonder. Amongst our other disputation, that of *Fatum* hath much entermelled it selfe: and to joyne future things and our wil itselfe unto a certaine unavoydable necessitie, we yet stand upon that argument of former times: since God forseeth al things must thus happen, as undoubtedly he doeth: they must then necessarily happen so. To which our clarks and maisters answere, that to see any thing come to passe as wee doe, and likewise God (for he being present in ful essence rather seeth than forseeth), is not to force the same to happen: yea we see because things come to passe, but things happen not because we see. The hapning makes the science or knowledge, and not knowledge the happening. What we see come to passe, happeneth; but it might come to passe otherwise. And God in the eternall register of the causes of happenings, which he hath in his prescience, hath also those which are called casual; and the voluntary, which depend of the liberty he hath given unto our free will, and knoweth we shall faile, because our wil shall have beene, to faile. I have seene divers encourage their troupes with this fatall

necessitie: for, if our hour be tied unto a certaine point neither the musket-shottes of our enemy, nor our courage, nor our flight and cowardize can either advance or recoyle the same.

This may well be said, but seeke you who shall effect it: and if it be so that a strong and lively faith doth likewise draw action after it: truly this faith (wherewith we so much fill our mouthes) is marvelous light in our times, except the contempt it hath of works, make her disdain their company. So it is that to the same purpose the Lord of Joinville, as credible a witness as any other, tells us of the Bedoins, a nation intermingled with the Saracine, with whom our King Saint Lewis had to deale in the holy land who so confidently believed in their religion the dayes of every one to be prefixed and numbred from all eternitie by an inevitable preordinance, that they went al bare and naked to the warres except a Turkish glaive in their hand, and their body covered but with a white linnen cloth: and for the bitterest curse, if they chanced to fall out one with another, they had ever in their mouth: "Cursed be thou as he that armeth himselfe for feare of death." Here is another maner of triall or a belief or faith then ours. In this rank may likewise be placed that which those two religious men of Florence not long since gave unto their countrymen. Being in some controversie betweene themselves about certaine points of learning, they accorded to go both into the fire in the presence of al the people and in the open market place, each one for the verifying of his opinion; and all preparations were ready made and execution to be performed, but that by an unexpected accident it was interrupted. A yong Turkish Lord, having achieved a notable piece of service in armes and with his own person in ful view of the two battels between Ammurath and Huniades ready to be joynted together, being demanded by Ammurath is Prince, who being so yong and unexperienced (for it was the first warre or service he had seen before) had replenished him with so generous and undanted vigor of courage, answered that a hare had bene his soveraigne maister and onely teacher of valour; and thus began his speech: "Being one day a hunting, I found a hare sitting in her forme, and although I had a brace of excellent good grayhounds with me in a slip or leash, I thought it good, because I would be sure of my game to use my bow; for she was a very faire marke. I beganne to shoot my arrowes at her, which I did to the number of fortie (for in my quiver were just so many),

yet could I never hurt her, no not so much as start her. After all this I let slip my grayhounds, who could do no more than I had done: by which I learnt that she had been sheltred and defended by her destinie; and that no glaives nor arrowes never hit but by the permission of our fatalitie, which it lieth not in us to avoide or advance." This storie may serve to make us perceive by the way how flexible our reason is to all sorts of objects. A notable man, great in yeares, in name, in dignity, and in learning, vaunted himselfe unto me, that he was induced to a certaine most important change of his religion by a strange and fantastical incitation: and in al things so il concluding that I deemed the same stronger and more forcible being taken contrary. He termed it a miracle, and so did I, but in a different sense. Their historians say that perswasion having popularly bene scattered amongst the Turkes of the fatal and inflexible prescription of their dayes, doth apparently aide to warrant and embolden them in dangers. And I know a great Prince who happily thrives by it, be it he believe it or take it for an excuse to hazard himselfe extraordinarily; provided fortune be not soone wearie to favour and backe him. There hath not happened in our memorie a more admirable effect of resolution than of those two villaines that conspired the death of the Prince of Orange: it is strange how the last who performed the same could be induced or encouraged to undergo such an enterprize, wherein his fellow (though he had resolutely attempted it and had all might be required for such an action) had so ill success and miscarried. And in those steps and with the same weapons to go and undertake a Lord, armed with so late an instruction of distrust; mighty in friends and followers, puissant of bodily strength, in his owne hall, amidst his servants and garde, and in a city wholly at his devotion. It must of force be said that in performing it he employed a well-directed and resolute hand and a dreadlesse courage-mooved by a vigorous passion. A poynard is more sure to wound a man, which forso-much as it requireth more motion and vigour of the arme than a pistol, its stroke is more subject to be hindred or avoyded. That the first ranne not to an assured death I make no great doubt, for the hopes wherewith he might be entertained could not harbour in a well-settled and resolute minde, and the conduct of his exploit sheweth he wanted no more than then courage. The motions of so forcible a perswasion may be diverse, for our fantasie disposeth of her self and of us as she pleaseth

The execution committed neere Orleans had no coherence with this wherein was more hazard than vigor; the blow was not mortall had not fortune made it so, and the enterprise to shoote on horsebacke and far-off, and to one who mooved still according to the motion of his horse, was the attempt of a man that rather loved to misse of his effect then falle to save himselfe. What followed did manifestly shew it; for he was so amazed and drunken with the thought of so haughty an execution, as he lost all his senses, both to worke his escape and direct his tongue in his answers. What needed he have done more then recover his friends by crossing of a river? It is a meane wherein I have cast my selfe in farre lesse dangers; and which I thinke of small hazard, how broad soever, alwayes provided your horse find an easie entrance, and on the further side you forsee an easie and shallow landing, according to the course of the streame of the water. The second, when the horrible sentence was pronounced against him, answered stoutly: "I was prepared for it, and I shall amaze you with my patience." The Assassines, a nation depending of Phœnicia, are esteemed among the Mahometists of a soveraigne devotion and puritie of maners: they hold that the readiest and shortest way to gaine Paradise is to kill some one of a contrary religion; therefore hath it often beene seene that one or two in their bare doublets have undertaken to assault mighty enemies with the price of an assured death and without any care of their own danger. And thus was our Earle Raymond of Tripoli murdered or assassinated (this word is borrowed from their name) in the midst of his citie, during the time of our warres in the holy land; and likewise Conrade Marquis of Montferriat his murderers being brought to their torture, were seene to swell with pride that they had performed so worthy an exploit.

CHAPTER XXX.

Of a Monstrous Child.

THIS discourse shall passe single, for I leave it to phisytians to treat of. I saw two dayes since a child whom two men and a nurse (which named themselves to be his father, his uncle, and his aunt) carried about with intent to get some money with the sight of him, by reason of his strangenesse. In all the rest he was as

other children are: he stood upon his feete, went and prattled in a manner as all others of his age. He would never take nourishment but by his nurses breast; and what in my presence was offred to be put in his mouth he chewed a little and put it all out againe. His puling differed somewhat from others: he was just fourteene monthes olde. Under his paps he was fastned and joyned to another childe, but had no head, and who had the conduite of his backe stopped; the rest whole. One of his armes was shorter than the other, and was by accident broken at their birth. They were joyned face to face, and as if a little child would embrace another somewhat bigger. The joyning and space wheracat they were closed together was but foure inches broad, or thereabouts; in such sort that if you thrust up the imperfect childe you might see under the others navill; and the seame was betweene the paps and his navill. The navill of the imperfect one could not be seene, but all the rest of his belly might. Thus, what of the imperfect one was not joyned, armes, buttocks, thighes, and legges, did hang and shake upon the other, whose length reached to the middle-leg of the other perfect. His nurse told me he made water by both privities. The members of the little one were nourished, living, and in the same state as the others, except only they were lesse and thinner. This double body and these different members, having reference to one onely head, might serve for a favorable prognostication to our King to maintaine the factions and different parties of this our kingdome under a unitie of the lawes. But least the successe should prove it contrary, it is not amisse to let him runne his course; for in things already past there need no divination. *Vi quum facta sunt, tum ad conjecturam aliqua interpretatione revocantur:*¹ "So as when they are done they then by some construction should be revoked to conjecture." As it is reported of Epimenides, who ever devined backward. I come now from seeing of a shepherd at Medoc, of thirtie yeares of age or thereabouts, who had no signe at all of genitorie parts, but where they should be are three little holes by which his water doth continually trill from him. This poore man hath a beard, and desireth still to be fumbling of women. Those which we call monsters are not so with God, who in the immensitie of his work seeth the infinite of formes therein contained. And it may be thought that any figure doth amaze us, hath relation unto some other figure of the

¹ Cic. Div. l. ii.

same kinde, although unknown unto man. From out his all-seeing wisdome proceedeth nothing but good, common, regular, and orderly; but we neither see the sorting, nor conceive the relation. *Quod crebrò videt, non miratur, etiam si, cur fiat, nescit. Quod autè non vidit, id, si euenit, ostentum esse censet*:¹ "That which he often seeth he doth not wonder at, though he know not why it is done; but if that happen which he never saw before, he thinks it some portentous wonder." Wee call that against nature which commeth against custome. There is nothing, whatsoever it be, that is not according to hir. Let therefore this universall and naturall reason chase from us the error, and expell the astonishment, which noveltie breedeth and strangenes causeth in us.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of Anger and Choler.

PLUTARKE is everywhere admirable, but especially where he judgeth of humane actions. The notable things he reporteth may be perceived in the comparison of Lycurgus and Numa, speaking of the great simplicity we commit in leaving yong children under the government and charge of their fathers and parents. Most of our policies or commonwealths, saith Aristotle (as the Cyclopes were wont) commit the conduct of their wives and charge of their children to all men, according to their foolish humour or indiscrete fantasies. And well-nigh none but the Lacedæmonian and Cretensian have resigned the discipline of children to the lawes. Whoseeth not that in an estate all things depend of nurture and education? And all the while, without discretion, it is wholly left to the parents mercy how foolish and wicked soever they be. Amongst other things, how often (walking through our streets) have I desired to have a play or comedie made in revenge of yong boyes, which I saw thumpte, misused, and well-nigh murdered by some haire-brained, moodie, and through choler-raging fathers and mothers, from out whose eyes a man might see sparkles of rage to startle.

— *rabie jecur incandens feruntur
Præcipites, ut iacta jugis abrupta, quibus mons
Subtrahitur, cliuque latus pendente recedit*:²

They headlong runne with rage, which doth enflame their livers
Like stones that broken fall from mountaine tops in shivers,
The hill withdrawes, and they are rould
From hanging cliffe which leaves their hold
(And according to Hypocrates, the most dangerous infirmities are those which disfigure the face), and with a loud thundring voice often to follow children that came but lately from nurse, which after prove lame, maimed, blockish and dul-pated with blowes; and yet our lawes makes no account of it, as if these spraines and unjoyntings of limbes, or these maimes were no members of our commonwealth.

*Gratum est quod patrie civem populoque dedisti,
Si facis ut patria sit idoneus, utilis agris,
Vilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis*.¹

That you to th'countrie give a man, 'tis acceptable,
If for the countrie fit you make him, for fields
able,
Of peace and warre for all achievements profitable.

There is no passion so much transports the sinceritie of judgement as doth anger. No man would make conscience to punish that judge by death who in rage or choler had condemned an offender. And why should fathers be allowed to beate or schoolmasters be suffered to whip children, or to punish them, being angry? It is no longer correction, but revenge. Punishment is unto children as physicke, and would any man endure a physician that were angrie and wroth against his patient? Our selves (did we well), during the time of our anger, should never lay hands on our servants. So long as our pulse panted, and we feele any concitation, so long remit we the partie: and things will seeme far otherwise unto us if we once come to our senses again, and shall better bethinke us. Then is it passion that commandes. It is passion that speaketh, and not we. Athwart it, faults seeme much greater unto us, as bodies doe athwart a foggy mist. Whoso is hungry useth meat, but whoso will use chastisement should never hunger nor thirst after it. Moreover, corrections given with discretion and moderation are more gently received, and with more good to him that receiveth them. Otherwise hee shall never thinke to have beene justly condemned by a man who is transported by rage and choler, and for his justification alleadgeth the extraordinary motions of his maister, the inflammation of his face, his unwonted oaths, his chafing, his quietnesse, and his rash precipitation.

¹ Cic. Div. l. ii.² Juv. Sat. vi. 548.¹ Juv. Sat. xiv. 70.

*Ora tument ira, nigrescent sanguine vena:
Lumina Gorgoneo savins igne micant.*¹

The face with anger swelles, the veins grow
blacke with blood,
The eyes more fiercelie shine then Gorgons
fierie moode,

Suetonius writeth that Caius Rabirius, having by Cæsar been condemned, nothing did him so much good towards the people (to whom he appealed) to make him obtain his suit, as the sharpnes and over-boldnes which Cæsar had declared in that judgement. Saying is one thing, and doing another. A man must consider the sermon apart and the preacher severall. Those have made themselves good sport who in our dayes have gone about to checke the veritie of our Church by the ministers vice: she fetcheth her testimony from elsewhere. It is a foolish manner of arguing, and which would soone reduce all things to a confusion. An honest man may sometimes have false opinions, and a wicked man may preach truth: yea such a one as beleeves it not. Verily it is a pleasing harmonie when doing and saying goe together. And I will not deny but saying when deeds follow is of more efficacie and authoritie: as said Eudamidas when he heard a philosopher discourse of warre: these speeches are good, but he that speaks them is not to be beleived, for his cares were never accustomed to heare the clang of trumpets nor rattling of drums. And Cleomenes, hearing a rhetorician speake of valour, burst out into an extreame laughter; whereat the other being offended, he said unto him: "I would doe as much if it were a swallow should speake of it, but were he an eagle I should gladly heare him." Me seemeth I perceive in ancient mens writings that he who speaks what he thinketh toucheth nearer the quick then he who counterfeits. Heare Cicero speak of the love of libertie, then listen to Brutus: their wordes will tell you and sound in your eares, the latter was a man readie to purchase it with the price of his life. Let Cicero, that father of eloquence, treat of the contempt of death, and let Seneca discourse of the same; the first draws it on languishing, and you shall plainly perceive he would faine resolve you of a thing whereof he is not yet resolved himselfe. He giveth you no heart, for himselfe hath none; whereas the other doth rowze, animate, and inflame you. I never look upon an author, be they such as write of vertue and of actions, but I curiously endeavor to finde out what he was himselfe. For the Ephori of Sparta, hearing a dissolut

ver propose a very beneficiall advise unto he people, commanded him to hold his peace, and desired an honest man to assume the invention of it unto himselfe and to pronounce it. Plutarke's compositions, if they be well savored, doe plainly manifest the same unto us: and I am perswaded I know him inwardly: yet would I be glad we had some memories of his owne life: and by the way I am false into this discourse, by reason of the thanks I owe unto Aulus Gellius, in that he hath left us written this story of his manners, which fitteth my story of anger. A slave of his, who was a lewd and vicious man, but yet whose eares were somewhat edded with philosophical documents, having for some faults by him committed, by the commandement of Plutarke his master been stripped naked, whilst another servant of his whipped him, grumbled in the beginning that he was whipped without reason and had done nothing: but in the end mainly crying out, he fell to railing and wronging his master, upbraiding him that he was not a true Philosopher, as he wanted himself to be, and how he had often heard him say that it was an unseemly thing in a man to be angry. And that he had made booke of it: and now, all plunged in rage and engulged in choler, to cause him so cruelly to be beaten was cleane contrarie to his owne writing. To whom Plutarke, with an unaltered and milde-settled countenance, said thus unto him: "What, thou raskall, whereby doest thou judge I am now angrie? Doth my countenance, doth my voice, doth my colour, or doth my speech give thee any testimony that I am either moved or cholericke? Me seemeth mine eyes are not staringly-wilde, nor my face roubled, nor my voice frightful or dis-tempered. Doe I waxe red? Doe I foame at the mouth? Doth any word escape me I may repent hereafter? Doe I startle and quake? Doe I rage and ruffle with anger? For to tell thee true, these are the right signes of choler and tokens of anger." Then turning to the party that whipped him: "Continue still thy work," quoth he, "whilst this fellow and I dispute of the matter." This is the report of Gellius. Architas Tarentinus returning from a warre where he had bene captaine generall, found his house all out of order, husbandrie all spoiled, and by the ill government of his bailiffe, his ground all waste and unmanured; and having called for him, said thus: "Away, bad man, for if I were not angrie I would have thee whipt for this." Plato likewise being vexed and angrie with one of his slaves, commanded Speusippus to punish him, excusing himselfe that now being angrie he

¹ OVID. *Art. Am.* l. iii. 53.

would not lay hands upon him. Charilus the Lacedemonian, to an Helot who behaved himself over insolently and audaciously towards him, by the Gods (saith he) if I were not now angrie I would presently make thee die. It is a passion which pleaseeth and flattereth it selfe. How many times being moved by any false suggestion, if at that instant we be presented with any lawfull defence or true excuse, doe we fall into rage against truth and innocencie it selfe? Touching this purpose, I have retained a wonderful example of antiquitie. Piso, in divers other respects a man of notable vertue, being angrie, and chafing with one of his souldiers, who returning from forage or boot-haling, could not give him an accompt where he had left a fellow-souldier of his, and thereupon concluding he had killed or made him away, forthwith condemned him to be hanged. And being upon the gallows and ready to dye, behold his companion who had stragled abroad, comming home, whereat all the army rejoiced very much, and after many embracings and signes of joy between the two souldiers, the hangman brought both unto Piso, all the company hoping it would be a great pleasure unto him; but it fell out cleane contrary, for through shame and spite, his wrath, still burning, was redoubled, and with a slye devise his passion instantly presented to his minde, he made three guiltie, forsomuch as one of them was found innocent, and caused them all three to bee dispatched: the first souldier because he was already condemned; the second, which had stragled abroad, by reason he was the cause of his fellowes death; and the hangman for that he had not fulfilled his generalls commaundement. Those who have to deale with froward and skittish women have no doubt seene what rage they will fall into, if when they are most angrie and chafing a man be silent and patient, and disdaine to foster their anger and wrath. Cellius the orator was by nature exceedingly fretfull and cholericke. To one who was with him at supper, a man of a milde and gentle conversation, and who because he would not move him, seemed to approve whatever he said, and yeeld to him in every thing, as unable to endure his peevishnes should so passe without some nourishment, burst out into a rage and said unto him: "For the love of God, deny me something, that we may be two." So women are never angrie but to the end a man should againe be angrie with them, therein imitating the lawes of love. Phocion to a man who troubled his discourse with brawling and skolding at him

in most injurions manner, did nothing else but hold his peace, and give him what leasure he would to vent his choler, which done, without taking any notice of it, began his discourse againe where he had left it off. There is no reply so sharpe as such silent contempt. Of the most cholericke and testie man of France (which is ever an imperfection, but more excusable in a military man, for it must needes be granted there are in that profession some men who cannot well avoyde it) I ever say he is the patientest man I knowe to bridle his choler; it mooveth and transporteth him with such furie and violence—

*- magno veluti cum flamma sonore
Virgæ suggeritur costis sudantis aleni,
Exultantque astu latices, furit intus aqua
Fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis,
Nec jam se capit unda, volat vapor ater ut
auras!—*

As when a fagot flame with hurring sounds
Under the ribbes of boyling cauldron lies,
The water swelles with heat beyond the bound,
Whence steaming streames raging and foaming
rise,
Water out-runs it selfe, blacke vapors flye to
skies—

that he must cruelly enforce himselfe to moderate the same. And for my part I knowe noe passion I were able to smother with such temper and abide with such resolution. I would not set wisdom at so high a rate. I respect not so much what he doth as how much it cost him not to doe worse. Another boasted in my presence of his behaviours order and mildnesse, which in truth is singular. I tolde him that indeed it was much, namely, in men of so eminent a quality as himselfe was, on whom all eyes are fixed, alwaies to shew himselfe in a good temper; but that the chiefe point consisted in providing inwardly and for himselfe; and that in mine opinion it was no discreet part inwardly to fret: which, to maintaine that marke and formall outward appearance, I feared hee did. Choler is incorporated by concealing and smothering the same, as Diogenes said to Demosthenes, who fearing to be seene in a taverne withdrew himselfe into the same. The more thou recoylest backe, the further thou goest into it. I would rather perswade a man, though somewhat out of season, to give his boy a wherrat on the eare, then to dissemble this wise, sterne or severe countenance, to vex and fret his minde. And I would rather make shew of my passions then smother them to my cost, which being vented and exprest, become more languishing and weake: better it is to let its pointe worke

outwardly, then bend it against our selves. *Omnia vitia in aperto leviora sunt: et tunc perniciosissima, quum simulata sanitate subdunt.*¹ "All vices are then lesse perilous when they lie open to bee seene, but then most pernicious when they lurke under counterfeited soundnesse." I ever warne those of my household who by their offices-authoritie may sometimes have occasion to be angry, first to husband their anger, then not employ it upon every slight cause; for that impeacheth the effect and worth of it. Rash and ordinary brawling is converted to a custome, and thats the reason each man contemnes it. That which you employ against a servant for any theiving is not perceived, because it is the same he hath sundry times seene you use against him if he have not washt a glasse well or misplaced a stoole. Secondly, that they be not angry in vaine, but ever have regard their chiding come to his eares with whom they are offended; for commonly some will brawle before he come in their presence, and chide a good while after he is gone—

*Et secum petulans amentia certat,*²

Madnesse makes with it selfe a fray,
Which fondly doth the wanton play—

and wreake their anger against his shadow, and make the storme fall where no man is either chastised or interested, but with the rumour of their voice, and sometimes with such as cannot doe withall. I likewise blame those who being angry will brave and mutinie when the partie with whom they are offended is not by. These rhodomontados must be employed on such as feare them.

*Mugitus veluti cum prima in praelia taurus
Terrificos ciet, atque irasci in cornua tentat,
Arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
Ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit arena.*³

As when a furious bull to his first combat
mooves

His terror-breeding lowes, his horne to anger
prooves,

Striving against a trees trunk, and the winde
with strokes,

His preface made to fight with scattered sand,
provokes.

When I chance to be angrie it is in the earnestest manner that may be, but yet as briefly and as secretly as is possible. I lose my selfe in hastiness and violence, but not in trouble. So that let me spend all manner of injurious words at randome and without all heed, and never respect to place my points pertinently, and where they may doe most hurt: for commonly I employ nothing but my tongue. My boyes scape

better cheape in great matters then in small trifles. Slight occasions surprise me, and the mischief is that after you are once false into the pits it is no matter who thrusts you in, you never cease till you come to the bottome. The fall presseth, hasteneth, mooveth, and furthereth it selfe. In great occasions I am pleased that they are so just, that every body expects a reasonable anger to insue. I glorify my selfe to deceive their expectation. Against these I bandy and prepare my selfe; they make me summon up my wits and threaten to carry me very farre if I would follow them. I easily keepe my selfe from falling into them, and if I stay for them I am strong enough to reject the impulsion of this passion, what violent cause soever it hath. But if it seize upon and once preoccupate me, what vaine cause soever it hath, it doth cleane transport me: I condition thus with those that may contest with me, when you perceive me to be first angry, be it right or wrong, let me hold on my course, I will do the like to you whenever it shall come to my lot. The rage is not engendred but by the concurrence of cholers, which are easily produced one of another, and are not borne at one instant. Let us allow every man his course, so shall we ever be in peace. Oh profitable prescription, but of an hard execution! I shall some time seeme to be angry for the order and direction of my house, without any just emotion. According as my age yeeldeth my humours more sharp and peevish, so do I endeavour to oppose my selfe against them, and if I can I will hereafter enforce my selfe to be lesse froward and not so testy, as I shall have more excuse and inclinations to be so; although I have heretofore bene in their number that are least. A word more to conclude this chapter: Aristotle saith choler doth sometimes serve as armes unto Vertue and Valor. It is very likely; notwithstanding such as gainsay him, answer pleasantly, it is a weapon of a new fashion and strange use. For we moove other weapons, but this mooveth us: our hand doth not guide it, but it directeth our hand; it holdeth us, and we hold not it.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A Defence of Seneca and Plutarke.

THE familiarity I have with these two men, and the aid they afford me in my old age, and my booke meereley framed of their spoiles, bindeth me to wed and maintaine their honour. As for Seneca,

¹ SEN. *Epist.* lvi. ² CLAUD. in *En.* l. i. 48.

³ VIRG. *En.* l. xii. 103.

amongest a thousand petty pamphlets these of the pretended reformed religion have published; for the defence of their cause, which now and then proceeds from a good hand, and which, pity it is; it should not be employed in more serious and better subjects, I have heretofore seene one who, to prolong and fill up the similitude he would finde betwene the government of our unfortunate late King Charles the Ninth and that of Nero, compareth the whilom Lord Cardinall of Lorraine unto Seneca; their fortunes to have been both chiefe men in the government of their Princes, and therewithall their manners, their conditions, and their demeanours. Wherein (in mine opinion) he doth the said Lord Cardinall great honour: for although I be one of those that highly respect his spirit, his worth, his eloquence, his zeale towards his religion, and the service of his King; and his good fortune to have bene borne in an age wherein he was so new, so rare, and therewithall so necessary for the commonwealth, to have a clergie man of such dignitie and nobility, sufficient and capable of so weighty a charge; yet to confesse the truth, I esteeme not his capacitie such, nor his vertue so exquisitely unspotted, nor so entire or constant, as that of Seneca. Now this booke whereof I speak, to come to his intention, maketh a most injurious description of Seneca, having borrowed his reproaches from Dion the historian, to whose testimony I give no credit at all: for besides he is inconstant, as one who after he hath called Seneca exceeding wise, and shortly after termed him a mortall enemy to Neros vices, in other places makes him covetous, given to usurie, ambitious, base-minded, voluptuous, and under false pretences and fained shewes, a counterfet philosopher; his vertue appeareth so lively, and wisdom so vigorous in his writings, and the defence of these imputations is so manifest, as wel of his riches as of his excessive expences, that I beleve no witness to the contrary. Moreover, there is great reason we should rather give credit to Romane historians in such things then to Græcians and strangers, whereas Tacitus and others speake very honourably of his life and death, and in all other circumstance declare him to have bene a most excellent and rarely vertuous man. I wil alleadge no other reproach against Dion's judgement then this, which is unavoydable; that is, his understanding of the Roman affaires is so weak and ill advised as he dareth defend and maintaine Julius Cæsars cause against Pompey, and bluseth not to justifie Antonius against Cicero. But let us come to Plutarke. John Bodin is a good moderne

author, and endowed with much more judgement then the common rabble of scriblers and blut-papers which now adaves stuffe stationers shops, and who deserveth to be judged, considered, and had in more then ordinary esteeme. Nevertheless I finde him somewhat malapert and bolde in that passage of his "Methode of Historie," when he accuseth Plutarke; not only of ignorance (wherein I would have let him say his pleasure, for that is not within my element), but also that he often writeth things altogether incredible and meercly fabulous (these are his very words). If he had simply said things otherwise then they are, it had been no great reprehension; for what we have not seene we receive from others and upon trust; and I see him sometime, wittingly and in good earnest, report one and same story diversly; as the judgements of three best captaines that ever were, spoken by Hanibal, is otherwise in Flaminius his life, and otherwise in Pyrrhus. But to taxe him to have taken incredible and impossible things for ready payment is to accuse the most judicious author of the world of want of judgement. And see here his example: As, saith he, when he reports that a childe of Lacedemon suffered all his belly and guts to be torne out by a cubbe or young foxe, which he had stolne and kept close under his garment, rather then he would discover his theft. First, I finde this example ill chosen: forasmuch as it is very hard to limit the powers of the soules faculties, whereas of corporall forces, we have more law to limite and know them; and therefore had I been to write of such a subject, I would rather have made choyce of an example of this second kinde. And some there be lesse credible. As amongst others that which he reports of Pyrrhus, who being sore wounded, gave so great a blow with a sword unto one of his enemies, armed at all assayes and with all pieces, as he cleft him from the crowne of the head downe to the groine, so that the body fell in two pieces. In which example I finde no great wonder, nor do I admit of his excuse wherewith he cloaketh Plutarke: to have added this word (as it is said) to forewarne us and restraîne our belief. For if it be not in things received by authoritie and reverence of antiquity or religion, neither would himselfe have received nor proposed to us to believe things in themselves incredible: and that (as it is said) hee doth not here sette downe this phrase to that purpose, may easily be perceived by what himselfe in other places telleth upon the subject of the Lacedemonian childrens patience, of examples happened

in his time much harder to be perswaded : as that which Cicero hath also witnessed before him, because (as he saith) he had been there himself : that even in their times there were children found prepared to endure all manner of patience, whereof they made trial before Diana's altar, and which suffered themselves to be whipped till the blood trilled downe all parts of their body, not onely without crying, but also without sobbing ; and some who voluntarily suffered themselves to be scourged to death. And what Plutarke also reporteth, and a hundred other witnesses averre, that assisting at a sacrifice, a burning coale happened to fall into the sleeve of a Lacedemonian childe as he was busie at incensing, suffered his arme to burne so long untill the smel of his burnt flesh came to all the bystanders. There was nothing, according to their custome, so much called their reputation in question, and for which they endured more blame and shame, than to be surprised stealing. I am so well instructed of those mens greatnes of courage, that this report doth not only not seeme incredible to me as to Bodin, but I do not so much as deeme it rare, or suppose it strange. The Spartane story is full of thousands of much more rare and cruell examples ; then according to this rate, it containeth nothing but miracle. Concerning this point of stealing, Marcellinus reporteth that whilest hee lived there could never be found any kinde of torment that might in any sort compell the Egyptians surprised filching (which was much used amongst them) to confesse and tell but their names. A Spanish peasant being laide upon the racke about the complices of the murther of the Pretor Lucius I'so, in the midst of his torments cried out his friends should not stir, but with all security assist him, and that it was not in the power of any griefe or paine to wrest one word of confession from him : and the first day nothing else could possibly be drawn from him. The next morrow, as he was led toward the racke to be tormented anew, he by strong violence freed himselfe from out his keepers hands, and so furiously ranne with his head against a wall, that he burst his braines out, and presently fell down dead. Epicharis having glutted and wearied the moody cruelty of Neroes satellites or officers, and stoutly endured their fire, their beatings, and their engines a whole day long without any one voyce or word of revealing hir conspiracy, and the next day after, being againe brought to the torture with her limbs bruised and broken, conveyed the lace or string of her gowne over one of the pillars of the chair wherein

she sate, with a sliding knot in it, into which sodainly thrusting her head she strangled her selfe with the weight of her body. Having the courage to dye so, and steale from the first torments, seemeth she not purposely to have lent her life to the trial of her patience of the precedent day only to mocke that tyrant and encourage others to attempt the like enterprise against him ? And he that shall enquire of our argolettiers or freebooters what experiences they have had in these our late civil wars, shall no doubt find effects and examples of patience, of obstinacy and stif-necknednes in these our miserable dayes, and amidst the effeminate and puling wordlings far beyond the Egyptians, and well worthie to be compared to those alreadie reported of Spartan vertue. I know there have been found seely boores who have rather endure to have their feet broiled upon a gridyron, their finger ends crusht and wrung with the locke of a pistoll, their eyes all bloody to be thrust out of their heads with wringing and wresting of a cord about their foreheads, before they would so much as be ransomed. I have seene and spoken with one who had beene left all naked in a ditch for dead, his necke all bruised and swolne, with a halter about it, wherewith he had beene dragged a whole night at a horse's taile through thick and thin, with a hundred thrusts in his body given him with daggers, not to kill him outright, but to grieve and terrifie him, and who had patiently endured all that, and lost both speech and sense, fully resolved (as himselfe told me) rather to die a thousand deaths (as verily, if you apprehend what he suffered, he past more than one full death) then promise any ransome ; yet was he one of the wealthiest husbandmen in all his country. How many have beene seene who have patiently endured to be burnt and roasted for unknown and wilful opinions which they had borrowed of others ; my selfe have knowne a hundred and a hundred women (for the saying is, Gaskoigne heads have some prerogative in that) whom you might sooner have made to bite a red-hot piece of iron then recant an opinion they had conceived in anger. They will beexasperated and grow more fell against blowes and compulsion, and he who first invented the tale of that woman which by no threats or stripes would leave to call her husband pricke-lowse, and being cast into a pond and duckt under water, lifted up her hands and joyning her two thumb-nails in act to kill lice above her head, seemed to call him lousie still, devised a fable whereof in truth we dayly see the expres image in divers womens obstinacie and wilfulnesse. And.

yet obstinacy is the sister of constancy, at least in vigor and stedfastnesse.

A man must not judge that which is possible and that which is not according to that which is credible and incredible to our sense and understanding, as I have already said elsewhere. And it is a great fault, wherein the greater number of men doe dayly fall (I speake not this of Bodin) to make a difficulty in believing that of others which themselves neither can nor would doe. Every man perswades himselfe that the chiefe forme of humane nature is in himselfe; according to her must all others be directed. The proceedings that have no reference to hers are false and fained. Is any thing proposed unto him of another mans faculties or actions? The first thing he calls to the judgement of his consultation is his owne examples; according as it goeth in him, so goeth the worlds order. Oh dangerous sottishnesse and intollerable foppery! I consider some men a farre-off, beyond and above my selfe, namely amongst those ancient ones: and although I manifestly acknowledge mine owne insufficiency to follow or come neere them by a thousand paces, I cease not to keepe them still in view, and to judge of those wardes and springs that raise them so high; the seedes whereof I somewhat perceive in my selfe: as likewise I doe of the mindes extreame basenes which amazeth me nothing at all, and I misbelieve no more. I see the turne those give to wind up themselves, and I admire their greatnesse, and those starts which I perceive to be so wondrous faire, I embrace them: and if with my strength I reach not unto them, at least my judgement doth most willingly apply it selfe unto them. The other example he alledgeth of things incredible and altogether fabulous, reported by Plutarke, is that Agesilaus was fined by the Ephories because he had drawne the hearts and good wills of all his fellow-citizens unto himselfe alone. I know not what marke of falsehood or shew of impossibility he findes in it; but so it is that Plutarke speaks there of things which in all likelihood were better knowne to him then to us: and as it was not strange in Greece to see men punished and exiled onely because they were too popular and pleased the common people over much. Witnessse the Ostracisme amongst the Athenians, and the Petalismes amongst the Siracusans. There is another accusation in the same place which for Plutarques sake doth somewhat touch me, where he saith that he hath very well and in good truth sorted the Romanes with the Romanes, and the Græcians amongst themselves, but not the

Romanes with the Græcians, witnessse (saith he) Demosthenes and Cicero, Cato and Aristides, Sylla and Lysander, Marcellus and Pelopidas, Pompey and Agesilaus, deeming thereby that he hath favoured the Græcians in giving them so unequall companions. It is a just reproving of that which is most excellent and commendable in Plutarke: for in his comparisons (which is the most admirable part of his worke, and wherein in mine opinion he so much pleased himselfe) the faithfulness and sinceritie of his judgement equalleth their depth and weight. He is a Philosopher that teacheth us vertue. But let us see whether we can warrant him from this reproch of prevarication and falsehood. That which I imagine hath given occasion or ground to this judgement is that great and farre-spreading lustre of the Romane names, which still are tingling in our ears and never out of our mindes. Wee doe not thinke Demosthenes may equall the glory of a consul, of a proconsul and a questor, of this great commonwealth of Rome. But he that shall impartially consider the truth of the matter, and men in themselves, which Plutarke did chiefly aime at, and more, to balance their custome, their natural dispositions and their sufficiency, then their fortune: I am of a cleane opposite opinion to Bodin, and thinke that Cicero and old Cato are much behind or short of their parallels. For this purpose I would rather have chosen the example of yong Cato compared to Phocion: for in that paire might well be found a more likely disparitie for the Romanes advantage. As for Marcellus, Sylla, and Pompey, I see very well how their exploits of warre be more swolne, glorious and pompous then the Græcians, whom Plutarke compareth unto them; but the most vertuous and fairest actions, no more in warre then elsewhere, are not alwaies the most famous. I often see the names of some capitaines smothered under the brightness of other names of lesser desert, witnessse Labienus, Vendidius, Telesinus, and divers others. And to take him in that sense, were I to complaine for the Græcians, might not I say that Camillus is much lesse comparable unto Themistocles, the Gracchi to Agis and Cleomenes, and Numa to Lyeurgus? But it is folliie at one glance to judge of things with so many and divers faces. When Plutarke compares them, he doth not for all that equall them. Who could more eloquently and with more conscience note their differences? Doth he compare the victories, the exploits of armes, the power of the armies conducted by Pompey and his triumphs, unto those of Agesilaus?

I do not believe (saith he) that Xenophon himself (were he living) though it were granted him to write his pleasure for the advantage of Agesilaus, durst ever dare to admit any comparison betwene them: seemeth he to equall Lysander to Sylla? There is no comparison (saith he) neither in number of victoriess nor in hazard of battels, betwene them: for Lysander onely obtained two sea-battels, &c. This is no derogation from the Romanes. If hee have but simply presented them unto the Græcians, what ever disparity may bee betwene them, he hath not in any sort wronged them. And Plutarke doth not directly counterpoise them. In some there is none preferred before others; he compareth the parts and the circumstances one after another, and severally judgeth of them. If therefore any would goe about to convince him of favour, he should narrowly sift out some particular judgement; or in generall and plaine termes say, hee hath missed in sorting such a Græcian to such a Romane, forasmuch as there are other more sortable and correspondent, and might better be compared, as having more reference one unto another.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Historie of Spurlina.

PHILOSOPHY thinketh she hath not ilmployed hir meanes, having yeelded the sovereign rule of our mind, and the authoritie to restraints our appetites, unto reason. Amongst which, those who judge there is none more violent than those which love begetteth, have this for their opinion, that they holde both of body and soule; and man is wholly possessed with them: so that health it selfe depended of them, and physick is sometimes constrained to serve them instead of a Pandership. But contrariwise, a man might also say that the comixture of the body doth bring abatement and weaknesse unto them; because such desires are subject to satiety and capable of materiall remedies. Many who have endeavored to free and exempt their mindes from the continuall alarmes which this appetite doth assail them with, have used incisions, yea and cut-off the mooving, turbulent and unruly parts. Others have alayed the force and fervency of them by frequent applications of cold things, as snow and vinegar. The haire-cloths which our forefathers used to weare for this purpose, whereof some made

shirts, and some waste-bands or girdles, to torment their reines. A prince told me not long since, that being very young, and waiting in the Court of King Francis the First, upon a solemne festival day, when all the Court endeavored to be in their best clothes, a humor possessed him to put on a shirt of haire-cloth, which he yet keepeth, and had beene his fathers; but what devotion soever possessed him, he could not possibly endure untill night to put it off againe, and was sick a long time after, protesting he thought no youthly heat could be so violent but the use of this receipt would coole and alay; of which he perhaps never assayed the strongest? For, experience sheweth us, that such emotion doth often maintaine it selfe under base, rude, and slovenly cloathes: and haire cloathes doe not ever make those poore that weare them. Zenocrates proceeded more rigorously; for his Disciples, to make triall of his continencie, having conveyed that beauteous and famous curtizan Laïs naked into his bed, saving the weapons of her beauty, wanton allurements, and amorous or love-procuring potions, feeling that, maugre all philosophicall discourses and strict rules, his skittish body beganne to mutinie, he caused those members to be burned which had listened to that rebellion. Whereas the passions that are in the minde, as ambition, covetousnesse and others, trouble reason much more: for it can have no ayde but from its owne meanes; nor are those appetites capable of satiety, but rather sharpened by enjoying and augmented by possession. The example alone of Julius Cæsar may suffice to show us the disparitie of these appetites, for never was man more given to amorous delights. The curious and exact care he had of his body is an authentick witness of it, forasmuch as he used the most lascivious meanes that then were in use; as to have the haire of his body smeared and perfumed all over with an extreame and labored curiositie; being of himselfe a goodly personage, white, of a tall and comely stature, of a cheerefull and seemely countenance, his face full and round and his eies browne lively, if at least Suetonius may be believed; for the statues which nowadaies are to be seene of him in Rome answer not altogether this portraiture we speake of. Besides his wives, which he changed foure times, without reckoning the bies or amours in his youth with Nicomedes King of Bythinia, he had the maiden-head of that so farre and highly-renowned Queene of Egypt, Cleopatra; witness yong Cæsarion whom he begotte of hir. He also made love unto Eunoe, Queene of Mauritania, and at Rome to

Posthumia, wife unto Servius Sulpitius : to Lollo, wife to Gabinus ; to Tertulla, of Crassus ; yea unto Mutia, wife to great Pompey, which, as historians say, was the cause hir Husband was divorced from her. Which thing Plutarke confesseth not to have knowne. And the Curions, both father and sonne, twitted Pompey in the teeth, at what time he took Cæsars daughter to wife, that he made himselfe sonne in law to one who had made him cuckold, and himself was wont to call Egyptus. Besides all this number, he entertained Servilia, the sister of Cato and mother to Marcus Brutus, whence (as divers hold) proceeded that great affection he ever bare to Marcus Brutus ; for his mother bare him at such a time as it was not unlikely he might be borne of him. Thus (as me seemeth) have I good reason to deeme him a man extremely addicted to all amorous licentiousnesse, and of a wanton-lascivious complexion. But the other passion of ambition, wherewith he was infinitely affected and much tainted, when he came once to withstand the same it made him presently to give ground. And touching this point, when I call Mahomet to remembrance (I meane him that subdued Constantinople, and who brought the final extermination of the name of Græcians) I know not where these two passions are more equal ballanced, equally an indefatigable lecher and a never-tired souldier ; but when in his life they seeme to strive and concurre one with another, the mutinous heate doth ever gourmandize the amorous flame. And the latter, although out of naturall season did never attain to a full and absolute authority, but when he perceived himself to be so aged that he was utterly unable longer to undergoe the burthen of war. That which is alledged, as an example on the contrary side, of Ladislaus, King of Naples, is very wel worth the noting, who, though he were an excellent, courageous and ambitious capitaine, proposed unto himselfe, as the principall scope of his ambition, the execution of his sensuality, and enjoying of some rare and unmatched beauty. So was his death : having by a continuall tedious siege brought the city of Florence to so narrow a pinch that the inhabitants were ready to yeeld him the victory, he yeilded the same to them upon condition they would deliver into his hands a wench of excellent beauty that was in the city, of whom he had heard great commendations, which they were enforced to graunt him, and so by a private injury to ward off the publike ruine of the city. She was the daughter of a notable rare physician, and

whilst he lived chiefe of his profession : who seeing himselfe engaged in so stuprous a necessitie, resolved upon an haughty enterprize. Whilst all were busie adorning his daughter, and besetting her with costly jewels, that she might the more delight and please this new kingly lover, he also gave her an exquisitely-wrought and sweetly-perfumed handkercher, to use in their first approches and embracements, a thing commonly in use amongst the women of that country. This handkercher, strongly empoysoned according to the cunning skill of his art, comming to wipe both their enflamed secret parts and open pores, did so readily convey and disperse its poysen, that having sodainly changed the heate into colde, they immediately deceased one in anothers armes. But I will now returne to Cæsar. His pleasures could never make him lose one minute of an houre, nor turne one step from the occasions that might in any way further his advancement. This passion did so sovereignly oversway all others, and possessed his mind with so uncontrouled an authority, that shee carried him whither she list. Truly I am grieved when in other things I consider this mans greatness, and the wondrous parts that were in him ; so great sufficiencie in all manner of knowledge and learning, as there is almost no science wherein he hath not written. Hee was so good an orator, that diverse have preferred his eloquence before Ciceroes : and himselfe (in mine opinion) in that facultie thought himselfe nothing short of him. And his two Anti-Catoes were especially written to over-balance the eloquence which Cicero had employed in his Cato. And for all other matters, was ever minde so vigilant, so active, and so patient of labour as his ? And doubtlesse it was also embellished with sundry rare seedes of vertue—I meane lively, naturall, and not counterfeits. He was exceeding sober, and so homely in his feeding, that Oppius reporteth how upon a time, through a certaine cookes negligence, his meat being dressed with a kind of medicinable oyle in stead of olive-oyle, and so brought to the boorde, although he found it, yet he fed hartily of it only because he would not shame his hoste : another time he caused his baker to be whipped because he had served him with other than common household bread. Cato himselfe was wont to say of him, that he was the first sober man had address himselfe to the ruine of his country. And whereas the same Cato called him one day drunkard, it hapned in this manner. Being both together in the Senate house where Catelines conspiracie was much

spoken of, wherein Cæsar was greatly suspected to have a hand, a note was by a friend of his brought, and in very secret sort delivered him, which Cato perceiving, supposing it might be something that the conspirators advertized him of, instantly summoned him to shew it, which Cæsar, to avoid a greater suspicion, refused not: it was by chance an amorous letter which Servilia, Catoes sister, writ to him: Cato having read it, threw it at him, saying, "Hold it againe, thou drunkard." I say it was rather a word of disdain and anger than an expresse reproch of this vice: as often we nickname those that anger us with the first nicknames of reproaches that come into our mouth, though meerey impertinent to those with whom we fall out. Considering that the vice wherewith Cato charged him hath neare coherence unto that wherein he had surprised Cæsar: for Venus and Bacchus (as the vulgar proverbe saith) agree well together; but with me Venus is much more blithe and gamesome, being accompanied with sobrietie.

The examples of his mildenes and clemencie towards such as had offended him are infinite: I meane, besides those he shewed during the civill warres, which (as by his own writings may plainly appeare) he used to blandish and allure his enemies, to make them feare his future domination and victories the lesse. But if any shall say those examples are not of validitie to witness his genuine and natural affabilitie, we may lawfully answer, that at least they shew us a wonderfull confidence and greatnes of courage to have been in him. It hath often befalne him to send whole armies backe again to his enemies after he had vanquished them, without dayning to binde them so much as with an oath, if not to favour, at least not to beare armes against him. He hath three or foure times taken some of Pompeys chief captaines prisoners, and as often set them at libertie againe. Pompey declared all such as would not follow and accompany him in his wars to be his enemies; and he caused those to be proclaimed as friends who either would not stirre at all, or not effectually arme themselves against him. To such of his captaines as fled from him, to procure other conditions, he sent them their weapons, their horses, and all other furniture. The citties he had taken by maine force he freed to follow what faction they would, giving them no other garison then the memorie of his clemencie and mildnes. In the day of his great battail of Pharsalia, he expressely inhibited that, unles they were driven to unavoidable extremitie, no man should lay

hands upon any Romane cittizen. In my judgement these are very hazardous partes, and it is no wonder if, in the civill warres tumultuous broiles we have now on foote, those that fight for the ancient lawes and state of their country as he did, doe not follow and imitate the example. They are extraordinary meanes, and which onely belongs to Cæsars fortune, and to his admirable fore-sight, successfully to direct and happily to conduct them. When I consider the incomparable greatnesse and unvaluable worth of his minde, I excuse Victorie in that shee could not well give him over in this most unjust and unnatural cause. But to returne to his clemencie: we have diverse genuine and lively examples, even in the time of his al swaying government, when all things were reduced into his hands, and hee needed no longer to dissemble. Caius Memmius had written certaine detracting and railing orations against him, which he at full and most sharply had answered, neverthelesse hee shortly after helped to make him consul. Caius Calvus, who had composed diverse most injurious epigrams against him, having employed sundrie of his friendes to bee reconciled to him againe, Cæsar descended to write first unto him. And our good Catullus, who under the name of Mamurra had so rudely and bitterly railed against him, at last comming to excuse himselfe, Cæsar that very night made him to suppe at his owne table. Having bene advertised how some were overlavish in rayling against him, all he did was but in a publike oration to declare how he was advertised of it. His enemies he feared lesse then he hated them. Certaine conspiracies and conventicles were made against his life, which being discovered unto him, he was contented by an edict to publish how he was thoroughly informed of them, and never prosecuted the authors. Touching the respect he ever bare unto his friendes, Caius Oppius travelling with him, and falling very sick, having but one chamber, he resigned the same unto him, and himselfe was contented to lie all night abroad and upon the bare ground. Concerning his justice, he caused a servant of his whom he exceedingly loved, to be executed, forsomuch as he had laine with the wife of a Roman knight, although no man sued or complained of him. Never was man that shewed more moderation in his victorie or more resolution in his adverse fortune. But all these noble inclinations, rich gifts, worthy qualities, were altered, smothered, and eclipsed by this furious passion of ambition; by which he suffered himselfe to be so farre misled that it may be well

affirmed she, onely, ruled the sterne of all his actions. Of a liberrall man she made him a common theefe, that so he might the better supply his profusion and prodigalitie; and made him utter that vile and most injurious speech, that if the wickedest and most pernicious men of the world had for his service and furtherance beene faithfull unto him, he would to the utmost of his power have cherished and preferred them as well as if they had beene the honestest: it so besotted and, as it were, made him drunke with so extreame vanitie, that in the presence of his fellow-citizens, he durst vaunt himselfe to have made that great and farre-spread Romane Commonwealth a shapelesse and bodilesse name, and pronounce that his sentences or answers should thenceforward serve as lawes; and sitting to receive the whole bodie of the Senate comming toward him, and suffer himselfe to be adored, and in his presence divine honours to be done him. To conclude, this only vice (in mine opinion) lost and overthrew in him the fairest naturall and richest ingenuitie that ever was, and hath made his memorie abominable to all honest mindes, insomuch as by the ruine of his country and subversion of the mightiest state and most flourishing commonwealth that ever the world shall see, he went about to procure his glorie. A man might contrariwise finde diverse examples of greates persons, whom pleasure hath made to forget the conduct of their owne affaires, as Marcus Antonius and others: but where love and ambition should be in one equall balance and with like forces mate one another, I will never doubt but Cæsar would gaine the prize and goale of the victorie. But to come into my path againe. It is much, by discourse of reason, to bridle our appetites, or by violence to force our members to containe themselves within the bonds of dutie. But to whippe us, for the interest of our neighbours; not only to shake off this sweete pleasing passion, which tickleth us with selfe-joying pleasure we apprehend and feele to see our selves grateful to others and of all men beloved and sued unto, but also to hate and scorne those graces which are the cause of it, and to condemne our beauty because some others will be set on fire with it, I have seene few examples like this. Spurina, a yong gentleman of Tuscanie—

*Qualis gemma micat, fulvum quæ dividit
aurum,
Aut collo decus aut capiti, vel quale per artem
Inclavum buxo, aut Eriçia teredintho,
Lucet eburn.*

As when a precious stone cleare rayes doth
spread,
Set in pure golde, adorning necke or head:
Or as faire iv'ry shines in boxe enclos'd,
Or workmanly with mountaine gumme dis-
pos'd—

being endowed with so alluringly-excessive and singular beautie that the chastest eyes could not possibly gainstand or contently resist the sparkling glances thereof, not contented to leave so great a flame succourlesse or burning fever remedillesse, which he in all persons and every where enkindled, entered into so furious despite against himselfe, and those rich gifts nature had so prodigally conferred upon him (as if they must beare the blame of others faults) that with gashes and skars he wittingly mangled and vulgarly cut that perfect proportion and absolute feature which nature had so curiously observed in his unmatched face; whereof, to speak my opinion, such outrages are enemies to my rules. I rather admire than honour such actions. His intent was commendable and his purpose consciencious, but in my seeming somewhat wanting of wisdom. What, if his deformitie or ugliness was afterward an instrument to induce others to fall into the sinne of contempt and vice of hatred, or fault of envy for the glory of so rare commendation; or of slander, interpreting his humour to be a franticke ambition. Is there any forme whence vice (if so it please) may not wrest an occasion in some manner to exercise itselfe? It had beene more just, and therewithall more glorious, of so rare gifts of God to have made a subject of exemplar vertue and orderly methode. Those which sequester themselves from publike offices, and from this infinite number of thornie and so many-faced rules which in civile life binde a man of exact honesty and exquisite integritie, in mine opinion reape a goodly commoditie, what peculiar sharpnesse soever they enjoyne themselves. It is a kinde of death to avoide the paine of well doing or trouble of well living. They may have another prise, but the prise of uneasiness methinks they never had. Nor that in difficulty there be anything that is amid the waves of the worldly multitude, beyond keeping himselfe upright and untainted, answering loyally and truly discharging all members and severall parts of his charge. It is happily more easie for one in honest sort to neglect and passe over all the sexe, than duely and wholly to maintaine himselfe in his wifes company. And a man may more incuriously fall into povertie then into plenteousnesse, being justly dispençed. Custome, according to reason,

doth leade to more sharpnesse than abstinence hath. Moderation is a vertue much more toylesome than sufferance. The chaste and well living of yong Scipio hath a thousand severall fashions; that of Diogenes but one. This doth by so much more exceed all ordinary lives in innocencie and unspottednesse as those which are most exquisite and accomplished exceed in profit and out-goe it in force.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Observations concerning the meanes towarre after the maner of Julius Cæsar.

IT is reported of divers chiefe generals in warre that they have particularly affected some peculiar book or other, as Alexander the Great highly esteemed Homer; Scipio, Africanus, Xenophon; Marcus Brutus, Polybius; Charles the Fifth, Philip de Comines: and it is lately avered that in some places, and with some men, Machiavell is much accounted of: but our late Marshall Strozzi, who had made especial choice to love Cæsar without doubt I thinke of all other chose best, for truly he ought to be the breviary of all true souldiers, as being the absolute and perfect chiefe patterne of military profession. And God hee knowes with what grace and with what decorum he hath embellished this rich subject, with so pure a kinde of speech, so pleasing and so absolutely perfect, that to my taste there are no writings in the world which in this subject may be compared to his. I will heere register certaine particular and rare parts concerning his maner of war, which yet remaine in my memory. His armie beeing somewhat afrighted upon the report that ranne of the great forces which K. Iuba brought against him, instead of abating the opinion his souldiers had conceived of it, and to diminish the meanes or forces of his enemy, having caused them to be assembled altogether, thereby to assure and encourage them, he tooke a cleane contrary course to that which in like cases we are accustomed to do, for he had them trouble themselves no more to finde out the number of the forces which his enemies brought against him, for himselfe had already true knowledge and certaine intelligence of them, and told them a number farre exceeding both the truth and report of them: following what Cyrus commandeth in Xenophon. Forasmuch as the deceit is not of like interest,

for a man to finde his enemies in effect weaker than he hoped, then stronger indeed having once conceived an opinion of their weaknesse. He enured all his souldiers simply to obey, without controlling, gaine-saying, or speaking of their capitaines desseignes, which he never communicated unto them, but upon the last point of execution; and was pleased, if by chance they had any inking of them, so to deceive them, presently to change his opinion: and having prefixed a place to quarter in at night, he hath often beene seene to march further, and lengthen his journey, namely if the weather were foule, or if it rained. The Swizzers in the beginning of his warres in Gaule, having sent toward him to give them free passage through the Romane countries, and he being resolved by force to empeach them, did notwithstanding shew them very good looks, and tooke certaine dayes respite to give them an answer, during which time he might have leisure to assemble his armie together. These poore people knew not how wel he could husband time: for he often repeated that the skill to embrace occasions in the nicke is the chiefeest part of an absolute captaine: and truly the diligence he used in his exploits is incredible, and the like was never heard of. If he were not over-consciencious in that under colour of some treatie, parole or accord, to take any advantage of his enemies, he was as little scrupulous in that he required no other vertue in his souldiers but valour; and except mutinie and disobedience he punished not greatly other vices. After his victories he often gave them the reines to all licentiousness, for a while dispencing them from all rules of military discipline; saying, moreover, his souldiers were so well instructed that though they were in their gayest clothes, pranked up, muskt and perfumed, they would, notwithstanding, runne furiously to any combat. And in truth he loved to see them richly armed, and made them weare gilt, graven and silvered armours, that their care to keepe them cleane and bright might make them more fierce and readie to defend themselves. Speaking to them, he ever called them by the name of fellow-souldiers, a name used at this day by some capitaines; which his successor Augustus afterward reformed, esteeming he had done it for the necessitie of his affaires, and to flatter the hearts of those which followed him but voluntarily.

— *Rheni mihi Cæsar in undis,
Dux erat, hic socius, facinus quos inquinat,
æquat.*¹

¹ LUCAN, l. v. 289.

When Cæsar past the Rheine he was my
generall,
My fellow here: sinne whom it staines
makes fellows-all.

But this custome was over-lowlie for the dignitie of an emperor and chiefe generall of an armie, and he brought up the fashion againe to cal them only souldiers. To this curtesie, Cæsar did, notwithstanding, intermixe a great severity, to suppress and keep them humble. His ninth legion having mutined neere unto Placentia, he presently casseted the same with great ignominie unto it, notwithstanding that Pompey were yet on foot and strong; and would not receive it into favour but with humble petition and entreatie. Hee did more appease them by authoritie and audacitie than by mildnesse and affabilitie. Where he speaketh of his passage over the river of Rheine, towards Germanie, he saith that, deeming it unworthy the honour of the Romane people his army should pass over in shippes, he caused a bridge to be built, that so it might passe, over drie-foot. There he erected that admirable bridge whereof he so particularly describeth the same; for he never more willingly dilates himselfe in describing any of his exploits then where he endevoereth to represent unto us the subtiltie of his inventions in such kinles of manuell workes. I have also noted this in his booke, that he much accompteth of his exhortations he made to his souldiers before any fight, for where he would shew to have bene either surprised or urged, he ever alledgeth this, that he had not so much leisure as to make an oration to his souldiers or armie: before that great battle against those of Tournay, Cæsar (saith he) having disposed of the rest, ranne sodainely whither fortune carried him, to exhort his men, and meeting with the tenth legion, he had not leisure to say any thing else unto them, but that they should remember their former wonted vertue, they should nothing be danted, they should stoutly resist the encounter of their adversaries; and forasmuch as the enimie was come within an arrow-shot unto him, he gave the signall of the battell; and sodainely going elsewere to encourage others, he found them already together by the eares: see here what himself saith of it in that place. Verely his tongue hath in diverse places much bestead, and done him notable service, and even whilst he lived his military eloquence was so highly regarded that many of his armie were seene to copie and keepe his orations; by which meanes diverse volumes were filled with them, and continued many ages after his death, his speech and particular graces, so that his familiar

friends, and namely Augustus, hearing that rehearsed which had bene collected of his, knew by the phrases and words what was his or not. The first time that with any publike charge he issued out of Rome, he came in eight dayes to the river of Rhone, having ever one or two secretaries before him, who continually writ what he endited, and one behinde him that carried his sword. And surely if one did nothing but runne up and downe, he could very hardly attaine to that promptitude wherewith ever being victorious, having left Gaule, and following Pompey to Brundisium, in eightene dayes he subdued all Italie; returned from Brundisium to Rome, and thence went even to the heart of Spaine, where he passed many extreame difficulties in the warres betweene Afranius and Petreius, and at the long siege of Marseille: from whence he returned into Macedon, overthrew the Romane armie at Pharsalia; thence pursuing Pompey he passed into Egypt, which he subdued; from Egypt he came into Syria, and into the countrie of Pontus, where hee fought with Pharnaces; thence into Africa, where he defeated Scipio and Iuba; and thence through Italie he returned into Spaine, where he overthrew Pompeyes children.

*Ociore et celi flammis et tigride facta,
Ac veluti montis saxum de vertice præceps
Cum ruit avulsam vento, seu turbidus imber
Proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,
Fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu,
Exultatque solo, silvas, armenta, virosque,
Involvens secum.*

Swifter then breed-yong tiger, or heav'n's flash,
And as from mountaines top a headlong stone,
Rent-off by winde, or by stormes troublous dash
Washt-off, or loos'd by age of yeares are gone,
Crosse-carried with great force that hill-like masse
Bounds on the earth, and rowles with it in one
Woods, herds, and men, and all that neere it
was.

Speaking of the siege of Avaricum, he saith that it was his custome, both day and night, ever to be neere and about such workemen as he had set a worke. In all enterprises of consequence he was ever the first skout-man or surveyer of any place; and his armie never approached place which he had not viewed or survayed himselfe. And if wee may believe Suetonius, at what time he attempted to passe over into England he was the first man that sounded the passage. He was wont to say that he esteemed that victory much more which was conducted by advise and managed by counsel, then by maine strength and force. In the warre against Petreius and Afranius,

¹ LUCAN. l. iv. 305; VIRG. ÆN. l. xii. 684.

fortune presenting an apparant occasion of advantage unto him, he saith that he refused it, hoping, with a little more time, but with lesse hazard, to see the overthrow of his enemy. Where he also plaide a notable part, to command all his armie to swimme over a river without any necessitie.

*rapulque riuus in prælia miles,
Quod fugiens tenuisset iter, mox uida receptis
Membra foveant armis, gelidoque à gurgite cursus
Restituunt artus.*¹

The Souldier rides that way in hast to fight
Which yet he would have feared in haste of
flight;

His limbs with water wet and cold before,
With armes he covers, running doth restore,

I finde him somewhat more warie and considerate in his enterprises then Alexander; for the latter seemeth to seeke out, and by maine force to runne into dangers, as an impetuous or raging torrent, which without heede, discretion, or choise, shokes and checkmates whate'er it meeteth withall.

*Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui Regna Daunii persequitur Appuli,
Dum sævit, horrendamque cultis
Diluuiem nudatur agris.*²

So Bull-fac'd Aufidus still rowling growes,
Which through Apulias ancient kingdome
flowes,

When he doth rage in threatning meditation
To bring on faire fields fearefull inundation.

And to say truth, his hap was to be most employed in the spring time and first heate of his age: whereas Cæsar was well stricken in yeares when he beganne to follow armes. Alexander was of a more cholerike, sanguine and violent constitution, which humour hee stirred up with wine, whereof Cæsar was very abstinent. But where occasions of necessitie were offered, and where the subject required it, there was never man that so little regarded his person. As for me, me seemeth I reade in diverse of his exploits a certaine resolution rather to lose himselfe then to abide the brunt or shame to be overthrowne. In that great battell which he fought against those of Turnay, seeing the vanguard of his army somewhat enclining to route, even as he was, without shield or target, he ranne headlong to the front of his enemies; which many other times happened unto him. Hearing once how his men were besieged, he past disguised through the midst and thickest of his enemies campe, so to encourage and awe them with his presence. Having crossed the way to Dyrrhæum, with very few forces, and perceiving the rest of his army (the conduct whereof

hee had left unto Antonius) to be somewhat slow in coming, he undertooke all alone to repasse the sea, notwithstanding a violent and raging tempest; and secretly stole himselfe away to fetch the rest of his forces: all the havens on that side, yea and all the sea, being possessed by Pompey. And concerning the enterprises he underwent with armed hand, there are divers of them, which in respect of the hazard, exceede all discourse of military reason: for, with how weake meanes undertooke he to subdue the kingdom of Egypt, and afterward to front the forces of Scipio and Iuba, which were tenne parts greater than his? Mee thinkes such men have had a kinde of more than humane confidence of their fortune: and himselfe was wont to say that haughty enterprises were to be executed and not consulted upon. After the battell of Pharsalia, having sent his armie before into Asia and himselfe with onely one ship passing through the strait of Hellespont, he met on the seas with Lucius Cassius, attended on with ten tall shippes of warre; he was so farre from shunning him, that he durst not onely stay for him, but with all haste make toward and summon him to yeeld himselfe to his mereie, which he did. Having undertaken that furious siege of Alesia, wherein were fourescore thousand men of defence, and all France up in armes, with a resolution to runne upon him and raise the siege, and having an armie on foote of one hundred and nine thousand horse, and two hundred fortie thousand foote; what a fond hardy and outrageous confidence was it in him that he would never give over his attempt and resolve in two so great difficulties together? Which he notwithstanding underwent; and after he had obtained so notable a battell of those which were without, he soone reduced those that were besieged in the towne to his mercy. The very like happened to Lucullus at the siege of Tigranocerta, against King Tigrane, but with an unlike condition, seeing his enemies demisnesse, with whom Lucullus was to deale. I will heere note two rare and extraordinary events touching the siege of Alesia; the one, that the French men being all assembled together with a purpose to meet with Cæsar, having diligently survaied and exactly numbered all their forces, resolved in their counsell to cutte off a great part of this huge multitude for feare they might breed a confusion. This example is new, to feare to be over-many; yet if it be well taken, it is very likely that the bodie of an armie ought to have a well-proportioned greatnesse, and ordered to indifferent bounds. Whether it be for the difficulty to

¹ LUCAN. l. iv. 151.

² HOR. CÆR. l. iv. Od. xiv. 25.

feed the same or to lead it in order and keepe it in awe, and we may easily verifie by examples that these numerous and infinite armies have seldome brought any notable thing to passe: according to Cyrus his saying in Xenophon. It is not the multitude of men, but the number of good men, that causeth an advantage: the rest rather breeding confusion and trouble than helpe or avails. And Bajazeth tooke the chiefeest foundation of his resolution, against the advice of all his capitaines, to joyne fight with Tamburlane, onely because the innumerable number of men which his enemy brought into the field gave him an assured hope of rout and confusion. Scanderbeg, a sufficient and most expert judge in such a case, was wont to say that tenne or twelve thousand trusty and resolute fighting men ought to suffice any sufficient chieftaine of warre to warrant his reputation in any kinde of military exploite. The other point, which seemeth to be repugnant both unto custome and reason of warre, is, that Vercingentorix, who was appointed chiefe generall of all the forces of the revolted Gaules, undertooke to immure and shutte himselfe into Alesia. For he that hath the commandement of a whole countrie ought never to engage himselfe, except in cases of extremitie, and where all his rest and last refuge goeth on it, and hath no other hope left him but the defence of such a place. Otherwise he ought to keepe himselfe free, that so he may have meanes to provide in all parts of his government. But to returne to Cæsar: he became in time somewhat more slow, heedy, and considerate, as witnesseth his familiar friend Oppius; deeming he should not so easily hazard the honour of so many victories, which one onely disaster or misencounter might make him lose. It is that the Italians are wont to say, when they will or blame or reproach any man with this overbearing or rash fond-hardinesse, which is often seene in yong men, calling them *disognosi d'onore*, as much to say as needy of honour: and that being yet hungrie, greedy, and voyd of reputation, they have reason to seeke after it, whatsoever it may cost them; which they should never doe that have already acquired the same. There may be some just moderation in this desire of glory, and some satiety in this appetite as well as in others; diverse doe so practice it. He was farre from that religion of the ancient Romans who in their warres would never prevaile but with meere and genuine vertue: but rather joyined more conscience unto it than nowadaies we should doe; and would never allow of all meanes were he never so certaine to get the victory. In

his warres against Ariovistus, whilst he was in parly with him, some tumult or insurrection happened between the two armies, which beganne by the fault or negligence of some of Ariovistus horsmen. In which hurlie-burle Cæsar found himselfe to have a great advantage over his enemies, which notwithstanding he would not embrace, for feare he might be taxed or suspected to have proceeded falsly or consented to any trechery. At what time soever hee went to fight, he was accustomed to weare a very rich garment, and of a sheene and garish colour, that so he might the better be marked. When his souldiers were neerest unto their enemies he restrained and kept them very short. When the ancient Græcians would accuse or taxe any man of extreme insufficiencie, they used this common proverbe, that he could neither reade nor swimme: and himselfe was of this opinion, that the arte of swimming was most necessary and beneficial in war, and a souldier might reape diverse commodities by it: if he were in haste, and to make speed, he would ordinarily swimme over all the rivers he met withal; and loved greatly to travell on foote, as Alexander the great was wont. In Ægypt, being on a time forced (to save himselfe) to leap into a little wherry or bote, and so many of his people following him that he was in danger to sink, he rather chose to fling himselfe into the sea, which he did; and swimming came into his flete, that was more that two hundred paces from him, holding his writing tables in his left hand out of the water, and with his teeth drawing his coate of armes after him, that his enemies might not enjoy it: and this did he being well stricken in yeares. No generall of warre had ever so much credit with his souldiers. In the beginning of his civill warres, his centeniers offered him every one at their owne charges to pay and find him a man at armes, and his foote-men to serve him for nothing, and those that were best able, to defray the poore and needy.

Our late admirall of France, Lord Chastillon, in our late civill warres shewed such an example: for the Frenchmen of his army, at their proper cost and charges, helped to pay such strangers as followed him. Few examples of so loving and earnest affection may bee found amongst those that follow the old manner of warre, and strictly hold themselves under the ancient pollicie of their lawes. Passion hath more sway over us then reason: yet hath it chanced in the war against Hannibal, that, imitating the example of the Romane peoples liberalitie in the citie, the souldiers

and captaines refused their pay, and in Marcellus his campe, those were called mercenary that tooke any pay. Having had some defeat neere unto Dyrrachium, his souldiers came voluntarily before him, and offered themselves to be punished; so that he was more troubled to comfort then to chide them. One onely of his cohortes (whereof ten went to a legion) held fight above foure howres with foure of Pompeys whole legions, until it was well-nigh all defeated with the multitude and force of arrowes: and in his trenches were afterward found one hundred and thirtie thousand shafts. A souldier of his, named Scæva, who commanded one of the entrançes, did so invincibly defend and keepe himselfe, that he had one of his eyes thrust out, and one shoulder and one thigh thrust through, and his shield flawed and peared in two hundred and thirtie severall places. It hath befallen to many of his souldiers, being taken prisoners, to chuse rather to die then promise to follow any other faction, or receive any other entertainment. Granius Petronius, taken by Scipio in Affrike, after Scipio had caused all his fellows to bee put to death, sent him word that he gave him his life, forsomuch as he was a man of ranke and a questor: Petronius answered that Cæsars souldiers were wont to give life to others, and not accept it themselves; and therewithall with his owne hands killed himselfe. Infinite examples there are of their fidelitie. That part which they acted who were besieged in Salona, a citie which tooke part with Cæsar against Pompey, must not be forgotten, by reason of a rare accident that there hapned. Marcus Octavius, having long time beleagred the town, they within were reduced to such extremitie and pinching necessitie of all things, that to supply the great want they had of men, most of them being alreadye or hurt or dead; they had set all their slaves at libertie, and for the behoofe of their engines were compelled to cut off all their womens haire, to make ropes with them; besides a wonderfull lacke of victuals, resolving notwithstanding never to yeeld themselves: after they had a long time lingered the siege, and that Octavius was thereby become more carelesse, and lesse heeding or attentive to his enterprise, they one day about high noone (having first ranged their wives and children upon the walles, to set the better face upon the matter) rushed out in such a furie upon the besiegers, that having put to rout and defeated the first, the second, and third *corps de garde*, then the fourth and the rest, and having forced them to quit their trenches, chased them even to their shippes:

and Octavius with much adoe saved himselfe in Dyrrachium, where Pompey was. I remember not at this time to have read of any other example where the beleagred doe in grosse beate the beleaggers, and get the maistry and possession of the field: nor that a sallie hath drawne a meere and absolute victory of a battell into consequence.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of Three Good Women.

THEY are not to be had by dozens, as each one knowes, namely, in rights and duties of mariage; for it is a bargain full of so many thornie circumstances, that it is hard the will of a woman should long keepe her selfe whole and perfect therein. And although men have somewhat a better condition in the same, yet have they much to doe. The touchstone and perfect triall of a good mariage respects the time that the societie continueth; whether it have constantly beene milde, loyall and commodious. In our age they more commonly reserve to enstall their good offices, and set forth the vehemence of their affections toward their lost husbands: and then seeke they at least to yeeld some testimonie of their good wil. O late testimonie and out of season, whereby they rather shew they never love them but when they are dead! Our life is full of combustion and scolding, but our disease is full of love and of curtesie. As fathers conceale affection toward their children, so they, to maintaine an honest respect, cloake their love toward their husbands. This mystery answereth not my taste. They may long enough scratch and dishevell themselves; let me enquire of a chamber-maide or of a secretarie how they were, how they did, and how they have lived together: I can never forget this good saying: "*Iactantius merent, quæ minus dolent*:" "They keepe a howling with most ostentation who are less sorrowfull at heart." Their howling and puling is hatefull to the living and vaine to the dead. Wee shall easily dispend with them to laugh at us when we are dead, upon condition they smile upon us while wee live. Is not this the way to revive a man with spite; that he who hath spitten in my face when I was living shall come and claw my feet when I am dead? If there be any honour for a woman to weepe for hir husband, it belongs to hir that hath smiled upon him when she had him. Such as have wept when they lived, let them laugh

when they are dead, as well outwardly as inwardly. Moreover, regard not those blubbery eyes, nor that pitty moving voice, but view that demeanor, that colour and cheerefull good plight of those cheekes under their great vailles; thence it is she speaks plaine French. There are few whose health doth not daily grow better and better; a qualitie that cannot lie. This ceremonious countenance looketh not so much backward as forward: it is rather a purchase than a payment. In mine infancie an honest and most faire ladie (who yet liveth) the widdowe of a prince, had somewhat more of I wot not what in her attires then the lawes of widowhood would well permit. To such as blamed her for it, it is (said shee) because I intend no more new acquaintances, and have no mind at all to marry againe. Because I will not altogether dissent from our custome, I have heere made choice of three women who have also employed the utmost endeavor of their goodnes and affection about their husbands deaths. Yet are they examples somewhat different and so urging that they hardly draw life into consequence. Plinie the yonger had dwelling neere to a house of his in Italie a neighbour wonderfully tormented with certaine ulcers which much troubled him in his secret parts. His wife perceiving him to droope and languish away, entreated him she might leasurably search and neerely view the quality of his disease, and she would more freely then any other tell him what he was to hope for: which having obtained and curiously considered the same, she found it impossible ever to be cured, and all he might expect was but to lead a long, dolorous, and languishing life: and therefore, for his more safetie and soveraigne remedie, perswaded him to kill himselfe. And finding him somewhat nice and backward to effect so rude an enterprise: "Thinke not my deare friend (quoth shee) but that the sorrowes and griefe I see thee feel, touch me as neere and more, if more may be, as thy selfe, and that to be rid of them I will applie the same remedie to my selfe which I prescribe to thee. I will accompany thee in thy cure as I have done in thy sickness: remoove all feare, and assure thy selfe we shall have pleasure in this passage, which shall deliver us from all torments, for we will happily goe together." That said, and having cheared up his husbands courage, she determind they should both headlong throw themselves into the sea from out a window of their house that overlooked the same; and to maintaine this loyall, vehement and never

to be severed affection to the end, where-with shee had during his life embraced him, she would also have him die in hir armes: and fearing they might faile her, and through the fall of feare or apprehension her hold-fast might be loosed, shee caused herselfe to be fast bound unto him by the middle: and thus for the ease of her husbands life she was contented to foregoe her owne. She was but of meane place and low fortune, and amidst such condition of people it is not so strange to see some parts of rare vertue and exemplar goodnesse.

— *extrema per illos*

*Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.*¹

Justice departing from the earth did take
Of them her leave, through them last passage
make.

The other two are noble and rich; where examples of vertue are rarely lodged. Arria, wife unto Cecinna Pætus, a man that had been consul, was mother of another Arria, wife to Thræsea Pætus, whose vertue was so highly renowned during the time of Nero; and by meane of his some-in-law, grandmother to Fannia. For the resemblance of these mens and womens names and fortunes hath made diverse to mistake them. This first Arria, her husband Cecinna Pætus having been taking prisoner by the souldiers of Claudius the Emperour, after the overthrow of Scribonianus, whose faction he had followed, entreated those who led him prisoner to Rome to take her into their ship where for the service of her husband she should be of lesse charge and incommoditie to them then a number of other persons which they must necessarily have, and that she alone might supply and stead him in his chamber, in his kitchen and all other offices; which they utterly refused, and so hoisted sailes, but she leaping into a fishers boate that she immediately hired, followed him aloofe from the further shore of Selavonia. Being come to Rome one day in the Emperours presence, Iunia, the widow of Scribonianus, by reason of the neerenesse and societie on their fortunes, familiarly accosted her, but she rudely, with these words, thrust her away. What (quoth she) shall I speake to thee, or shall I listen what thou sayest? Thou, in whose lappe Scribonianus thy husband was slaine, and thou yet livest? and thou breathest? These words with divers other signes made her kinsfolkes and friends perceive that she purposed to make herselfe away, as impatient to abide her husbands fortune. And Thræsea her son

in law, taking hold of her speeches, beseeching her that she would not so unheedily spoile her selfe, he thus bespake her: "What, if I were in Cæcinna's fortune or the like, would you have my wife your daughter to do so?" "What else? Make you a question of it?" answered she. "Yes, marry would I had she lived so long and in so good-agreeing sort with thee as I have done with my husband." These and such like answers encreased the care they had of her and made them more heedful to watch and neerely to look unto her. One day after she had uttered these words to her keepers, "You may looke long enough to me, well may you make me die worse, but you shall never be able to keep me from dying;" and therewith furiously flinging her selfe out of a chaire (wherein she sate) with all the strength she had, she fiercely ranne her head against the next wall; with which blow having sore hurt her selfe, and falling into a dead swoone, after they had with much adoe brought her to her selfe againe: "Did I not tell you (quoth she) that if you kept me from an easie death I would choose another how hard and difficult soever?" The end of so admirable a vertue was this. Her husband Pætus wanting the courage to doe himselfe to death, unto which the Emperors cruelty reserved him, one day, having first employed discourses and exhortations befitting the counsell she gave him to make himselfe away, shee tooke a dagger that her husband wore, and holding it right out in her hand for the period of her exhortation: Doe thus, Pætus (said she) and at that instant stabbing her selfe mortally to the heart, and presently pulling the dagger out againe, she reached the same unto her husband and so yeelded up the ghost, uttering this noble, generous, and immortal speech, *Pæte non dolet*, she had not the leasure to pronounce other than these three wordes, in substance materiall and worthy herselfe, "Holde Pætus, it hath done me no hurt."

*Casto suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis;
Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci, non dolet, inquit.
Sed quod tu facies, id mihi Pæte dolet.*

Chast Arria, when she gave her Pætus that sharpe sword,
Which from her bowells she had drawne forth
bleeding new,
The wound I gave and have, if you will trust my word,
Grieves not, said she, but that which shall be made by you.

It is much more lively in his owne naturall and of a richer sense, for both her husbands

wound and death, and her owne hurts, she was so farre from grieving to have bene the counselor and motive of them, that shee rejoyced to have performed so haughty and courageous an act, onely for the behoofe of her deere husband; and at the last gaspe of her life, she only regarded him, and to remove all feare from him to follow her in death, which Pætus beholding, he immediately wounded himselfe with the same dagger, ashamed, as I suppose, to have had need of so deare an instruction and precious a teaching. Pompea Paulina, an high and noble borne yong Romane ladie, had wedded Seneca, being very aged. Nero, his faire disciple, having sent his satellites or officers toward him to denounce the decree of his death to him, which in those dayes was done after this manner: when the Roman Emperors had condemned any man of quality to death, they were wont to send their officers unto him to chuse what death he pleased, and to take it within such and such a time, which, according to the temper of their choler, they prescribed unto him sometimes shorter and sometimes longer, giving him that time to dispose of his affaires, which also by reason of some short warning they divers times tooke from him: and if the condemned partie seemed in any sort to strive against their will, they would often send men of purpose to execute him, either cutting the veins of his armes and legs, or compelling him to take and swallow poison. But men of honour stayed not that enforcement, but to that effect used their own Phisicians or Surgeons, Seneca, with a reposed and undanted countenance, listned attentively to their charge, and presently demanded for paper and inke to make his last wil and testament, which the captain refusing him, he turned towards his friends and thus bespake them: "Sith, my loving friends, I cannot bequeath you any other thing in remembrance or acknowledgement of what I owe you, I leave you at least the richest and best portion I have, that is, the image of my maners and my life, which I beseech you to keepe in memory; which doing you may acquire the glory and purchase the name of truly sincere and absolutely true friends." And therewithall, sometimes appeasing the sharpenes of the sorow he saw them endure for his sake, with mild and gentle speeches, sometimes raising his voice to chide them. "Where are," said he "those memorable precepts of Philosophy? What is become of those provisions which for so many yeares together we have laid up against the brunts and accidents of Fortune? Was Neroes innated cruelty unknowne unto us? What might we expect or hope for at his

hands, who had murdred his mother and massacred his brother, but that he would also do his tutor and governor to death that hath fostred and brought him up?" Having uttered these words to all the bystanders, he turned him to his wife, as she was ready to sinke downe, and with the burthen of her griefe to faint in heart and strength; he called and embraced her about the necke, and heartily entreated her, for the love of him, somewhat more patiently to beare this accident; and that his houre was come, wherein he must shew no longer by discourse and disputation, but in earnest effect, declare the fruit he had reaped by his studie; and that undoubtedly he embraced death, not only without griefe but with exceeding joy. Wherefore, my deere deere heart, do not dishonour it by thy teares, lest thou seeme to love thyselfe more than my reputation. Asswage thy sorrowes and comfort thy selfe in the knowledge thou hast had of me and of my actions, leading the rest of thy life by the honest occupations to which thou art addicted. To whom Paulina, having somewhat rouzed hir drooping spirits, and by a thrice noble affection awakened the magnanimitie of her high-seetled courage, answered thus: "No, Seneca, thinke not that in this necessitie I will leave you without my company. I would not have you imagin that the vertuous examples of your life have not also taught me to die; and when shall I be able to do it or better, or more honestly, or more to mine own liking, then with your selfe? And be resolved I wil go with you and be partaker of your fortune." Seneca taking so generous a resolve and glorious a determination of his wife in good part, and to free himselfe from the feare he had to leave her after his death to his enemies

she might be carried into the next chamber, which was accordingly performed. But all those incisions being unable to make him die, he willed Statius Anneus his phisitian to give him some poysoned potion, which wrought but small effect in him, for through the weaknesse and coldnesse of his members, it could not come unto his heart. And therefore they caused a warme bath to be prepared, wherein they layd him, then perceiving his end to approach, so long as he had breath he continued his excellent discourses concerning the subject of the estate wherein he found himselfe, which his secretaries, so long as they could heare his voice, collected very diligently, whose last words continued long time after in high esteem and honor amongst the better sort of men, as oracles; but they were afterward lost, and great pittie it is they never came unto our handes. But when he once beganne to feeble the last pangs of death, taking some of the water wherein he lay bathing, all bloody, he therewith washed his head, saying, "I vow this water unto Jupiter the Deliverer." Nero being advertised of all this, fearing lest Paulinaes death (who was one of the best alied ladies in Rome, and to whom he bare no particular grudge) might cause him some reproach, sent in all poste haste to have her incisions closed up againe, and if possible it could be, to save her life, which hir servants by unwrithing her, performed, she being more then halfe dead and voyd of any sense. And that afterward, contrary to her intent, she lived, it was very honourable and as befitted her vertue, shewing by the pale hew and wanne colour of her face how much of her life she had wasted by her incisions. Ioe heere my three true stories, which in my conceit are as pleasant and as tragically as any we

more happily, and doest thou then rather choose the honour of a glorious death? Assuredly I will not envy thee. Be the constancie and resolution answerable to our common end, but be the beautie and glory greater on thy side." That said, the veines of both their armes were cut, to the end they might bleed to death; but because Senecaes were somewhat shrunken up through age and abstinence, and his blood could have no speedy course, he commaunded the veines of his thighes to be launced; and fearing lest the torment he felt might in some sort tender his wifes heart, as also to deliver himselfe from the affliction which greatly yearned him to see her in so pittious plight, after he had most lovingly taken leave of her, he besought her to be pleased

make choise of infinite, excellent and quaint stories that are found in bookes, wherein they should have lesse trouble to write them, and might doubtlesse proove more pleasing to the hearer and profitable to the reader. And whosoever would undertake to frame a compleate and well-joynted bodie of them neede neither employe nor adde any thing of his owne unto it except the ligaments, as the soldring of another mettall, and by this means might compact sundry events of all kindes, disposing and diversifying them according as the beauty and lustre of the worke should require; and very neere, as Ovid hath shoven and contrived his Metamorphosis, with that strange number of diverse fables. In the last couple this is also worthy consideration, that Paulina

offreth willingly to leave her life for her husband's sake, and that her husband had also other times quit death for the love of her. There is no great counterpoize in this exchange for us, but according to his Stoike humour I suppose he perswaded himself to have done as much for hir, prolonging his life for her avails as if he had died for hir. In one of his letters he writeth to Lucilius, after he had given him to understand how an ague having surpris'd him in Rome, contrary to his wives opinion, who would needs have stay'd him, he sodainly tooke his coach to goe unto a house of his into the country; and how he told her that the ague he had was no bodily fever, but of the place; and followeth thus:—"At last she let me goe, earnestly recommending my health unto me. Now I who know how her life lodgeth in mine, begin to provide for my self, that consequently I may provide for her; the priviledge my age hath bestowed on me making me more constant and more resolute in many things, I lose it when ever I call to minde that in this aged corps there harboureth a young woman to whom I bring some profit. Since I cannot induce her to love me more courageously, shee induceth me to love my selfe more carefully; for something must be lent to honest affections, and sometimes, although occasions urge us to the contrary, life must be revoked againe, yea with torment. The soule must be held fast with ones teeth, since the lawe to live an honest man is not to live as long as they please, but so long as they ought. He who esteemeth not his wife or a friend so much as that he will not lengthen his life for them, and wil obstinately die, that man is over-nice and too effeminate: The soule must commaund that unto her selfe, when the utilitie of our friends requireth it; we must sometimes lend our selves unto our friends, and when we would die for us we ought for their sakes to interrupt our desaigne. It is a testimony of high courage to returne to life for the respect of others, as divers notable men have done; and to preserve age is a part of singular integritie (the chiefest commoditie whereof is the carelesnesse of her continuance, and a more courageous and disdainfull use of life) if a man perceive such an office to be pleasing, acceptable and profitable to any well-affected friend. And who doeth it receiveth thereby a gratefull meede and pleasing recompence; for what can be sweeter than to be so deare unto his wife, that in respect of her a man become more deare unto himselfe. So my Paulina hath not onely charged me with her feare, but also with mine. It hath not beene sufficient for me to consider

how resolutely I might dye, but I have also considered how irresolutely she might endure it, I have enforced my selfe to live. And to live is sometime magnanimitie." Reade heere his owne wordes, as excellend as is his use:

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Of the Worthiest and Most Excellent Men.

IF a man should demaund of mee, which of all men that ever came to my knowledge I would make choice of, me seemeth I finde three who have beene excellent above all others. The one is Homer: not that Aristotle or Varro (for example sake) were not peradventure as wise and as sufficient as he: nor that Virgil (and possibly in his owne arte) be not comparable unto him. I leave that to their judgements that know them both. I who know but one of them, according to my skill may onely say this, that I cannot be perswaded the Muses themselves did ever go beyond the Roman.

*Tale facit carmen docta testudine, quale
Cynthia impositis temperat articulis.*¹

He on his learned lute such verse doth play
As Phœbus should thereto his fingers lay.

In which judgement this must notwithstanding not be forgotten, that Virgil doth especially derive his sufficiency from Homer, and he is his guide and schoolemaster, and that but only glance or sentence of the Iliads hath given both body and matter to that great and divine poem of the Æneid. My meaning is not to account so: I entermix divers other circumstances which yeeld this man most admirable unto me, and as it were beyond humane condition. And truly I am often amazed that he who hath produced, and by his authority brought so many deities in credit with the world, hath not obtained to be reputed a god himselfe. Being blind and indigent, having lived before ever the sciences were redacted into strict rules and certaine observations, he had so perfect knowledge of them, that all those which since his time have labored to establish policies or common-wealths, to manage warres, and to write either of religion or philosophy, in which sect soever or of all artes, have made use of him as of an absolutely perfect master in the knowledge of all things; and of his books,

¹ PROPERT. l. ii, *Eleg.* xxxiv. 79.

as of a seminary, a spring-garden, or store-house of all kinds of sufficiency and learning.

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,

Plenus ac melius Chrysippo, ac Crantore dicit.¹

What is faire, what is foule, what profit may,
what not,

Better than Crantor or Chrysippus, Homer wrot.

And as another saith :

*- à quo ceu fonte perrenni
Vatum Pieris labra rigantur aquis.²*

By whom, as by an ever-flowing-filling spring,
With Muses liquor poets lippes are bath'de to sing.

And another :

*Adde Heliconiadum comites, quorum unus
Homerus
Astra potius.³*

Muses companions adde to these, of all
One onely Homer liath in heav'n his stall.

And another :

*— cuiusque ex ore profuso
Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,
Amneque in tenues, ausa est deducere rivos :
Unius facunda bonus.⁴*

From whose large mouth for verse all that
since live

Drew water, and grew bolder to derive
Into thinne shallow rivers his deepe flood ;
Richly luxuriant in one mans good.

It is against nature's course that he hath made the most excellent production that may be : for the ordinary birth of things is imperfect : they are augmented by encrease and corroborated by growth. He hath reduced the infancy of poesie and divers other sciences to be ripe, perfect, and compleate. By which reason he may be termed the first and last of poets, following the noble testimony antiquity hath left us of him, that having had no man before him whom he might imitate, so hath hee had none after him could imitate him. His wordes (according to Aristotle) are the onely wordes that have motion and action : they are the onely substantiall wordes. Alexander the Great, having lighted upon a rich casket amongst Darius his spoils, appoynted the same to be safely kept for himselfe to keepe his Homer in, saying he was the best adviser and faithfulllest counselor he had in his military affaires. By the same reason said Cliomenes, sonne to Anaxandridas, that hee was the Lacedemonians poet, for he was an excellent good teacher or master of warrelike discipline. This singular praise and particular commendation hath also been given

him by Plutarke, where he saith that he is the only author in the world who yet never distasted reader, or glutted man, ever showing himselfe other and different to the readers, and ever flourishing with a new grace. That wagge Alcibiades, demanding one of Homers bookes of one who professed letters, because he had it not, gave him a whirrit on the eare, as if a man should finde one of our priests without a breviarie. Xenophanes one day made his moane to Hieron, the tyrant of Siracusa, that he was so poore as he had not wherewithall to finde two servants. How commeth that to passe ? (answered Hieron). Homer, who was much poorer than thou art, dead as he is, findeth more then tenne thousand. What left Panæctius unsaide when he named Plato the Homer of Philosophers ? Besides, what glory may be compared to his ? There is nothing liveth so in mens mouthes as his name and his workes ; nothing so knowne and received as Troy, as Helen and her warres, which peradventure never were. Our children are yet called by the names he invented three thousand years since and more. Who knoweth not Hector ? Who hath not heard of Achilles ? Not onely some particular races, but most nations, seeke to derive themselves from his inventions. Machomet, the second of that name, Emperour of Turkes, writing to Pope Pius the second : I wonder (saith he) how the Italians will bandie against me, seeing we have our common offspring from the Troians ; and I as well as they have an interest to revenge the blood of Hector upon the Græcians whom they favour against me. Is it not a worthy comedie, whereof kings, common-wealths, principalities, and emperours have for many ages together played their parts, and to which this great universe serveth as a theatre ? Seven cities of Greece strived amongst themselves about the places of his birth, so much honour his very obscuritie procured him.

*Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamis, Chios,
Argos, Athenæ.⁵*

Rhodes, Salamis, Colophon, Chios, Argos,
Smyrna, with Athens.

The other is Alexander the Great. For who shall consider his age, wherein hee beganne his enterprises ; the small meanes he had to ground so glorious a desseigne upon, the authoritie he attained unto in his infancy amongst the greatest commanders and most experienced captaines in the world, by whom he was followed : the extraordinary favour wherewith fortune em-

¹ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* xxiii.

² OVID. *Am.* l. iii. *Eleg.* viii. 25.

³ LUCR. l. iii. 1087.

⁴ MANIL. *Ast.* l. i. 28.

⁵ A. GEL. *Noct. Att.* l. iii. c. 11.

braced him and seconded so many of his haughty-dangerous exploits, which I may in a manner call rash or fond-hardie.

*Impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti
Obstat, gaudensque viam fecisse ruinæ.¹*

While he shot at the high'st, all that might stay
He forst and joyde with ruine to make way.

That eminent greatnesse to have at the age of thirtie yeares passed victoriously through all the habitable earth, and but with half the life of a man to have attained the utmost endeavour of human nature; so that you cannot imagine his continuance lawfull, and the lasting of his increase in fortune, and progres in vertue even unto a just terme of age, but you must suppose something above man to have caused so many royal branches to issue from out the loines of his souldiers, leaving the world after his death to be shared between foure successors, onely captaines of his armie, whose successors have so long time since continued, and descendants maintained that large possession. So infinite, rare, and excellent vertues that were in him, as justice, temperance, liberalitie, integritie in words, love toward his, and humanitie toward the conquered. For in truth his maners seeme to admit no just cause of reproach: indeed some of his particular, rare, and extraordinary actions may in some sort be taxed. For it is impossible to conduct so great and direct so violent motions with the strict rules of justice. Such men ought to be judged in gross by the mistris end of their actions. The ruine of Thebes; the murder of Menander, and of Ephestions physitian; the massacre of so many Persian prisoners at once; of a troupe of Indian souldiers, not without some prejudice unto his word and promise; and of the Cosseians and their little children, are escapes somewhat hard to be excused. For concerning Clitus, the fault was expiated beyond its merit; and that action, as much as any other, witnesseth the integritie and cheerfulness of his complexion, and that it was a complexion in it self exceedingly formed to goodness. And it was wittily said of one that he had vertues by nature and vices by accident. Concerning the point that he was somewhat too lavish a boaster, and over-impatient to heare himselfe ill spoken of; and touching those manglers, armes and bits, which he caused to be scattered in India, respecting his age and the prosperitie of his fortune, they are in my conceit pardonable in him. He that shall also consider his many military vertues, as diligence, fore-

sight, patience, discipline, policie, magnanimitie, resolution and good fortune, wherein though Haniballs authority had not taught it us, he hath beene the first and chiefe of men: the rare beauties, matchlesse features, and incomparable conditions of his person, beyond all comparison and wonder breeding; his carriage, demeanor, and venerable behaviour, in a face so young, so vermeill, and heart enflaming:

*Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
Quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes,
Extulit os sacrum celo, tenebrasque resolvit.²*

As when the day-starre washt in ocean streames,
Which Venus most of all the starres esteemes,
Shewes sacred light, shakes darkenesse off with

The excellencie of his wit, knowledge and capacity; the continuance and greatnesse of his glory, unspotted, untainted, pure and free from all blame or envie; inso-much as long after his death it was religiously beleaved of many that the medalls or brooches representing his person brought good lucke unto such as wore or had them about them. And that more Kings and Princes have written his gests and actions then any other historians, of what quality soever, have registered the gests or collected the actions of any other King or Prince that ever was: and that even at this day the Mahometists, who contemne all other histories, by special privilege allow, receive, and onely honour his. All which premises duely considered together, hee shall confesse, I have had good reason to preferre him before Cæsar himselfe, who alone might have made me doubt of my choice. And it must needs bee granted that in his exploits there was more of his owne, but more of fortunes in Alexander's achievements. They have both had many things mutually alike, and Cæsar happily some greater. They were two quicke and devouring fires, or two swift and surrounding streames, able to ravage the world by sundry wayes.

*Et velut immissi diversis partibus ignes
Arentem in silvum, et virgulta sonantia lauro:
Aut ubi discursu rapido de montibus altis
Dant sonitum spumosi amnes, et in æquora
currunt,*

Quisque suum populatus iter.³

As when on divers sides fire is applied
To crackling bay-shrubs, or to woods sunne dried
Or as when foaming streames from mountains hie,
With downe-fall swift resound, and to sea flie;
Each one doth havoſke-out his way thereby.

But grant Cæsar's ambition were more moderate, it is so unhappy in that it met

¹ LUCAN. l. i. 148.

² VIRG. ÆN. l. viii. 589.

³ Id. xii. 624.

with this vile subject of the subversion of his countrie, and universall empairing of the world; that all parts impartially collected and put together in the balance, I must necessarily bend to Alexander's side. The third, and in my judgement most excellent man, is Epaminondas. Of glorie he hath not so much as some, and is farre shorte of diverse (which well considered is no substantiall part of the thing) in resolution and true valour, not of that which is set on by ambition, but of that which wisdom and reason may settle in a well-disposed minde, hee had as much as may be imagined or wished for. He hath in mine opinion made as great triall of his vertues as ever did Alexander or Cæsar, for although his exploits of warre be not so frequent and so high raised, yet being thoroughly considered, they are as weightie, as resolute, as constant, yea and as authentically a testimony of hardnes and military sufficiencie as any man's else. The Græcians, without any contradiction, afforded him the honour to entitle him the chiefe and first man among themselves: and to be the first and chiefe man of Greece is without all question to bee chiefe and first man of the world. Touching his knowledge and worth, this ancient judgement doth yet remaine amongst us, that never was man who knew so much, nor never man that spake lesse than he. For he was by sect a Pythagorean, and what he spake no man ever spake better. An excellent and most perswasive orator was hee. And concerning his maners and conscience therein he farre outwent all that ever medled with managing affaires: for in this one part, which ought especially to be noted, and which alone declareth that we are, and which only I counterpoise to al others together, he giveth place to no philosopher; no not to Socrates himselfe. In him innocence is a qualitie, proper, chiefe, constant, uniforme, and incorruptible; in comparison of which, it seemeth in Alexander subalternall, uncertaine, variable, effeminate and accidentall. Antiquitie judged that precisely to sift out, and curiously to prie into al other famous captaines, there is in every one severally some speciall quality which makes him renowned and famous. In this man alone it is a vertue and sufficiencie, every where compleate and alike, which in all offices of humane life leaveth nothing more to be wished for. Be it in publike or private, in peaceable negotiations or warlike occupations, be it to live or die, greatly or gloriously, I know no forme or fortune of man that I admire or regard with so much honour, with so much love. True it is, I finde this obstinacie in povertie somewhat

scrupulous, and so have his best friends pourtrayed it. And this onely action (high notwithstanding and very worthy admiration) I finde or deeme somewhat sharpe, so as I would not wish nor desire the initiation thereof in me, according to the forme it was in him. Scipio Æmilianus alone (would any charge him with as fierce and nobly-minded an end, and with as deepe and universall knowledge of sciences) might be placed in the other scale of the ballance against him. Oh what a displeasure hath swift-gliding Time done me, even in the nick, to deprive our eyes of the chiefe paire of lives, directly the noblest that ever were in Plutarke, of these two truly worthy personages: by the universall consent of the world, the one chiefe of Græcians, the other principall of Romanes. What a matter, what a workman! For a man that was no saint, but as we say a gallant-honest man, of civil maners and common customes, of a temperate haughtinesse, the richest life I know (as the vulgar saying is) to have lived amongst the living, and fraughted with the richest qualities and most to be desired parts (all things impartially considered) in my humour, is that of Alcibiades. But touching Epaminondas, for a patterne of excessive goodnes, I will here insert certaine of his opinions. The sweetest contentment he had in all his life he witnesseth to have beene the pleasure he gave his father and mother of his victory upon Leuctra: he staketh much in preferring their pleasure before his content, so just and full of so glorious an action. Hee thought it unlawfull, yea were it to recover the libertie of his countrey, for any one to kill a man except he knew a just cause. And therefore was he so backward in the enterprise of Pelopidas his companion, for the deliverance of Thebes. He was also of opinion that in a battell a man should avoid to encounter his friend, being on the contrary part, and if he met him to spare him. And his humanitie or gentlenes, even towards his very enemies, having made him to be suspected of the Beotians, forsomuch as after he had miraculously forced the Lacedemonians to open him a passage, which at the entrance of Morea, neere Corinth, they had undertaken to make good, he was contented, without further pursuing them in furie, to have marched over their bellies, was the cause he was deposed of his office of Capitaine Generall. Most honourable for such a cause, and for the shame it was to them, soone after to be forced by necessitie to advance him to his first place, and to acknowledge how their glorie, and confesse that their safetie, did onely depend on him:

victory following him as his shadow whither soever he went, and as the prosperitie of his countrie was borne by and with him, so it died with and by him.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Of the Resemblance between Children and Fathers.

THIS huddling up of so much trash, or packing of so many severall pieces, is done so strangely, as I never lay hands on it but when an over lazie idleness urgeth me, and nowhere but in mine owne house. So has it beene compact at sundry pauses, and contrived at severall intervals, as occasions have sometime for many months together, here and there in other places detained me. Besides, I never correct my first imaginations by the second, it may happen I now and then alter some word rather to diversifie then take any thing away. My purpose is to represent the progress of my humours, that every part be seen or member distinguished as it was produced. I would to God I had begunne sooner, and knew the tracke of my changes and course of my variations. A boy whom I employed to write for me supposed he had gotten a rich bootie when he stole some parts which he best liked; but one thing comforts me, that he shall gaine no more then I lost by them. I am growne elder by seven or eight yeares since I beganne them; nor hath it beene without some new purchase. I have by the liberality of yeares acquainted my selfe with the stone-chollicke. Their commerce and long conversation is not easily past over without some such-like fruite. I would be glad that of many other presents they have ever in store, to bestow upon such as waite upon them long, they had made choice of some one that had beene more acceptable unto me: for they could never possess me with any that, even from my infancy, I hated more. Of all accidents incident to age it was that I feared most. My selfe have many times thought I went on too farre, and that to hold out so long a journey, I must of necessitie in the end

him pay intolerable usurie who doth not yeeld or pay the same in due time. I was so farre from being readie to make lawfull tender of it, that in eightene months, or thereabouts, I have continued in so yrkesome and unpleasing plight, I have already learn'd to apply my selfe unto it; and am now entering into covenant with this chollicall kinde of life; for therein I finde matter wherewith to comfort me, and to hope better. So much are men enured in their miserable estate, that no condition is so poore but they will accept: so they may continue in the same. Heare Mæcenas—

*Debilem facito manus,
Debilem pede, coxa,
Lubricos quate dentes,
Vita dum superest, bene est.*¹

Make me be weak of hand,
Scarce on my legges to stand,
Shake my loose teeth with paine,
'Tis well so life remaine.

And Tamburlane clooked the fantastickall cruelty he exercised upon lazars or leprous men with a foolish kinde of humanitie, putting all he could finde or heare of to death, (as he said) to ridde them from so painefull and miserable a life as they lived. For there was none so wretched amongst them that would not rather have beene three times a leper than not to be at all. And Antisthenes the Stoick being very sicke, and crying out, "Oh, who shall deliver me from my tormenting evils?" Diogenes, who was come to visite him, forthwith presenting him a knife: "Mary, this," said he, "and that very speedily, if thou please": "I mean not of my life," replied he, "but of my sickness." The sufferances which simply touch us in minde doe much lesse afflict me then most men: partly by judgement; for the world deemeth diverse things horrible, or avoydable with the losse of life, which to me are in a manner indifferent: partly by a stupid and insensible complexion, I have in accidents that hit me not point-blanke: which complexion I esteeme one of the better partes of my naturall condition. But the truly-essentiall and corporall sufferances, those I taste very sensibly: yet is it, having other times fore-apprehended them with a delicate and weak sight, and by the enjoying of this long health and happy rest, which God hath lent me the better part of my age, somewhat impaired; I had by imagi-

ing to the rule of skilfull chirurgions, who when they must cut off some member, life must be seared to the quicke and cut to the sound flesh. That nature is wont to make

dayly augment this opinion: that most of our soules faculties (as we employ them) doe

¹ SEN. *Epist.* c.

more trouble than stead the quiet repose of life. I am continually grappling with the worst of all diseases, the most grievous, the most mortal, the most remedlesse and the most violent. I have already had triall of five or six long and painfull fittes of it. Nevertheless, eyther I flatter my selfe, or in this plight there is yet something that would faine keep life and soule together, namely, in him whose minde is free from feare of death, and from the threats, conclusions and consequences which physicke is ever buzzing into our heads. But the effect of paine it selfe hath not so sharpe a smarting, or so pricking a sharpnesse, that a settled man should enter into rage or fall into despaire. This commoditie at least I have by the chollicke, that what I could never bring to passe in my selfe, which was altogether to reconcile and thoroughly to acquaint my selfe with death, shee shall achieve, she shall accomplish, for by how much more shee shall importune and urge me, by so much lesse shall death bee fearefull unto mee. I had already gotten, not to be beholding to life, but onely in regard of life, and for lives sake : she shall also untie this intelligence and loose this combination. And God graunt, if in the end her sharpnesse shall happen to surmount my strength, shee cast me not into other extremitie, no lesse vicious, no lesse bad, that is, to love and desire to die.

*Suumum nec metuas diem, nec optes.*¹

Nor feare thy latest doome,
Nor wish it ere it come.

They are two passions to be feared, but one hath her remedy neerer than the other. Otherwise I have ever found that precept ceremonious which so precisely appoints a man to set a good countenance, a settled resolution, and disdainfull carriage, upon the sufferance of evils. Why doth Philosophy, which onely respecteth livenessse and regardeth effects, ammuze it selfe about these externall apperances? Let her leave this care to mimikes, to histrions, and to rhetoricke masters, who make so great account of our gestures. Let her hardly remit this vocall linessse unto evill, if it be neither cordiall nor stomacall. And let her lend her voluntary plaints to the kinde of sighes, sobs, palpitations, and palenesse which nature hath exempted from our puissance. Alwayes provided, the courage be without feare, and words sans despaire : let her be so contented. "What matter is it if wee bend our armes, so we writhe not our thoughts?" She frameth us for ourselves, not for others :

to be, not to seeme. Let her applie her selfe to governe our understanding, which she hath undertaken to instruct. Let her in the pangs or fits of the chollike, still maintaine the soule capable to acknowledge her selfe and follow her accustomed course, resisting sorrow and enduring griefe, and not shamefully to prostrate her selfe at his feet : mooved and chafed with the combate, not basely suppressed nor faintly overthrowne : capable of entertainment and other occupations, unto a certaine limit. In so extreme accidents it is cruelty to require so composed a warde at our hands. If we have a good game it skills not, though we have an ill countenance. If the body be any whit eased by complaining, let him do it : if stirring or agitation please him, let him turne, rowle, and tosse himselfe as long as he list : if with raising his voyce, or sending it forth with more violence, he think his griefe any thing alayed or vented (as some physitions affirme it somewhat easeth women great with childe, and is a meane of easie or speedy delivery) feare he not to do it ; or if he may but entertaine his torment, let him mainly cry out. Let us not command our voyce to depart ; but if she will, let us not hinder it. Epicurus doth not only pardon his wise-man to crie out, when he is grieved or vexed, but perswadeth him to it. *Pugiles etiam quum feriunt, in iactandis castibus ingemiscunt, quia profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur venitque plaga vehementior.*² "Men when they fight with sand-bags, or such heavy weapons, in fetching their blow and driving it, will give a groane withall because by stretching their voyce all their body is also strayned, and the stroke cometh with more vehemence." We are vexed and troubled enough with the evill, without troubling and vexing our selves with these superfluous rules. This I say to excuse those which are ordinarily seeme to rage in the fits, and storme in the assaults of this sicknesse, for, as for me, I have hitherto past it over with somewhat a better countenance, and am content to groane without braying and exclaiming. And yet I trouble not myselfe to maintaine this exterior decencie ; for I make small reckoning of such an advantage, in that I lend my sicknesse what it requireth : but either my paine is not so excessive, or I beare it with more constancy than the vulgar sorte. Indeede I must confesse, when the sharpe fits or throwes assaile me, I complaine and vexe my selfe, but yet I never fall into despaire, as that fellow :

*Eiulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus
Resonando multum febles voces refert.*³

¹ MART. L. X. *Epig.* xlvii. ult.

² CIC. *Tusc. Qu.* I. ii.

³ Ib.

With howling, growning and complaint of fates,
Most lamentable cries he imitates.

I feele my selfe in the greatest heate of my sicknesse; and I ever found my selfe capable and in tune, to speake, to thinke, and to answer, as soundly as at any other time, but not so constantly, because my paine doth much trouble and distract me. When I am thought to bee at the lowest, and that such as are about me spare me, I often make a triall of my forces, and propose them such discourses as are furthest from my state. There is nothing impossible for mee, and me thinkes I can doe all things upon a sodaine fitte, so it continue not long. Oh, why have not I the gift of that dreamer mentioned by Cicero, who dreaming that hee was closely embracing a yong wench, found his selfe riddle of the stone in his sheetes! Mine doe strangely dis-wench me. In the intermission or respites of this outrageous paine, when as my ureters (through which the urine passeth from the reines to the bladder) languish without gnawing me, I sodainely returne into my ordinary forme; forsomuch as my mind taketh no other allarme but the sensible and corporall. All which I certainly owe unto the care I have had to prepare my selfe by reason and discourse of such accidents:

— laborum

*Nulla mihi nova nunc facies impropinque surgit,
Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi.*¹

No new or unexpected forme is cast,
Of travells in my breast: all I forecast,
In my minde with my selfe I all forepast.

I am handled somewhat roughly for a prentise, and with a violent and rude change; being at one instant faine from a very pleasing, calme, and most happy condition of life, unto the most dolorous, yrkesome, and painefull that can possibly be imagined: for, besides that in it selfe it is a disease greatly to be feared, its beginnings or approaches are in mee sharper or more difficult than it is wont to trouble others withall. The pangs and fittes thereof doe so often assaile mee, that in a manner I have no more feeling of perfect health. Notwithstanding I hitherto keepe my spirit so seated as, if I can but joyne constancy unto it, I finde my selfe to be in a much better state of life than a thousand others, who have neither ague nor other infirmities, but such as for want of discourse they give themselves. There is a certaine fashion of subtle humilitie which proceedeth of presumption: as this, that in many things we acknowledge our ignorance, and are so

curteous to avowe that in Natures works there are some qualities and conditions which to us are imperceptible, and whereof our sufficiency cannot discover the meanes nor finde out the causes. By this honest and conscientious declaration, we hope to gaine that we shall also be beleived in those we shall say to understand. Wee neede not goe to cull out miracles, and chuse strange difficulties: mee seemeth, that amongst those things we ordinarily see there are such incomprehensible rarities as they exceed all difficulty of miracles. What monster is it that this teare or drop of seed whereof we are ingendred brings with it, and in it the impressions, not only of the corporall forme, but even of the very thoughts and inclinations of our fathers? Where doth this droppe of water containe or lodge this infinite number of formes? And how beare they these resemblances of so rash and unruly a progresse, that the childes childe shall be answerable to his grandfather, and the nephew to his uncle? In the family of Lepidus the Roman, there have beene three, not successively, but some between, that were borne with one same eye covered with a cartilage or gristle. There was a race in Thebes which from their mothers wombe bare the forme of a burr, or yron of a launce; and such as had it not were judged as mis-begotten and deemed unlawfull. Aristotle reporteth of a certaine nation, with whom all women were common, where children were allotted their fathers only by their resemblances. It may be supposed that I am indebted to my father for this stonie quality, for he died exceedingly tormented with a great stone in his bladder. He never felt himself troubled with the disease but at the age of sixtie-seaven yeares, before which time he had never felt any likelihood or motion of it, nor in his reines, nor in his sides, nor elsewhere: and untill then had lived in very prosperous health, and little subject to infirmities, and continued seven yeares and more with that disease training a very dolorous lives-end. I was borne five and twenty yeares before his sicknes, and during the course of his healthy state, his third child. Where was al this while the propension or inclination to this defect, hatched? And when he was so farre from such a disease, that light part of his substance wherewith he composed me, how could it for her part beare so great an impression of it? And how so closely covered, that fortie-five yeares after, I have begunne to have a feeling of it? and hitherto alone, among so many brethren and sisters, and all of one mother. He that shal resolve me of this progresse I will

believe him as many other miracles as he shall please to tell mee : alwayes provided (as commonly they doe) hee goe not about to pay me with a doctrine much more difficult and fantastical then the thing it selfe (let physitiāns somewhat excuse my libertie): for by the same infusion and fatall insinuation, I have received the hate and contempt of their doctrine. The antipathie which is betwene me and their arte is to me hereditarie. My father lived three score and foureteen yeares : my grandfather three score and nine ; my great grandfather very neere fourescore, and never tasted or tooke any kinde of physicke. And whatsoever was not in ordinary use amongst them was deemed a drug. Physicke is grounded upon experience and examples. So is mine opinion. Is not this a manifest kinde of experience, and very advantageous ? I know not whether in all their registers they are able to finde me three more, borne, bred, brought up, and deceased, under one rooffe, in one same chimnie, that by their owne direction and regiment have lived so long. Wherein they must needs grant me, that if it be not reason, at least it is fortune that is on my side. Whereas among physitiāns fortune is of more consequence then reason. Low-brought and weake as I am now, let them not take me at an advantage, nor let them not threaten me : for that were insulting arrogance. And to say truth, I have by my familiar examples gained enough upon them, although they would take hold and stay there. Humane things have not so much constancie it is now two hundred yeares, wanting but eightene, that this essay continueth with us ; for the first was borne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and two, some reason there is why this experience should now beginne to faile us. Let then not upbraide me with those infirmities which now have seized upon me : is it not sufficient to have lived seaven and fortie yeares in good and perfect health for my part ? Suppose it to be the end of my carriere, yet it is of the longest. Mine ancestors by some secret instinct and naturall inclination have ever loathed all manner of physicke : for the very sight of drugs bred a kinde of horror in my father. The Lord of Gaviac, mine uncle by the fathers side, a man of the church, sickish even from his birth, and who notwithstanding made his weake life to hold untill sixtie seaven yeares, falling once into a dangerous and vehement continuall fever, it was by the physitiāns concluded that unlesse he would aide himselfe (for they often terme that aide which indeede is impeachment) he was but a dead man. The good soule,

afrighted as he was at that horrible sentence, answered thus, why then I am a dead man : but shortly after God made their prognostications to proove vaine. The Lord of Bussaguet, last of the brethren (for they were foure), and by much the last, he alone submitted himselfe to that arte, as I imagine by reason of the frequence he had in other sciences ; for he was a counsellor in the Court of Parliament, which prospered so ill with him that though he were in shew of a very strong complexion, he died long before the others, except one, the Lord of Saint Michael. It may well be I have received of them that natural dyspathie to physicke. Yet if there had been no other consideration but this, I would have endeavoured to force it. For all these conditions, which without reason are borne in us, are vicious. It is a kinde of maladie a man must fight withall. It may be I had such a propension, but I have settled and strengthened the same by discourses which in me have confirmed the opinion I have of it. For I have also the consideration to refuse physicke by reason of the sharpnesse of its taste. It would not easily agree with my humour, who thinke health worthy to be purchased with the price of all cauteries and incisions, how painefull soever. And following Epicurus, mee seemeth that all manner of voluptuousnesse should be avoided, if greater griefes follow them : and griefes to be sought after, that have greater voluptuousnesse ensuing them. Health is a very precious jewel, and the onely thing that in pursuite of it deserveth a man should not onely employ time, labour, sweate and goods, but also life to get it ; forasmuch as without it life becommeth injurious unto us. Voluptuousnes, science and vertue, without it, tarnish and vanish away. And to the most constant and exact discourses that philosophy will imprint in our minds to the contrary, wee need not oppose any thing against it but the image of Plato, being visited with the falling sicknesse, or an apoplexie ; and in this presupposition challenge him to call the richest faculties of his minde to helpe him.

All meanes that may bring us unto health, cannot be esteemed of men either sharpe or deare. But I have some other apparences which strangely make me to distrust all his ware. I doe not say but there may be some art of it : it is certaine that amongst so many of Natures workes there are some things proper for the preservation of our health. I know there are some simples which in operation are moistning and some drying. My selfe have found, by experience, that radish rootes are windie, and senie-leaves breede loosenes in the belly. I have the knowledge

of divers such experiments, as I know that mutton nourisheth, that wine warmeth me. And Solon was wont to say that "eating was, as all other drugges are, a medicine against the disease of hunger." I disallow not the use we draw from the world, nor doubt I of natures power and fruitfulness, and of her application to our need. I see that the pickrell-fish and the swallows live well by her lawes. I greatly distrust the inventions of our wit, of our arte and of our science, in favour of which we have forsaken nature, and abandoned her rules; wherein we can neither observe limitation nor keepe moderation. As we term justice, the composition of the first lawes that came unto our hands, and their practice and dispensation very often most wicked and inconvenient. And as those which mocke and condemne it, intend not neverthesse to wrong this noble virtue; but onely to condemne the abuse and profanation of so sacred a title: so likewise in physicke, I know her glorious name, her proposition, and her promise, so profitable to mankind; but what it desaigneth amongst us, I neither honour nor respect. First, experience makes me fear it, for of all I know, I see no kinde of men so soone sicke, nor so late cured, as those who are under the jurisdiction of physicke. Their very health is distempered and corrupted by the constraint of their prescriptions. Physitians are not contented to have the government over sicknesses, but they make health to be sicke, lest a man should at any time escape their authority. Of a constant and perfect health, doe they not frame an argument of some future dangerous sickness? I have often bene sicke, and without any their helpe, I have found my sicknesses (though I never medled with the bitternes of their prescriptions) as easie to be tolerated and as short as any mans else, and yet I have felt diverse. My health is free and sound, without any rules or discipline) except of my owne custome and pleasure. I finde no difference in places, al are alike to me to dwell in: for being sicke, I neede no other commodities then those I must have when I am in health. I am nothing passionated, though I be without physitian, without apothecary, or without physical helpe; whereat I see some as much troubled in minde as they are with their disease. What, doth the best physitian of them all make us perceive any happinesse or continuance in his life, as may witness some manifest effect of his skill and learning? There is no nation but hath continued many ages without physicke: yea the first ages, which is as much to say, the best and most happy: and the tenth part of the world

hath as yet no use of it. Infinite nations know it not; where they live both more healthie and much longer than we doe: yea and amongst us the common sort live happily without it. The Romanes had bene sixe hundred yeares before ever they received it: by meanes of interposition of Cato the censor, they banisht it their citie, who declared how easily man might live without it, having lived himselfe foure score and five yeeres, and his wife untill she was extremely old, not without physicke, but indeed without any physitian. For whatsoever is by experience found healthie for our body and health may be termed physicke. He entertained (as Plutarke saith) his familie in health by the use (as farre as I remember) of hares milk: as the Arcadians (saith Plinie) cure all maladies with coves milke. And the Lybians (saith Herodotus) doe generally enjoy a perfect health by observing this custome, which is, so soone as their children are about foure yeeres old, to cauterize and seare the veines of their head and temples, whereby they cut off the way to all rumes and defluxions. And the countrie-people where I dwell use nothing against all diseases but some of the strongest wine they can get, with store of saffron and spice in it; and all with ore like fortune. And to say true, of all this diversitie of rules and confusion of prescriptions, what other end or effect workes it but to evacuate the belly? which a thousand lome-simples will doe as well. And I know not whether it be as profitable (as they say) and whether our nature require the residents of her excrements, untill a certaine measure, as wine doth his lees for his preservation. You see often men very healthie, by some strange accidents, to fall into violent vomites and fluxes, and voyd great store of excrements, without any praecedent need or succeeding benefite: yea, with some empairing and prejudice. I learnt of Plato not long since, that of three motions which belong to us, the last and worst is that of purgations, and that no man, except he be a foole, ought to undertake it, unless it be in great extremity. The evill is troubled and stirred up by contrary oppositions. It is the forme of life that gently must diminish, consume and bring it to an end. Since the violent twinges of the drug and maladie are ever to our losse, since the quarrell is cleared in us, and the drug a trustlesse helpe: by its own nature an enemy to our health, and but by trouble half no access in our state. Let's give them leave to go on. That order which provideth for fleas and moles, doth also provide for men, who have the same patience to suffer themselves to be governed

that fleas and moles have. We may fairly cry Bo-bo-boe; it may well make us hoarse, but will nothing advance it. It is a proud and impetuous order. Our feare and our despaire, in lieu of enviting help from it, doth distaste and delay it out of our helpe: it oweth his course to sickness as well as to health. To suffer itselfe to be corrupted in favour of one, to the prejudice of the others rights, it will not doe it, so should they fall into disorder. Let us goe on in the name of God; let us follow. That order leadeth on such as follow it: those that follow it not, it haleth on, both with their rage and physicke together. Cause a purgation to be prepared for your braine; it will be better employed unto it then to your stomacke. A Lacedemonian being asked, what had made him live so long in health, answered, "The ignorance of physicke." And Adrian the Emperour, as he was dying, ceased not to crie out that the number of physitians had killed him. A bad wrestler became a physitian. "Courage," said Diogenes to him, "thou hast reason to doe so, for now shalt thou helpe to put them into the ground who have heeretofore ayded to lay thee on it." But according to Nicocles, they have this happe, that the sunne doth manifest their successe, and the earth doth cover their fault. And besides, they have a very advantageous fashion among themselves, to make use of all manner of events; for whatsoever either Fortune or Nature, or any other strange cause (whereof the number is infinite) produceth in us or good or healthfull, it is the priviledge of physicke to ascribe it unto herselfe. All the fortunate successes that come to the patient which is under their government, it is from nature he hath them. The occasions that have cured me, and which heale a thousand others who never send or call for physitians to helpe them, they usurpe them in their subjects. And touching ill accidents, either they utterly disavow them, in imputing the blame of them to the patient, by some vaine reasons, whereof they never misse to finde a great number; as he lay with his arnes out of the bed, he hath heard the noyse of a coach.

— rhedarum transitus arcto
Vicornum inflexu.¹

Coaches could hardly passe,
The lanc so crooked was,

His window was left open all night: hee hath laine upon the left side, or troubled his head with some heaveie thought. In some, a word, a dreame, or a looke, is of them

deemed a sufficient excuse to free themselves from all imputation: or if they please, they will also make use of this emparing, and thereby make up their businesse, and as a meane which can never faile them, when by their applications the disease is growne desperate, to pay us with the assurance that, if their remedies had not beene, it would have beene much worse. He whom but from a cold they have brought to a quotidian ague, without them should have had a continuall fever. They must needs thrive in their businesse, since all ill redownd to their profit. Truly they have reason to require of the patient an application of favourable confidence in them: which must necessarily be in good earnest and yeelding to apply it selfe unto imaginations, overhardly to be believed, Plato said very well and to the purpose, that freely to lie belonged onely to physitians, since our health dependeth on their vanitie and falsehood of promises. AEsop, an author of exceeding rare excellence, and whose graces few discover, is very pleasant in representing this kinde of tyrannicall authority unto us, which they usurpe upon poore soules, weakened by sickenes and overwhelmed through feare: for he reporteth how a sicke man, being demanded by his physitian what operation he felt by the physicke he had given him: "I have sweate much," answered he. "That is good," replied the physitian. Another time he asked him againe how he had done since: "I have had a great cold and quivered much," said he. "That is very well," quoth the physitian againe. The third time he demanded of him how he felt himselfe, he answered: "I swell and puffed up as it were with the dropsie." "That's not amisse," said the physitian. A familiar friend of his comming afterward to visite him, and to know how hee did. "Verily," said he, "my friend, I die with being too too well." There was a more equal law in Egypt, by which for the first three dayes the physitian tooke the patient in hand upon the patients perill and fortune; but the three dayes expired, it was at his owne. For, what reason is there that AEsculapius their patronne must have beene stricken with thunder, forsomuch as he recovered Hippolitus from death to life?

Nam pater omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab
umbris,
Mortalem infernis ad lumina surgere vitæ,
Ipse repertorem medicinæ talis, et artis
Fulmine Phœbigenam Stygias detrusit ad undas.¹
Jove, scorning that from shades infernall night,
A mortall man should rise to lifes new light,

¹ Juv. Sat. iii. 336.

¹ VIRG. ÆN. l. vii. 770.

Apolloes sonne to hell he thunder-threw,
 Who such an arte found out, such med'cine knew,
 and his followers must be absolved that
 send so many soules from life to death! A
 physitian boasted unto Nicocles that his
 arte was of exceeding great authority. It is
 true (quoth Nicocles) for it may kill so
 many people without feare of punishment
 by law. As for the rest, had I bene of
 their counsell, I would surely have made my
 discipline more sacred and mysterious. They
 had begunne very well, but the end hath
 not answered the beginning. It was a good
 ground to have made Gods and Dæmons
 authors of their science, to have assumed a
 peculiar language and writing to themselves.
 Howbeit, philosophy supposeth it to be folly
 to perswade a man to his profit by wayes
 not understood: *Ut si quis medicus imperet
 ut sumat*: "As if a physitian should bid a
 man take

*Terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam,
 sanguine cassam,*¹

One, earth-borne, goe-by-grasse, house-bearing,
 slimie, bloodlesse."

It was a good rule in their arte, and
 which accompanieth all fanaticall, vaine,
 and supernaturall artes, that the patients
 belefe must by good hope and asurance
 preoccupate their effect and operation.
 Which rule they hold so farre forth, that
 the most ignorant and bungling horse-leach
 is fitter for a man that hath confidence in
 him, than the skilfullest and learnedst phy-
 sician. The very choyce of most of their
 drugges is somewhat mysterious and divine.
 The left foote of a tortoyze, the stale of a
 lizard; the dongue of an elephant, the
 liver of a mole, blood drawne from under
 the right wing of a white pigeon, and for
 us who are troubled with the stone-cholike
 (so disdainfully abuse they our misery) some
 rattes pounded to small powder, and such
 other foolish trash, which rather seeme to
 be magike spells or charmes than effects of
 any solide science. I omit to speake of the
 olde number of their pilles, the destination
 of certaine dayes and feastes of the yeare,
 the distinction of houres to gather the simples
 of their ingredients, and the same rewhar-
 bative and severely-grave looke of theirs,
 and of their port and countenance, which
 Plinie himselfe mocketh at. But, as I was
 about to say, they have failed, forsomuch
 as they have not added this to their faire
 beginning, to make their assemblies more
 religious, and their consultations more se-
 cret. No profane man should have access
 unto them, no more than to the secret cere-

monies of Æsculapius. By which meanes
 it cometh to passe that their irresolution,
 the weaknesse of their arguments, divina-
 tions and grounds; the sharpnesse of their
 contestations, full of hatred, of jealousie and
 particular considerations, being apparant to
 all men; a man must needes be starke
 blinde if he who falleth into their hands
 see not himselfe greatly endangered. Who
 ever saw physitian use his fellowes receipt
 without diminishing or adding somewhat
 unto it; whereby they greatly betraie their
 arte and make us perceive they rather
 respect their reputation, and consequently
 their profit, than the well-fare or interests
 of their patients. He is the wisest amongst
 their doctors who hath long since pre-
 scribed them that one alone should meddle
 to cure a sicke man; for, if it prosper not
 with him, and he do no good, the reproach
 will not be great to the arte of physicke
 through the fault of one man alone; and on
 the other side, if it thrive well with him, the
 glorie shall be the greater; whereas if
 they be many, on every hand will they dis-
 credit their mysterie, because they oftner
 happen to doe ill than well. They should
 have bene content with the perpetuall dis-
 agreeing which is ever found in the opinions
 of the principall masters and chiefe authors
 of their science, knowne but by such as are
 conversant in bookes, without making ap-
 parent shew of the controversies, and incon-
 stancies of their judgement, which they foster
 and continue amongst themselves. Will wee
 have an example of the ancient debate of phy-
 sicke? Herophilus placeth the originall cause
 of sicknesse in the humours: Erasistratus, in
 the blood of the arteries: Asclepiades, in
 the invisible atomes that passe into our
 pores: Alemeon, in the abundance or de-
 lence of corporall forces: Diocles, in the
 inequality of the bodies elements, and in the
 quality of the aire wee breathe: Strabo, in
 the abundance, cruditie, and corruption of
 the nourishment wee take: Hipocrates doth
 place it in the spirits. There is a friend of
 theirs, whom they know better than I, who
 to his purpose crieth out that the most
 important science in use amongst us (as that
 which hath charge of our health and preser-
 vation) is by it hap the most uncertaune, the
 most confused, and most agitated with in-
 finite changes. There is no great danger to
 mistake the height of the sunne, or misse-
 reckon the fraction of some astronomical
 supputation; but herein, whereon our being
 and chiefe freehold doth wholly depend, it
 is no wisdom to abandon ourselves to the
 mercy of the agitation of so manifold con-
 trary windes. Before the Peloponnesian war
 there was no great newes of this science.

¹ Cic. Div. l. ii.

Hippocrates brought it into credite. Whatsoever he established, Chrysippus overthrew. Afterward Erasistratus, grande-childe to Aristotle, re-enverset what ever Chrysippus had written of it. After these, start up the Emperikes, who concerning the managing of this arte, tooke a new course altogether different from those ancient fathers. And when their credit began to growe stale, Herophilus brought another kinde of physicke into use, which Asclepiades, when his turne came, impugned, and in the end subverted. Then came the opinions of Themison to bee in great authority, then those of Musa, and afterward those of Vectius Valens, a famous physitian, by reason of the acquaintance he had with Messalina. During the time of Nero, the soveraigntie of physick fel to the hands of Thessalus, who abolished and corderned whatsoever had been held of it before his time. This mans doctrine was afterward wholly overthrowne by Crinas of Marseilles, who anew revived and framed that all men should direct and rule medicinable operations to the Ephemerides and motions of the starres, to eate, to drinke, to sleepe at what houre it should please Luna and Mercurie. His authority was soone after supplanted by Charinus, a physitian of the same towne of Marseilles, who not opely impugned ancient physicke, but also the use of warme and publike bathes, which had bene accustomed to many ages before. Hee caused men to bee bathed in cold water; yea, were it in the deepe of winter he plunged and dived sicke men into the running streame of rivers. Untill Plinies time no Romane had ever dained to exercise the arte of physicke, but was ever used by strangers and Græcians, as at this daie it is used in France by Latinizers. For, as a famous physitian saith, we doe not easily admit and allow that physicke, which wee understand, nor those drugs we gather our selves. If those nations from whom wee have the wood guaiacum, the sarsapareille, and the wood esquine, have any physitian amongst them, how much thinke we by the same commendation of the strangenesse, rarenesse and dearth, they will rejoyce at our coleworts and parsly? For, who darth contemne things sought and feicht so farre-off with the hazard of so long and dangerous a peregrination? since these aunient mutations of physicke, there have bene infinite others, that have continued unto our dayes, and most often entire and universal mutations; as are those which Paracelsus, Fioravanti and Argenterius have produced: for (as it is told me) they do not only change a receipt, but also the whole contexture and

police of physickes whole body, accusing such as hitherto have made profession thereof, of ignorance and cosinage. Now I leave to your imagination in what plight the poore patient findeth himselfe. If we could but be assured, when they mistake themselves, their physicke would do us no harme, although not profit us, it were a reasonable composition for a man to hazard himselfe to get some good, so he endangered not himselfe to lose by it. Aslope reporteth this storie, that one who had bought a Moore-slave, supposing his blacke hew had come unto him by some strange accident, or ill usage of his former master, with great diligence caused him to be medicined with divers bathes and sundry potions; it fortuneth the Moore did no whit mend or change his swarthy complexion, but lost his former health. How often cometh it to passe, and how many times see we physicians charge one another with their patients death. I remember a popular sickenesse which some yeares since greatly troubled the townes about mee, very mortall and dangerous; the rage whereof being overpast, which had carried away an infinite number of persons; one of the most famous physicians in all the country published a booke concerning that disease, wherein he adviseth himselfe that they had done amisse to use phlebotomy, and confesseth it had bene one of the principall causes of so great an inconvenience. Moreover, their authors hold that there is no kinde of physicke, but hath some hurtfull part in it. And if those that fit our turne doe in some sort harm us, what must those doe which are given us to no purpose, and out of season? As for me, if nothing else belonged thereunto, I deeme it a matter very dangerous, and of great prejudice for him who loathes the taste or abhorres the smell of a potion, to swallow it at so inconvenient houres, and so much against his heart. And I thinke it much distempereth a sicke man, namely, in a season he hath so much neede of rest. Besides, consider but the occasions on which they ordinarily ground the cause of our sicknesses; they are so light and delicate, as thence I argue that a very small error in compounding of their drugges may occasion as much detriment. Now if the mistaking in a physitian be dangerous, it is very ill for us; for it is hard if he fall not often into it. He hath neede of many parts, divers considerations, and severall circumstances to proportion his desseigne justly. He ought to know the sicke man's complexion, his temper, his humours, his inclinations, his actions, his thoughts, and his imaginations. He must

be assured of external circumstances ; of the nature of the place ; the condition of the aire ; the quality of the weather ; the situation of the planets, and their influences. In sickenes, he ought to be acquainted with the causes, with the signes, with the affections and critical daies ; in drugges, he should understand their weight, their vertue, and their operation, the country, the figure, the age, the dispensation. In all these parts he must know how to proportion and referre them one unto another, thereby to beget a perfect symmetric or due proportion of each part ; wherein if he misse never so little, or if amongst so many wheeles and several motions, the least be out of tune or temper, it is enough to marre all.

God knows how hard the knowledge of most of these parts is : as for example, how shall he finde out the proper signe of the disease, every malady being capable of an infinite number of signes ? How many debates, doubts and controversies have they amongst themselves about the interpretations of urine ? Otherwise, whence should that continuall alteration come we see amongst them about the knowledge of the disease ? How should we excuse this fault, wherein they fall so often, to take a martin for a fox ? In those diseases I have had (so they admitted any difficulty) I could never yet finde three agreeing in one opinion. I more willingly note examples that concerne my selfe. A gentleman in Paris was not long since cut for the stone by the appointment of physitians, in whose bladder they found no more stone then in his hand : where also a Bishop, who was my very good friend, had by his physitians been earnestly solicited to be cut ; and my selfe, because they wère of his counsell, upon their words, aided to perswade him to it ; who being deceased and opened, it was found he had no infirmity but in his reines. They are lesse excusable in this disease, for so much as it is in some sort palpable. Whereby I judge the arte of chirurgery much more certaine ; for it seeth and handleth what it doth, and therein is lesse conjecture and divination. Whereas phisitians have no *speculum matricis* to discover our braine, our lungs, and our liver unto them. The very promises of physicke are incredible. For being to provide for divers and contrary accidents, which often trouble us together, and with a kinde of necessary relation one unto another, as the heate of the liver and the cold of the stomacke, they will perswade us that with their ingredients this one shall warme the stomacke, and this other coole the liver ; the one hath charge to goe directly to the reynes, yea even to the

bladder, without enstalling his operation anywhere else, and by reason of its secret propriety, keeping his force and vertue all that long way, and so full of stops or lets, untill it come to the place to whose service it is destinated. Another shall drie the braine, and another moisten the lungs. Of all this hotch-pot having composed a mixture or potion, is it not a kinde of raving to hope their several virtues shall divide and separate themselves from out such a confusion or commixture, to run to so divers charges ? I should greatly feare they would loose or change their tickets and trouble their quarters. And who can imagine, that in this liquid confusion these faculties be not corrupted, confounded, and alter one another ? For that the execution of this ordinance depends on another officer, to whose trust and mercy we must once more commit our lives ? As we have doublet and hose-makers to make our cloths, and are so much the better fitted, inasmuch as each medleth with his owne trade, and such have their occupation more strictly limited then a tailor that will make all ; and as for our necessary foode, some of our great lords, for their more commodity and ease, have severall cookes, as some only to dresse boyled meates, and some to roste, others to bake ; whereas if one cooke alone would supply all three in general he could never doe it so exactly : In like sort for the curing of all diseases, the Ægyptians had reason to reject this generall mysterie of physitians, and to sunder this profession for every malady, allotting each part of the body his distinct workman. For every particular part was thereby more properly attended, and lesse confusedly governed, and for so much as they regarded but the same especially. Our physitians never remember that he who will provide for all provideth for nothing ; and that the totall and summarie policy of this little world is unto them undigestible. Whilst they feared to stop the course of a bloody flux, because he should not fall into an ague, they killed me a friend of mine who was more worth then all the rabble of them, yea, were they as many more. They ballance their divinations of future things with present evils, and because they will not cure the braine in prejudice of the stomacke, they offend the stomacke and empaire the braine, and all by their seditious and tumultuary drugs. Concerning the variety and weaknes of the reasons of this Art, it is more apparent then in any other Art. Aperitive things are good for a man that's troubled with the collike, because that opening and dilating the passages, they addresse this slimy matter whereof

the gravel and stone is engendred, and so convey downward whatsoever beginneth to harden and petrifie in the reines: aperitive things are dangerous for a man thats troubled with the collicke, because that opening and dilating the passages, they addresse towards the reines the matter engendering gravell, which by reason of the propensions they have with it, easily seizing on the same, must by consequence stay great store of that which is conveyed unto them. Moreover, if by chance it fortune to meet with a body somewhat more grosse then it ought to be, to passe all those strait turnings, which to expel the same they must glide thorow; that body being moved by those soluble things, and east in those strait channells, and comming to stop them, it will doubtlesse hasten a certain and most dolorous death. They have a like constancy about the counsels they give us, touching the regiment of our life. It is good to make water often; for by experience we see that permitting the same idly to ly still, we give it leisure to discharge it selfe of her lees and excrements, which may serve to breed the stone in the bladder. It is good to make water but seldome, for the weighty dregs it drawes with it are not easily carried away except by violence: as by experience is seene in a torrent that runneth very swift, which sweepeth and clenseth the place through which he passeth, much more then doth a slow-gliding streame. Likewise it is good to have often copulation with women; for that openeth the passages, and conveyeth the gravell away: it is also hurtfull, for it heateth, wearie, and weakeneth the reines. It is good for one to bathe himselfe in warme water, forsomuch as that looseth and moistneth the places where the gravel and stone lurketh: it is also bad, because this application of externall heat helpeth the reines to concoct, to harden and petrifie the matter disposed unto it. To such as are at the bathes, it is more healthfull to eat but little at night, that the water they are to drink the next morning, finding the stomacke empty, and without any obstacle, it may worke the greater operation: on the other side, it is better to eat but a little at dinner, lest a man might hinder the operation of the water, which is not yet perfect, and not to charge the stomacke so suddenly, after this other travell, and leave the office of digesting unto the night, which can better do it then the day; the body and spirit being then in continual motion and action. Loe heere how they in all their discourses juggle, dally, and trifle at our charge, and are never able to bring mee a proposition, but I can presently frame an-

other to the contrary of like force and consequence. Let them then no longer raile against those who in any sicknes suffer themselves gently to be directed by their owne appetite, and by the counsell of nature, and who remit themselves to common fortune. I have by occasion of my travels seene almost all the famous bathes of Christendome, and some years since have begun to use them: for in generall I deeme bathing to be very good and healthy, and I am perswaded we incurre no small incommodities in our health by having neglected and lost this custome, which in former times were generally observed very neere amongst all nations, and is yet with divers at this time to wash their bodies every day. And I cannot imagine but that we are much the worse with keeping our bodies all over-cruised, and our pores stopt with grease and filth. And touching the drinking of them, fortune hath first made it to agree very well with my taste; secondly, it is naturall and simple, and though vaine, nothing dangerous; whereof this infinity of people of all sorts and complexions, and of all nations that come to them, doth warrant mee. And although I have as yet found no extraordinary good or wondrous effect in them, but rather having somewhat curiously examined the matter, I finde all the reports of such operations, which in such places are reported, and of many believed, to be false and fabulous. So easily doth the world deceive itselfe, namely, in things it desireth or faine would have come to passe. Yet have I seen but few or none at all whom these waters have made worse; and no man can without malice denie but that they stirre up a mans appetite, make easie digestion, and except a man goe to them overweake and faint (which I would have none doe) they will adde a kinde of new mirth unto him. They have not the power to raise men from desperate diseases. They may stay some light accident, or prevent the threats of some alteration. Whosoever goeth to them and resolveth not to be merry, that so he may enjoy the pleasure of the good company resorts to them, and of the pleasant walks or exercises which the beauty of those places, where bathes are commonly seated, doth afford and delight men withall; he without doubt loseth the better part and most assured of their effect. And therefore have I hitherto chosen to stay my self and make use of those, where I found the pleasure of the situation most delightful, some, most conveniencie of lodging, of victuals and company, as are in France the bathes of Banières; those of Plombières, on the frontiers of Germany and Loraine; those of Baden in Switzerland; those of Luca in

Tuscanie; and especially those *della Villa*, which I have used most often and at divers seasons of the yeare. Every nation hath some particular opinion concerning their use, and severall lawes and formes how to use them, and all different: and as I have found by experience the effect in a manner all one. In Germanie they never use to drinke of the waters, but bathe themselves for all diseases, and will lie paddling in them almost from sunne to sunne. In Italie, if they drinke nine dayes of the water, they wash themselves other thirtie dayes with it. And commonly they drinke it mixt with other drugges, thereby to helpe the operation. Here our physitians appoint us when wee have drunke to walk upon it that so wee may helpe to digest it: there, so soone as they have drunke, they make them lie a bed until they have voyded the same out againe, continually warming their stomack and feete with warme clothes. All the Germanes whilst they lie in the water doe particularly use cupping glasses and scarifications; and the Italians use their *doccie*, which are certaine spouts running with warme waters conveyed from the bathespring in leaden pipes, where, for the space of a month, they let it spout upon their heads, upon their stomacke, or upon any other part of the bodie according as neede requireth, one houre in the forenoone and as long in the afternoone. There are infinit other differences of customes in every countrey, or, to say better, there is almost no resemblances betweene one and other. See how this part of physicke by which alone I have suffered my selfe to be carried away, which, though it be least artificiall, yet hath she the share of the confusion and uncertainty scene in all other parts and every where of this arte. Poets may say what they list, and with more emphasis and grace: witness these two epigrammes:

*Alcon hesterno signum Iovis attigit. Ille
Quamvis marmoreus, vin patitur medici.
Ecce hodie jussus transferri ex arde vetusta,
Effertur, quamvis sit Deus atque lapis.*¹

Alcon look't yester-day on carved Iove,
Love, though of marble, feels the leeches force,
From his old church to day made to remove,
Though god and stone, hee's carried like a
corusc.

And the other:

*Lotus nobiscum est hilaris, canavit et idem,
Invenit mane est mortuus Androgoras.
Tam nobilis mortis causam Faustine requiris?
Insomnis medicum viderat Hermocratem.*²

Androgoras in healeh bath'd over night with us,
And merry supt, but in the morae stark dead
was found.

Of his so sudden death the cause shall I discusse,
Hermocrates the leech he saw in sleepe unsound.

Upon which I will tell you two pretty stories. The Baron of Caupene in Chalosse and I have both in common the right of the patronage of a benefice, which is of a very large precinct, situated at the feet of our mountaines named Lahontan. It is with the inhabitants of that corner as it is said to be with those of the valley of Angrougne. They lead a kind of peculiar life; their attire and their customes apart and severall. They were directed and governed by certaine particular policies and customes, received by tradition from father to child: whereto, without other lawes or compulsion except the reverence and awe of their custome and use, they awefully tied and bound themselves. This petty state had from all antiquity continued in so happy a condition that no neighbouring severe judge had ever bene troubled to enquire of their life and affaires, nor was ever attorney or petty-fogging lawyer called for to give them advice or counsel; nor stranger sought unto to determine their quarrels or decide contentions; neither, were ever beggers seen among them. They alwaies avoyded commerce and shunned alliances with the other world, lest they should alter the purity of their orders and policy, until such time (as they say) that one amongst them, in their fathers daies, having a mind puffed up with a noble ambition to bring his name and credit in reputation, devised to make one of his children Sir John Lacke-latine or Master Peter-an-oake: and having made him learne to write in some neighbour town, not far off, at last procured him to be a country Notary or petty-fogging clerk. This fellow having gotten some pelfe and become great, began to disdain their ancient customes and put the pompe and statelines of our higher regions into their heads. It fortuned that a chiefe gossip of his had a goate dishorned, whom he so importunately solicited to sue the trespasser and demand law and right at the justicers hands that dwelt thereabouts; and so never ceasing to sow sedition and breed suites amongst his neighbours, he never left till he had confounded and marred all. After this corruption or intrusion of law (they say) there ensued presently another mischief of worse consequence by means of a quacke-salver or empirike physitian that dwelt amongst them who would needes be married to one of their daughter, and so endenizon and settle himself amongst them.

¹ *on. Epig. 71*
² MART. l. vi. *Epig. lxx.*

This gallant began first to teach and instruct them in the names of agues, rheumes, and impostumes; then the situation of the heart, of the liver and other intrailles: a science untill then never known or heard of among them. And in stead of garlike, wherewith they had learned to expell and were wont to cure all diseases of what qualitie and how dangerous soever they were, he induced and inured them, were it but for a cough or cold, to take strange compositions and potions: and thus beganne to trafficke not only their health but also their deaths. They sweare that even from that time they apparantly perceived that the evening sercine or night-calme bred the head-ache and blasted them; that to drinke being hot or in a sweat empaired their healths; that autumn windes were more unwholesome and dangerous than those of the spring-time: and that since his slibber-sawces, potions, and physicke came first in use, they find themselves molested and distempered with legions of unaccustomed maladies and unknowne diseases, and plainly feele and sensibly perceive a generall weaknesse and declination in their ancient vigor, and that their lives are nothing so long as before they were. Loe here the first of my tales. The other is that before I was troubled with the stone-chollicke and gravell in the bladder, hearing divers make especiall account of a hee-goates blood as a heavenly manna sent in these latter ages for the good and preservation of mans life: and hearing men of good understanding speake of it as of an admirable and much-good-working druggie and of an infallible operation: I, who have ever thought my selfe subject to all accidents that may in any sort fall on man, being yet in perfect health, began to take pleasure to provide my selfe of this myracle, and forthwith gave order (according to the receipt) to have a buck-goate gotten and carefully fed in mine owne house. For the blood must be drawne from him in the hottest month of summer, and he must only be fed with soluble hearbes, and drincke nothing but white-wine. It was my fortune to come to mine owne house the very same day the Goate should be killed; where some of my people came in haste to tell me that my cooke found two or three great bowles in his paunch, which in his maw amongst his meat shocked one against another. I was so curious as I would needes have all his garbage brought before me; the thicke and large skinnie whereof I caused to be opened, out of which came three great lumps or bodies, as light as any sponge, so framed as they seemed to be hollow, yet outwardly hard and very firme, blemished

with divers dead and wannish colours: the one perfectly as round as any bowle, the other two somewhat lesser, and not so round, yet seemed to grow towards it. I have found (after I had made diligent inquiry among such as were wont to open such beasts) that it was a seld-scene and unheard of accident. It is very likely they were such stones as ours be, and cozen-germanes to them; which if it be, it is but vaine for such as be troubled with the stone or gravell to hope to be cured by meanes of a beasts blood, that was drawing neere unto death, and suffered the same disease. For, to alendge the blood cannot participate of that contagion, and doth no whit thereby alter his accustomed vertue, it may rather be inferred that nothing engendreth in a body but by consent and communication of all the parts. The whole masse doth worke, and the whole frame agitate altogether, although one part, according to the diversitie of operations, doth contribute more or lesse than another; whereby it manifestly appeareth that, in all parts of this bucke-goate, there was some grettie or petrificant qualitie. It was not so much for feare of any future chauce, or in regard of my selfe, that I was so curious of this experiment; as in respect, that as well in mine owne house as elsewhere in sundry other places, it commeth to passe that many women do often gather and lay up in store divers such kindes of slight druggs to help their neighbours and other people with them in time of necessitie; applying one same remedie to an hundred severall diseases: yea many times such as they would be very loath to take themselves; with which they often have good lucke, and well thrives it with them. As for me, I honour physitions, not according to the common-received rule, for necessitie sake (for to this passage another of the prophets may be alleaged who reprooved King Asa, because he had recourse unto physitions) but rather for love I beare unto themselves; having seene some, and knowne diverse honest men amongst them, and worthy all love and esteeme. It is not them I blame, but their arte; yet doe I not greatly condemne them for seeking to profit by our foolishnesse (for most men do so) and it is a thing common to all worldlings. Diverse possessions and many vocations, both more and lesse worthie than theirs, subsist and are grounded onely upon publike abuses and popular errors. I send for them when I am sicke, if they may conveniently be found, and love to be entertained by them, rewarding them as other men doe. I give them authority to enioyne me, to keepe my selfe warme, if I love it better so than otherwise.

They may chuse, be it either leekes or lettuce, what my broth shall be made withall, and appoint me either white or claret to drink: and so of other things else, indifferent to my taste, humour or custome. I know well it is nothing to them, forso-much as sharpnesse and strangenesse are accidents of physickes proper essence. Lycurgus allowed and appoynted the sicke men of Sparta to drinke wine. Why did he so? Because being in health they hated the use of it. Even as a gentleman who dwelleth not farre from me useth wine as a soveraigne remedie against agewes, because being in perfect health, he hateth the taste thereof as death. How many of them see we to be of my humour? That is, to disdain all physicke for their owne behoofe, and live a kinde of formall free life, and altogether contrary to that which they prescribe to others? And what is that but a manifest abusing of our simplicitie? For, they hold their life as deare and esteeme their health as pretious as wee do ours, and would apply their effects to their skill if themselves knew not the uncertainty and falsehood of it. It is the feare of paine and death; the impatience of the disease and grieve: and indiscreet desire and headlong thirst of health, that so blindeth them and us. It is meere faintnes that makes our conceit: and pusillanimitie forceth our credulitie to be so yeelding and pliable. The greater part of whom doe notwithstanding not beleeve so much as they endure and suffer of others; For I heare them complaine, and speake of it no otherwise than we doe. Yet in the end are they resolved. What should I doe then? As if impatience were in it selfe a better remedie than patience. Is there any of them that hath yeelded to this miserable subjection, that doth not likewise yeelde to all maner of impostures? or dooth not subject himselfe to the mercie of whomsoever hath the impudencie to promise him recoverie and warrant him health?

The Babilonians were wont to carry their sicke people into the open streetes: the common sort were there physitians: where all such as passed by were by humanitie and civillitie to enquire of their state and maladie, and according to their skill or experience give them some sound advise and good counsell. We differ not greatly from them: there is no poore woman so simple, whose numbling and muttering, whose slibber-slabbars and drenches we doe not employ. And as for mee, were I to buy any medicine, I would rather spend my money in this kinde of physicke than in any other, because therein is no danger or hurt to be feared. What Homer and Plato said of the Ægypt-

tians, that they were all physitians, may well be said of all people. There is neither man nor woman that vanteth not himselfe to have some receipt or other, and doth not hazard the same upon his neighbour, if he will but give credite unto him.

I was not long since in a company where I wot not who of my fraternity brought newes of a kinde of pilles, by true accompt, composed of a hundred and odde severall ingredients; whereat we laughed very heartily, and made our selves good sport; for what rocke so hard were able to resist the shooke or withstand the force of so thicke and numerous a battery? I understand, nevertheless, of such as tooke of them, that the least graine of gravell dained not to stirre at all. I cannot so soone give over writing of this subject, but I must needs say a word or two concerning the experience they have made of their prescriptions, which they would have us take as a warantice or assurance of the certainty of their drugges and potions. The greatest number, and, as I deeme, more than the two thirds of medicinable vertues, consist in the quintessence or secret propriety of simples, whereof wee can have no other instruction but use and custome. For quintessence is no other thing than equality, whereof wee cannot with our reason finde out the cause. In such trials or experiments, those which they affirme to have acquired by the inspiration of some dæmon, I am contented to receive and allow of them (for touching myracles, I meddle not with them) or be it the experiments drawne from things, which for other respects fall often in use with us: as if in wooll, wherewith we wont to cloth our selves, some secret exsiccating or drying quality have by accident beene found, that cureth kibes and chilblaines in the heeles; and if in reddishes, we eat for nourishment, some opening or aperitive operation have beene discovered. Galen reporteth that a leprous man chanced to be cured by meanes of a cuppe of wine he had drunke, forso-much as a viper was by fortune fallen into the wine caske. In which example we finde the meane and a very likely directory to this experience. As also in those to which physitians affirme to have beene addressed by the examples of some beasts. But in most of other experiences to which they say they came by fortune, and had no other guide but hazard, I finde the progresse of this information incredible. I imagine man heedfully viewing about him the infinite number of things, creatures, plants and mettals. I wot not where to make him beginne his essay; and suppose he cast his first fantasie upon an elkes-horne, to which

an erſie and gentle credulity muſt be given; he will be as farre to ſeeke, and as much troubled in his ſecond operation : ſo, many diſeaſes and ſeverall circumſtances are propoſed unto him, that before he come to the certainty of this point, unto which the perfection of his experience ſhould arrive, mans wit ſhall be to ſeeke, and not know where to turne himſelfe; and before (amiddeſt this infinity of things) he finde out what this horne is : amongſt the numberleſſe diſeaſes that are, what an epilepſie is; the ſundry and manifolde complexion in a melancholy man; ſo many ſeaſons in winter : ſo diſverſe nations amongſt Frenchmen; ſo many ages in age; ſo diſverſe celeftiall changes and alterations in the conjunction of Venus and Saturne : ſo ſeverall and many partes in a mans body, nay in one of his fingers. To all which being neither guided by argument, nor by conjecture, nor by example or divine inſpiration, but by the onely motion of fortune, it were moſt neceſſary it ſhould be by a perfectly artificiall, well-ordered, and methodicall fortune. Moreover, ſuppoſe the diſeaſe thorowly cured, how ſhall he reſt aſſured but that either the evil was come to his utmoſt period, or that an effect of the hazzard cauſed the ſame health? Or the operation of ſome other thing, which that day he had either eaten, drunke or touched? or whether it were by the merite of his grandmothers prayers? Beſides, ſuppoſe this experiment to have bene perfect, how many times was it applied and begun anew; and how often was this long and tedious web of fortunes and encounters woven over againe, before a certaine rule might be concluded? And being concluded, by whom is it I pray you? Amongſt ſo many millions of men you ſhall ſcarce meet with three or foure that will duely obſerve and carefully keepe a register of their experiments : ſhall it be your or his happe to light truly, or hit juſt with one of them three or foure? What if another man, nay, what if a hundred other men, have had and made contrary experiments, and cleane oppoſite concluſions, and yet have ſorted well? We ſhould peradventure diſcerne ſome ſhew of light if all the judgements and conſultations of men were knowne unto us. But that three witneſſes and three doctors ſhall ſway all mankind, there is no reaſon. It were requiſite humane nature had appointed and made ſpeciall choiſe of them, and that by expreſſe procuration and letter of attorny they were by her declared our judges and deputed our attornies.

To my Lady of Devras.

MADAME, the laſt time it pleaſed you to come and viſite me, you found me upon this point. And becauſe it may be theſe toyes of mine may happily come to your hands, I would have them witneſſe their author reputeth himſelfe highly honoured for the favours it ſhall pleaſe you to ſhew them. Wherein you ſhall diſcerne the very ſame demeanor and ſelfe-countenance you have ſeene in his converſation. And could I have aſſumed unto my ſelfe any other faſhion than mine owne accuſtomed, or more honourable and better forme, I would not have done it : for al I ſeek to reape by my writings is, they will naturally repreſent and to the life pourtray me to your remembrance. The very ſame conditions and faculties it pleaſed your Ladyſhip to frequent and receive with much more honor and curteſie than they any way deſerve, I will place and reduce (but without alteration and change) into a ſolide body, which may happily continue ſome dayes and yeares after mee : where, when ſoever it ſhall pleaſe you to reſreſh your memory with them, you may eaſily finde them, without calling them to remembrance, which they ſcarcely deſerve. I would entreate you to continue the favour of your friendſhip towards me, by the ſame qualities through whoſe meanes it was produced. I labour not to be beloved more and eſteemed better being dead than alive. The humour of Tiberius is ridiculous and common, who endeavoured more to extinguish his glory in future ages, than yeelde himſelfe regardfull and pleaſing to men of his times. If I were one of thoſe to whom the world may be indebted for praiſe, I would quit it for the one moytie, on condition it would pay me before-hand : and that the ſame would haſten and in great heapes environ me about, more thicke than long, and more full than laſting. And let it hardly vaniſh with my knowledge, and when this ſweet alluring ſound ſhall no more tickle mine eares. It were a fond conceit, now I am ready to leave the commerce of men, by new commendations, to goe about anew to beget my ſelfe unto them.

I make no account of goods which I could not employ to the uſe of my life. Such as I am, ſo would I be elſewhere then in paper. Mine art and induſtry have been employed to make my ſelfe of ſome worth. My ſtudy and endeavour to doe, and not to write. I have applied all my ſkill and

devoire to frame my life. Lo heere mine occupation and my worke. I am a lesse maker of bookes then of any thing else. I have desired and aimed at sufficiency, rather for the benefite of my present and essentiall commodities then to make a store-house and hoard it up for mine heires. Whosoever hath any worth in him, let him shew it in his behaviour, maners and ordinary discourses; be it to treat of love or of quarrels; of sport and play or bed-matters, at board or elsewhere; or be it in the conduct of his owne affaires, or private household matters. Those whom I see make good bookes, having tattered hosen and ragged clothes on, had they believed me they should first have gotten themselves good clothes. Demand a Spartan, whether he would rather be a cunning rhetorician then an excellent souldier: nay, were I asked, I would say a good cooke, had I not some to serve me. Good Lord (Madame) how I would hate such a commendation, to be a sufficient man in writing, and a foolish-shallow-headed braine or coxcombe in all things else: yet had I rather be a foole, both here and there, then to have made so base a choice wherein to imploy my worth. So farre am I also from expecting by such trifles to gaine new honour to my self, as I shal think I make a good bargain if I loose not a part of that little I had already gained. For besides that this dumbe and dead picture shall derogate and steale from my naturall being, it fadgeth not and hath no reference unto my better state, but is much fallen from my first vigor and naturall jollity, enclining to a kinde of drooping or mouldinesse. I am now come to the bottome of the vessel, which beginneth to taste of his dregs and lees. Otherwise (good Madame) I should not have dared so boldly to have ripped up the mysteries of physicke, considering the esteeme and credit of your selfe, and so many others, ascribe unto it, and hold it in; had I not bene directed thereunto by the authors of the same, I thinke they have but two ancient ones in Latine, to wit Pliny and Celsus. If you fortune at any time to looke into them, you shall finde them to speake much more rudely of their art then I doe. I but pinch it gently; they cut the throate of it. Pliny, amongst other things, doth much scoffe at them, forsomuch as when they are at their wits end, and can go no further, they have found out this goodly shift, to send their long-turmoiled, and to no end much tormented patient, with their drugs and diets, some to the helpe of their vows and myracles, and some others to hot baths and waters. (Be not offended, noble Lady, he

meaneth not those on this side, under the protection of your house, and all Gramontoises.) They have a third kinde of shift or evasion to shake off and discharge themselves of the imputations or reproaches wee may justly charge them with, for the small amendment of our infirmities; whereof they have so long had the surway and government, as they have no more inventions or devises left them to amuse us with; that is, to send us to seeke and take the good aire of some other country. Madam, we have harped long enough upon one string; I hope you will give me leave to come to my former discourses againe, from which, for your better entertainment, I had somewhat digressed.

It was (as farre as I remember) Pericles, who being demanded how he did, "you may," said he, "judge it by this," shewing certaine scroules or briefes he had tied about his necke and armes. He would infer that he was very sicke, since he was forced to have recourse to such vanities, and had suffered himselfe to be so drest. I affirme not but I may one day be drawne to such fond opinions, and yeeld my life and health to the mercy, discretion, and regiment of physitions. I may haply fall into this fond madnesse; I dare not warrant my future constancy. And even then if any aske me how I doe, I may answer him as did Pericles: you may judge, by shewing my hand fraughted with six drammes of opium. It will be an evident token of a violent sickness. My judgement shall be exceedingly out of temper. If impaciencie or feare get that advantage upon me, you may thereby conclude some quelling fever hath seized upon my minde. I have taken the paines to plead this cause, whereof I have but small understanding, somewhat to strengthen and comfort naturall propension against the drugs and practice of our physicke, which is derived into me from mine ancestors: lest it might only be a stupid and rash inclination, and that it might have a little more forme. And that also those who see me so constant against the exhortations and threats which are made against me, when sickness commeth upon me, may not thinke it to be a meere conceit and simple wilfulnesse; and also, lest there be any so peevish as to judge it to be some motive of vaine glory. It were a strange desire to seeke to draw honour from an action common both to me, to my gardiner, or to my groom. Surely my heart is not so puffed up, nor so windy, that a solide, fleshy and marrowy pleasure as health is, I should change it for an imaginary spiritual and airy delight. Renowme or glory (wer

it that of Aymons foure sons) is over deerely bought by a man of my humour, if it cost him but three violent fits of the chollike. Give me health a Gods name. Those that love our physicke may likewise have their considerations good, great and strong; I hate no fantasies contrary to mine. I am so far from vexing my selfe to see my judgement differ from other mens, or to grow incompatible of the society or conversation of men, to be of any other faction or opinion then

mine owne; that contrariwise (as variety is the most generall fashion that nature hath followed, and more in the mindes then in the bodies: forsomuch as they are of a more supple and yeelding substance, and susceptible or admitting of formes) I finde it more rare to see our humor or desseignes agree in one. And never were there two opinions in the world alike, no more than two hairees or two graines. Diversity is the most universall quality

The Third Booke.

CHAPTER I.

Of Profit and Honesty.

NO man living is free from speaking foolish things; the ill lucke is, to speake them curiously;

Næ iste magno conatu magnas nugas dixerit.¹

This fellow sure with much adoe,
Will tell great tales and trifles too.

That concerneth not me; mine slip from me with as little care as they are of small worth: whereby they speed the better. I would suddenly quit them, for the least cost zero in them: Nor do I buy or sell them out for what they weigh. I speake unto paper as to the first man I meete. That this is true, marke well what follows. To whom should not treachery be detestable, when Tiberius refused it on such great interest? One sent him word out of Germany, that if he thought it good, Ariminus should be made away by poison. He was the mightiest enemy the Romans had, who had so vilely used them under Varus, and who one y empeached the encrease of his domination in that country. His answer was, that the people of Rome were accustomed to be revenged on their enemies by open courses, with weapons in hand; not by subtile sleights, nor in hugger mugger: thus left he the profitable for the honest. He was (you will say) a cosener. I beleeve it; that's no wonder in men of his profession. But the confession of virtue is of no less consequence in his mouth that hateth the same, forsomuch as truth by force doth wrest it from him, and if he will not admire it in him, at least, to adorne himselfe he will put it on. Our composition, both publique and private, is full of imperfection; yet is there nothing in nature unserviceable, no not inutility itselfe; nothing thereof hath bene insinuated in this huge universe, but holdeth some fit place therein. Our essence is cymented with crased qualities; ambition, jealousy, envy, revenge, superstition, dis-

paire, lodge in us, with so naturall a possession, as their image is also discerned in beasts: yea and cruelty, so unnaturall a vice: for in the midst of compassion, we inwardly feele a kinde of bitter-sweet pricking of malicious delight to see others suffer; and children feele it also:

*Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.¹*

'Tis sweet on ground seas, when windes waves turne
From land to see anothers grievous toyle.

The seed of which qualities, who should roote out of man, should ruine the fundamental conditions of our life: In matter of policy likewise some necessary functions are not onely base, but faulty vices finde therein a seate, and employ themselves in the stitching up of our frame; as poysons in the preservation of our health. If they become excusable because wee have neede of them, and that common necessity efface their true property; let us resigne the acting of this part to hardy Citizens, who stick to sacrifice their honours and consciences, as those of old, their lives, for their Countries avails and safety. We that are more weak have best assume taskes of more ease and lesse hazard. The Commonwealth requireth some to betray, some to lie, and some to massaker: leave we that commission to people more obedient and more pliable. Truly, I have often bene vexed to see our judges, by fraude or false hopes of favour or pardon, draw on a malefactor, to bewray his offence; employing therein both cousenage and impudencie. It were fit for justice, and Plato himselfe, who favoureth this custome, to furnish me with meanes more suitable to my humour. 'Tis a malicious justice, and in my conceit no lesse wounded it by selfe than by others. I answered not long since, that hardly could I betray my Prince for a particular man, who should be very sorry to betray a particular man for my Prince. And loath not onely to deceive, but that any be deceived in me;

¹ TER. *Heaut.* act. iv. sc. 1.

¹ LUCR. l. ii. 1.

whereto I will neither furnish matter nor occasion. In that little busines I have managed betwene our Princes, amid the divisions and subdivisions which at this day so teare and trouble us, I have curiously heeded, that they mistake me not, nor muffled themselves in my maske. The professors of that trade hold themselves most covert; pretending and counterfeiting the greatest indifference and neerenes to the cause they can. As for me, I offer my selfe in my liveliest reasons, in a forme most mine owne: a tender and young Negotiator, and who had rather faile in my businesse, then in my selfe. Yet hath this been hitherto with so good hap (for surely fortune is in these matters a principal actor) that few have dealt betwene party and party with lesse suspicion and more inward favour. I have in all my proceedings an open fashion, easie to insinuate and give itselfe credit at first acquaintance. Sincerity, plainnesse, and naked truth, in what age soever, finde also their opportunitie and employment. Besides, their liberty is little called in question, or subject to hate, who deale without respect to their owne interest. And they may truly use the answer of Hyperides unto the Athenians, complaining of his bitter invectives and sharpnesse of his speech: Consider not my masters whether I am free, but whether I be so, without taking aught, or bettering my state by it. My liberty also hath easily discharged me from all suspicion of faintnesse, by its vigor (nor for bearing to speake any thing, though it bit or stung them; I could not have said worse in their absence) and because it carrieth an apparent show of simplicity and carelesnesse. I pretend no other fruit by negotiating then to negotiate; and annex no long pursuits or propositions to it. Every action makes his particular game, win he if he can. Nor am I urged with the passion of love or hate unto great men; nor is my wil shackled with anger, or particular respect. I regard our Kings with an affection simply lawfull and meere civil, neither mooved nor unmoov'd by private interest: for which I like my selfe the better. The generall and just cause bindes me no more then moderately, and without violent fits. I am not subject to these piercing pledges and inward gages. Choller and hate are beyond the duty of justice, and are passions fitting only those whose reason is not sufficient to hold them to their duty, *Vtatur motu animi, qui uti ratione non potest*: "Let him use the motion of his minde that cannot use reason." All lawfull intentions are of themselves temperate: if not, they are altered into sedicious and unlawful. It is that

makes me march everywhere with my head aloft, my face and heart open. Verily (and I feare not to avouch it) I could easily for a neede bring a candle to Saint Michael, and another to his Dragon, as the good old woman. I will follow the best side to the fire, but not into it, if I can choose. If neede require, let Montaigne my Mannorhouse be swallowed up in publike ruine: but if there be no such necessity, I will acknowledge myselfe beholding unto fortune if she please to save it; and for its safety, employ as much scope as my endeavours can afford me. Was it not Atticus, who, cleaving to the right but losing side, saved himself by his moderation, in that generall shipwracke of the world, amidst so many changes and divers alterations? To private men, such as he was, it is more easie. And in such kinde of businesse I think one dealeth justly not to be too forward to insinuate or invite himselfe. To hold a staggering or middle course, to beare an unmooved affection, and without inclination in the troubles of his county and publike divisions, I deeme neither seemely nor honest: *Ea non media, sed nulla via est velut eventum expectantium, quo fortune consilia sua applicant*: "That is not the mid-way, but a mad way, or no way, as of those that expect the event with intent to apply their designs as fortune shall fall out." That may be permitted in the affairs of neighbours. So did Gelon, the tyrant of Siracusa, suspend his inclination in the barbarian wars against the Greeks, keeping ambassadours at Delphos, with presents, to watch on what side the victory would light, and to apprehend the fittest occasion of reconciliation with the victors. It were a kind of treason to do so in our owne affaires and domestical matters, wherein of necessity one must resolve and take a side; but for a man that hath neither charge nor expresse commandement to urge him, not to busie or entermidle himselfe therein, I holde it more excusable (yet frame I do not this excuse for my selfe), then in forraine and strangers wars, where-with, according to our laws, no man is troubled against his will. Nevertheless, those who wholly engage themselves into them, may carry such an order and temper, as the storme (without offending him) may glide over their head. Had we not reason to hope as much of the deceased Bishop of Orleans, Lord of Moruilliers? And I know some who at this present worthily bestirre themselves, in so even a fashion or pleasing a manner, that they are likely to continue on foote, whatsoever injurious alteration or fall the heavens may prepare

against us. I holde it only fit for Kings to be angry with Kings; and mocke at those rash spirits, who from the braverie of their hearts offer themselves to so unproportionate quarrels. For one undertaketh not a particular quarrell against a Prince, in marching against him openly and courageously for his honour, and according to his duty: if hee love not such a man, hee doth better:—at least he esteemeth him. And the cause of lawes especially, and defence of the ancient state, has ever found this privileged, that such as for their owne interest disturbe the same, excuse (if they honour not) their defenders. But wee ought not terme duty (as now a dayes wee do) a sower rigour and intestine crabbednesse, proceeding of private interest and passion: nor courage a treacherous and malicious proceeding. Their disposition to frowardnesse and mischief, they entitle zeale: That's not the cause doth heate them, 'tis their owne interest: They kindle a warre, not because it is just, but because it is warre. Why may not a man beare himselfe betwene enemies fealty and faithfully? Doe it, if not altogether with an equall (for it may admit different measure) at least with a sober affection, which may not so much engage you to the one, that hee looke for all at your hands. Content yourself with a moderate proportion of their favour, and to glide in troubled waters without fishing in them. The other manner of offering ones uttermost endeavour to both sides, implyeth lesse discretion then conscience. What knows he to whom you betray another, as much your friend as himselfe, but you will do the like for him, when his turne shall come. He takes you for a villaine: whilst that hee heares you, and gathers out of you, and makes his best use of your disloyalty. For double fellowes are onely beneficial in what they bring, but we must looke they carry away as little as may be. I carry nothing to the one which I may not (having opportunity) say unto the other, the accent only changed a little: and report either but in different or knowne or common things. No benefit can induce mee to lye unto them: what is entrusted to my silence I conceal religiously, but take as little in trust as I can. Princes secrets are a troublesome charge to such as have nought to do with them. I ever by my good will capitulate with them, that they trust mee with very little: but let them assuredly trust what I disclose unto them. I alwayes knew more than I would. An open speech opens the way to another, and draws all out, even as wine and love. Philippides, in my minde, answered King Lysimachus wisely

when he demanded of him, what of his wealth or state hee should impart unto him: Which and what you please (quoth hee) so it be not your secrets. I see every one mutinie, if another conceale the deph or mysterie of the affairs from him, wherein he pleaseth to employ him, or have but purloyned any circumstance from him. For my part, I am content one tell me no more of his businesse than he will have me know or deale in; nor desire I that my knowledge exceede or straine my word. If I must needs be the instrument of cosenage it shall at least be with safety of my conscience. I will not be esteemed a servant, nor so affectionate, nor yet so faithfull, that I be judgd fit to betray any man. Who is unfaithfull to himselfe may be excused if hee be faithlesse to his master. But princes entertaine not men by halves, and despise bounded and conditional service. What remedy? I freely tell them my limits; for a slave I must not be but unto reason, which yet I cannot compasse; and they are to blame, to exact from a free man the like subjection unto their service, and the same obligation, which they may from those they have made and bought, and whose fortune dependeth particularly and expressly on theirs. The lawes have delivered mee from much trouble; they have chosen mee a side to followe, and appointed mee a maister to obey; all other superiority and duty ought to bee relative unto that, and bee restrained. Yet, may it not be concluded, that if my affection should otherwise transport mee, I would presently afforde my helping hand unto it. Will and desires are a lawe to themselves, actions are to receive it of publike institutions. All these proceedings of mine are somewhat dissonant from our formes. They should produce no great effect, nor holde out long among us. Innocencie itselfe could not in these times nor negotiate without dissimulation, nor trafficke without lying. Neither are publike functions of my diet; what my profession requires thereto, I furnish in the most private manner I can. Being a childe, I was plunged into them up to the eares, and had good successe; but I got loose in good time. I have often since shunned meddling with them, seldome accepted, and never required; ever holding my back towards ambition; but if not as rowers, who goe forward as it were backward; yet so, as I am lesse beholding to resolution, then to my good fortune, that I was not wholly embarked in them. For there are courses lesse against my taste, and more comfortable to my carriage, by which, if heretofore it had called mee to the service of the com-

monwealth, and my advancement unto credit in the world, I know that in following the same I had exceeded the reason of my conceite. Those which commonly say against my profession that what I term liberty, simplicity and plainnesse in my behaviour, is arte, cunning and subtilty; and rather discretion then goodnesse, industry then nature, good wit then good hap; doe mee more honour then shame. But truly they make my cunning over cunning. And whosoever hath traced mee and nearly looked into my humours, I'll lose a good wager if hee confesse not that there is no rule in their schoole, could, amidst such crooked pathes and divers windings, square and report this naturall motion, and maintaine an apparence of liberty and licence, so equall and inflexible; and that all their attention and wit is not of power to bring them to it. The way to truth is but one and simple; that of particular profit and benefit of affaires a man hath in charge, double, uneven and accidentall. I have often seene these counterfeited and artificial liberties in practice, but most commonly without successe. They favour of Æsopes asse, who in emulation of the dogge layde his two fore-feete very jocundly upon his masters shoulders; but looke how many blandishments the pretty dogge received, under one, so many bastinadoes were redoubled upon the poore asses backe. *Id maxime quæque decet: quod est cuiusque suum maxime.*¹ "That becomes every man especially which is his owne especially." I will not deprive cousinage of her ranke, that were to understand the world but ill: I know it hath often done profitable service, it supporteth, yea and nourisheth the greatest part of mens vacations.

There are some lawfull vices: as many actions, or good or excusable, unlawfull. Justice in itselfe naturall and universall is otherwise ordered, and more nobly distributed, then this other especiall and nationall justice, restrained and suted to the neede of our pollicie: *Viri juris germanæque justitiæ solidam et expressam effigiem nullam tenemus: umbra et imaginibus utimur.*² "Wee have no lively nor life-like portraiture of upright law and naturall justice: wee use but the shadowes and colours of them." So that wise Dandamys, hearing the lives of Socrates, Pythagoras and Diogenes repeated, in other things judged them great and worthy men, but overmuch subjected to the reverence of the lawes: which to authorize and second, true

vertue is to decline very much 'from his naturall vigor: and not only by their permission, but perswasions, divers vicious actions are committed and take place. *Ex Senatusconsultis plebisque sceleris exercentur:* "Even by decrees of counsell and by statute laws are mischiefes put in practice." I follow the common phrase, which makes a difference betweene profitable and honest things: terming some naturall actions which are not only profitable but necessary, dishonest and filthy. But to continue our example of treason. Two which aspired unto the kingdome of Thrace were false into controversie for their right. The Emperor hindred them from falling together by the eares: the one, under colour of contriving some friendly accord by an interview inviting the other to a feast in his house, imprisoned and murthred him. Justice required that the Romanes should be satisfied for this outrage: some difficulties impeached the ordinary course. What they could not lawfully doe without warre and hazard, they attempted to accomplish by treason; what they could not hone-tly achieve, they profitably compassed. For exployting whereof, Pomponius Flaccus was thought most fitte; who trayning the fellow into his nettes by fained wordes and sugred assurances, in lieu of the favour and honour hee promised him, sent him bound hand and foote to Rome. One traytor over-reached another against common custome; for, they are all full of distrust, and 'tis verily hard to surprize them in their owne arte: witness the heavy and dismall experience we have lately felt of it. Let who liste bee Pomponius Flaccus; and there are too-too many that will be so. As for my part, both my word and faith are as the rest, pieces of this common body; their best effect is the publike service: that's ever presupposed with mee. But as if one should command mee to take the charge of the rolles or recordes of the pallace, I would answere, I have no skill in them; or to be a leader of pioners, I would say, I am called to a worthier office. Even so, who would goe about to employ mee, not to murther or poyson, but to lye, betraye and forswear myselfe, I would tell him, If I have robbed or stolne any thing from any man, send mee rather to the gallies. For a gentleman may lawfully speake, as did the Lacedæmonians, defeated by Antipater, upon the points of their agreement: "You may impose as heavy burdens, and harmfull taxes upon us as you please, but you lose your time to command us any shameful or dishonest things." Every man should give himselfe the oath, which the Ægyptian kings

¹ Cic. Off. l. 1.² Cic. Off. l. 3.

solemnly and usually presented to their judges : Not to swerve from their consciences, what command soever they should receive from themselves to the contrary. In such commissions there is an evident note of ignominie and condemnation. And whosoever gives them you, accuseth you ; and if you conceive them right, gives you them as a trouble and burthen. As much as the publicke affaires amend by your endeavours, your owne empaireth ; the better you do, so much the worse doe you. And it shall not bee newe, nor peradventure without shadowe of justice, that hee who setteth you a worke, becommeth your ruine. " If treason bee in any case excusable, it is onely then, when 'tis employed to punish and betray treason." Wee shall finde many treacheries to have beene not refused, but punished by them, in whose favour they were undertaken. Who knowes not the sentence of Fabricius against Pyrrhus his physician? And the commander hath often severely revenged them on the partie hee employed in them, refusing so unbridled a credite and power, and disavowing so lewde and so vile an obedience. Iaropelc, Duke of Russia, solicited an Hungarian gentleman to betraye Boleslaus, King of Polonia, in contriving his death or furnishing the ruffians with meanes to work him some notable mischief. This gallant presently bestirres him in it, and more than ever applying himselfe to the king's service, obtained to bee of his counsell, and of those hee most trusted. By which advantages, and with the opportunity of his master's absence, hee betrayed Visilicia, a great and rich citie, to the Russians : which was whollie sakt and burnt by them, with a generall slaughter, both of the inhabitants, of what sexe or age soever, and a great number of nobility thereabouts, whom to that purpose he had assembled. Iaropelc, his anger thus asswaged with revenge, and his rage mitigated (which was not without pretext, for Boleslaus had mightily wronged and in like manner incensed him) and glutt with the fruite of treason, examining the ugliness thereof, naked and alone, and with impartiall eyes beholding the same, not distempered by passion, conceived such a remorse, and tooke it so to heart, that hee forthwith caused the eyes of his instrumentall executioner to be pulled out, and his tongue and privy parts to be cut off. Antigonus perswaded the Argyraspides soldiers to betray Eumenes their generall, and his adversarie, unto him; whom when they had delivered, and he had caused to be slaine, himselfe desired to be the commissary of divine

justice, for the punishment of so detestable a treacherie : and resigning them into the hands of the Governor of the Province, gave him expresse charge, in what manner soever it were, to rid himselfe of them, and bring them to some mischievous end. Whereby, of that great number they were, not one ever after sawe the smoake of Macedon. The better they served his turne, the more wicked hee judged them, and the more worthie of punishment. The slave that betrayed the corner wherein his master P. Sulpicius lay hid, was set at liberty, according to the promise of Syllas pro-scription : but according to the promise of common reason, being freed, hee was throwne headlong from off the Tarpeyan rocke. And Clovis, King of France, in lieu of the golden armes he had promised the three servants of Canacre, caused them to be hanged, after they had by his solicitation betraide their maister unto him. They hung them up with the purse of their reward about their neckes. Having satisfied their second and speciall faith, they also satisfie the generall and first. Mahomet the second, desirous to rid himselfe of his brother (through jealousy of rule, and according to the stile of that race) employed one of his officers in it ; who stifled him, by much water powred downe his throate all at once : which done, in expiation of the fact, he delivered the murthrer into the hands of his brother's mother (for they were brethren but by the father's side) shee, in his presence, opened his bosome, and with hir owne revenging handes searching for his heart, pluckt it out and cast it unto dogges to eate. Even unto vile dispositions (having made use of a filthy action) it is so sweete and pleasing, if they may with security, as it were, in way of recompence and holy correction, sowe one sure stitch of goodness and justice unto it. Besides, they respect the ministers of such horrible crimes as people that still upbraide them with them, and covet by their deaths to smother the knowledge and cancell the testimony of their practises. Now if, perhaps, not to frustrate the publicke neede of that last and desperate remedy, one reward you for it : yet hee who doth it (if hee bee not as bad himselfe, will hould you a most accursed and execrable creature. And deemeth you a greater traitor then he whom you have betrayed ; for with your owne handes hee touched the lewdnesse of your disposition, without disavowing, without object. He employeth you, as we do out-cast persons in the execution of justice : an office as profitable as little honest. Beside the basenesse of such commissions, there is

in them a prostitution of conscience. The daughter of Sejanus could not in Rome, by any true formall course of lawe, bee put to death, because shee was a virgin: that lawes might have their due course, shee was first deflowred by the common hangman and then strangled. Not his hand onely, but his soule is a slave unto publike commodity. When Amurath the first, to aggravate the punishment of his subjects who had given support unto his son's unnaturall rebellion, appointed their nearest kinsmen to lend their hands unto this execution: I finde it verie honest in some of them, who rather chose unjustly to bee held guiltie of anothers parricide then to serve justice with their owne. And whereas in some paltrie townes forced in my time, I have seene base varlets for savegarde of their owne lives, yeild to hang their friends and companions, I ever thought them of worse condition then such as were hanged. It is reported that Witoldus, Prince of Lithuania, introduced an order with that nation, which was that the party condemned to die should, with his owne handes, make himselfe away; finding it strange that a third man, being guiltlesse of the fact, shoulde bee employed and charged to commit a murder. When an urgent circumstance, or any violent or unexpected accident, induceth a prince for the necessitie of his estate, or as they say for state matters, to breake his worde and faith, or otherwise forceth him out of his ordinary duty, hee is to ascribe that necessity unto a lash of Gods rod. It is no vice, for hee hath quit his reason unto a reason more publike and more powerfull, but surely it is ill fortune. So that to one who asked mee what remedy, I replyde, none; were hee truly rackt betweene these two extreames (*Sed videat ne quarratur latebra perjurio*):¹ "But let him take heede he seeke not a starting hole for perjurie" hee must have done it; but if hee did it sans regret or scruple, if it greeved him not to doe it, 'tis an argument his conscience is but in ill tearmes. Now were there any one of so tender or cheverell a conscience, to whome no cure might seeme worthy of so extreame a remedy, I should prise or regard him no whit the lesse. He cannot loose himselfe more handsomely nor more excusable. We cannot doe every thing, nor bee in every place. When all is done, thus and thus must wee often, as unto our last anker and sole refuge, resigne the protection of our vessell unto the onely conduct of heaven. To what juster necessity can hee reserve himselfe? What is lesse possible

for him to do, then what he cannot effect, without charge unto his faith, and imputation to his honour? things which peradventure should bee dearer to him then his owne salvation and the safety of his people. When with enfoulded armes hee shall devoutly call on God for his ayde, may hee not hope that his fatherlie mercie shall not refuse the extraordinary favour and sinne-forgiving grace of His all powerfull hand, unto a pure and righteous hand? They are dangerous examples, rare and crased exceptions to our naturall rules: wee must yeelde unto them, but with great moderation and heedie circumspection. No private commodity may any way deserve wee should offer our conscience this wrong; the commonwealth may, when it is most apparent and important. Timoleon did fittle warrant and warde the strangenes of his exploits by the teares hee shed, remembering it was with a brotherlie hand hee slew the tyrant. And it neerey pinched his selfe-gnawne conscience, that he was compelled to purchase the common good at the rate of his honestie. The sacred Senate itselfe, by his meanes delivered from thraldome, durst not definitely decide of so haughtie an action, and rend in two so urgent and different semblances. But the Siracusans having opportunely and at that very instant sent to the Corinthians to require their protection, and a governour able to re-establish their towne in former majestie, and deliver Sicilie from a number of pettie tyrants, which grievously oppressed the same, they appointed Timoleon, with this new caveat and declaration: 'That according as hee should well or ill demeane himselfe in his charge, their sentence should incline either to grace him as the redeemer of his country, or disgrace him as the murderer of his brother. This fantastical conclusion hath some excuse upon the danger of the example and importance of an act so different, and they did well to discharge their judgement of it, or to embarke him some where else, and on their considerations.' Now the proceedings of Timoleon in his renowned jounie did soone yeelde his cause the cleerer, so worthily and virtuously did hee every way beare himselfe therein. And the good hap which ever accompanied him in the encumbrances and difficulties hee was to subdue in the achievement of his noble enterprise, seemed to bee sent him by the Gods, conspiring to second, and consenting to favour his justification. This mans end is excusable, if ever any could bee. But the encrease and profit of the publike revenues, which served the Roman Senate for a pretext of the ensuing

¹ Cic. Off. l. iii.

soule conclusion I purpose to relate, is not of sufficient force to warrant such injustice. Certaine cities had by the order and permission of the Senate, with money purchased their libertie at the hands of L. Sylla. The matter comming in question againe, the Senate condemned them to be fineable and taxed as before; and the money they had employed for their ransom should bee deemed as lost and forfeited. Civill warres do often produce such enormous examples, that we punish private men, for so much as they have beleevd us when wee were other then now wee are. And one same magistrate doth lay the penalty of his change on such as cannot do withal. The Schoole-master whippeth his scholler for his docility, and the guide striketh the blind man he leadeth. A horrible image of justice. Some rules in Philosophy are both false and faint. The example proposed unto us of respecting private utility before faith given, hath not sufficient power by the circumstance they adde unto it. Theeves have taken you, and on your oath to pay them a certaine sum of money, have set you at liberty againe. They erre that say an honest man is quit of his worde and faith without paying, beeing out of their hands. There is no such matter. What feare and danger hath once forced mee to will and consent unto, I am bound to will and performe, being out of danger and feare. And although it have but forced my tongue and not my will, yet am I bound to make my worde good and keepe my promise. For my part, when it hath sometimes unadvisedly over-runne my thought, yet have I made a conscience to disavowe the same. Otherwise wee should by degrees come to abolish all the right a third man taketh and may challenge of our promises. *Quasi verò fortis viro vis possit adhiberi*:¹ "As though any force could be used upon a valiant man." 'Tis onely lawfull for our private interest to excuse the breache of promise, if wee have rashlie promised things in themselves wicked and unjust. For, the right of vertue ought to over-rule the right of our bond. I have heretofore placed Epaminondas in the first rank of excellent men, and now recant it not. Unto what high pitch raised hee the consideration of his particular duty? who never slew man hee had vanquished; who for that invaluable good of restoring his country hir liberty, made it a matter of conscience to murder a Tyrant or his accomplices, without a due and formall courte of lawe: and who judged him a bad man, how good a citizen soever, that

amongst his enemies and in the fury of a battle, spared not his friend or his hoste. Loe here a minde of a rich composition. Hee watched unto the most violent and rude actions of men, goodness and courtesie, yea and the most choice and delicate that may be found in the schoole of Philo sophie. This so high-raised courage, so swelling and so obstinate against sorrow, death and povertie, was it nature or arte made it relent, even to the utmost straine of exceeding tendernes and debonarity of complexion? Being clothed in the dreadfull livery of steele and blood, he goeth on crushing and brusing a nation, invincible to all others but to himselfe: yet mildly relenteth in the midst of a combat or confusion, when he meets with his host or with his friend. Verily this man was deservedly fit to command in warre, which in the extremest furie of his innatd rage, made him to feelee the sting of courtesie, and remorse of gentlenesse then when, all inflamed, it foamed with furie and burned with murder. It is a miracle to be able to joyne any shew of justice with such actions. But it only belongeth to the unmatched courage of Epaminondas, in that confused plight, to joyne mildnesse and facility of the most gentle behaviour that ever was unto them, yea, and pure inntency itselfe. And whereas one told the Mamertins, that statutes were of no force against armed men: another to the tribune of the people, that the times of justice and of warre were two: a third, that the confused noise of warre and clangor of armeshindred him from understanding the sober voice of the lawes: this man was not so much as empeached from conceiving the milde sound of civilitie and kindnesse. Borrowed hee of his enemies the custome of sacrificing to the Muses (when he went to the warres) to qualifie by their sweetnesse and mildnesse that martiall furie and hostile surlinesse? Let us not feare, after so great a master, to hold that some things are unlawfull, even against our fellest enemies: that publike interest ought not to challenge all of all against private interest: *Manente memoria etiam in dissidio publicorum faderum privati juris*: "Some memorie of private right continuing even in disagreement of publike contracts."

— et nulla potentia vires
Præstandi, ne quid peccet amicus, habet:¹

No power hath so great might,
To make friends still goe right.

And that all things be not lawfull to an honest man, for the service of his king, the

¹ Cic. Off. l. iii.

¹ OVID. Pent. l. i. El. viii. 37.

generall cause and defence of the lawes.
*Non enim patria præstat omnibus officiis,
 et ipsi conducit pios habere cives in parentes:*¹

"For our country is not above all other duties: it is good for the country to have her inhabitants use pietie toward their parents." It is an instruction befitting the times: wee need not harden our hearts with these plates of iron and steele; it sufficeth our shoulders be armed with them: it is enough to dippe our pens in inke, too much to dye them in blood. If it be greatnesse of courage, and the effect of a rare and singular vertue, to neglect friendship, despise private respects and bonds; ones word and kindred, for the common good and obedience of the magistrate: it is verily able to excuse us from it, if we but alledge that it is a greatnesse unable to lodge in the greatnesse of Epaminondas his courage. I abhorre the enraged admonitions of this other unruly spirit.

— *dum tela micant, non vos pietatis
 imago*

*Ulla, nec aduersa conspecti fronte parentis
 Commoveant, vultus gladio turbante reuerdos.*²

While swords are brandisht, let no shew of grace
 Once movee you, nor your parents face to face,
 But with your swords disturb their reverend
 grace.

Let us bereave wicked, bloodie and traitorous dispositions of this pretext of reason: leave we that impious and exorbitant justice, and adhere unto more humane imitations. Oh, what may time and example bring to passe! In an encounter of the civill warres against Cinna, one of Pompeyes souldiers, having unwittingly slaine his brother, who was on the other side, through shame and sorrow presently killed himself; and some yeeres after, in another civill warre of the said people, a souldier boldly demanded a reward of his captaines for killing his owne brother. Falsly doe wee argue honour, and the beautie of an action, by its profit: and conclude as ill, to thinke every one is bound unto it, and that it is honest if it be commodious.

*Omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta.*³

All things alike to all
 Do not well-fitting fall.

Choose we out the most necessary and most beneficiall matter of human society, it will be a marriage; yet is it that the saints counsell findeth and deemeth the contrary side more honest, excluding from it the most reverend vocation of men; as wee to our races assigne such beasts as are of least esteeme.

CHAPTER II.

Of Repenting.

OTHERS fashion man, I repeat him; and represent a particular one, but ill made; and whom were I to forme anew, he should be far other than he is; but he is now made. And though the lines of my picture change and vary, yet lose they not themselves. The world runnes all on wheeles. All things therein moove without intermission; yea, the earth, the rockes of Caucasus, and the Pyramides of Ægypt, both with the publike and their own motion. Constancy itselfe is nothing but a languishing and wavering dance. I cannot settle my object; it goeth so quietly and staggering, with a naturall drunkennesse; I take it in this plight, as it is at the instant I amuse myselfe about it, I describe not the essence but the passage; not a passage from age to age, or as the people reckon, from seaven yeares to seaven, but from day to day, from minute to minute. My history must be fitted to the present. I may soone change, not onely fortune, but intention. It is a counter-roule of divers and variable accidents and irresolute imaginations, and sometimes contrary; whether it be that myselfe am other, or that I apprehend subjects by other circumstances and considerations. Howsoever, I may perhaps gaine-say myselfe, but truth (as Demades said) I never gaine-say. Were my mind settled, I would not essay, but resolve myselfe. It is still a prentise and a probationer. I propose a meane life and without luster; tis all one. They fasten all morall Philosophy as well to a popular and private life as to one of richer stuffe. Every man beareth the whole stampe of humane condition. Authors communicate themselves unto the world by some speciall and strange marke; I the first, by my generall disposition; as Michael de Montaigne, not as a grammarian, or a poet, or a lawyer. If the world complaine, I speake too much of myselfe, I complaine it thinkes no more of itselfe. But is it reason, that being so private in use, I should pretend to make myselfe publike in knowledge? Or is it reason I should produce into the world, where fashion and arte have such sway and command, the raw and simple effects of nature, and of a nature as yet exceeding weake? To write bookes without learning is it not to make a wall without stone or such like thing? Conceits of musicke are directed by arte, mine by hap. Yet have I this according to learning,

¹ Cic. *Off.* l. i. iii. ² LUCAN. l. vii. 320.

³ OVID. *Epist.* l. iii. *El.* viii. 7.

(that never man handled subject he understood or knew better then I doe this I have undertaken, being therein the cunningest man alive.

Secondly, that never man waded further into this matter, nor more distinctly sifted the parts and dependances of it, nor arrived more exactly and fully to the end he proposed unto himselfe. To finish the same, I have neede of naught but faithfulness; which is therein as sincere and pure as may be found. I speake truth, not my belly-full, but as much as I dare; and I dare the more the more I grow into yeares, for it seemeth, custome alloweth old age more liberty to babbell, and indiscretion to talke of itselfe. It cannot herein be, as in trades, where the craftsman and his worke doe often differ. Being a man of so sound and honest conversation, writ he so foolishly? Are such learned writings come from a man of so weake a conversation? who hath but an ordinary conceit, and writeth excellently, one may say his capacitie is borrowed, not of himselfe. A skilfull man is not skilfull in all things; but a sufficient man is sufficient everywhere, even unto ignorance. Here my booke and my selfe march together, and keepe one pace. Elsewhere one may commend or condemne the worke without the workeman, heere not; who toucheth one toucheth the other. He who shall judge of it without knowing him shall wrong himself more then me, he that knows it hath wholly satisfied mee. Happie beyond my merite, if I get this onely portion of publike approbation, as I may cause men of understanding to thinke I had beene able to make use and benefit of learning, had I beene endowed with any, and deserved better helpe of memorie; excuse wee here what I often say, that I seldome repent myselfe, and that my conscience is contented with itselfe; not of an angels or a horses conscience, but as of a mans conscience. Adding ever this clause, not of ceremonie, but of true and essentiall submission; that I speake inquiring and doubting, meerey and simply referring my selfe, from resolution, unto common and lawfull opinions. I teach not; I report: no vice is absolutely vice, which offendeth not, and a sound judgement accuseth not for, the deformitie and incommoditie thereof is so palpable, as peradventure they have reason who say it is chiefly produced by sottishnesse and brought forth by ignorance; so hard is it to imagine one should know it without hating it. Malice sucks up the greatest part of her owne venom, and therewith impoynsoneth herself. Vice leaveth, as an ulcer in the flesh, a repentance in the

soule, which still scratcheth and bloodieth itselfe. For reason effaceth other griefes and sorrowes, but engendereth those of repentance: the more yrkesome because inward: as the colde and heate of agues is more offensive then that which comes outward. I account vices (but each according to their measure) not onely those which reason disallows and nature condemnes, but such as mans opinion hath forged as false and erroneous, if lawes and custome authorize the same. In like manner there is no goodness but gladdeth an honest disposition. There is truly I wot not what kinde or congratulation of well doing which rejoyceth in ourselves, and a generous jollitie that accompanieth a good conscience. A minde courageously vicious may happily furnish itselfe with security, but shce cannot be fraught with this selfe-joyning delight and satisfaction. It is no small pleasure for one to feele himselfe preserved from the contagion of an age so infected as ours, and to say to himselfe; could a man enter and see even into my soule, yet should he not finde me guilty either of the affliction or ruine of any body, nor culpable of envie or revenge, nor of publike offence against the lawes, nor tainted with innovation, trouble or sedition; nor spotted with falsifying of my word: and although the libertie of times allowed and taught it every man, yet could I never be induced to touch the goods or dive into the purse of any French man, and have always lived upon mine own as wel in time of war as peace: nor did I ever make use of any poore mans labor without reward. These testimonies of an unspotted conscience are very pleasing, which naturall joy is a great benefit unto us: and the onely payment never faileth us. To ground the recompence of virtuous actions upon the approbation of others is to undertake a most uncertaine or troubled foundation, namely in an age so corrupt and times so ignorant as this is: the vulgar peoples good opinion is injurious. Whom trust you in seeing what is commendable: God keepe me from being an honest man, according to the description I dayly see made of honour, each one by himselfe. *Qua fuerant vitia, mores sunt:* "What erst were vices are now growne fashions." Some of my friends have sometimes attempted to schoole me roundly, and sift me plainly, either of their owne motion, or invited by me, as to an office, which to a well composed minde, both in profit and lovingnesse, exceedeth all the duties of sincere amity. Such have I ever entertained with open armes of curtesie and kinde acknowledgement. But now to

speake from my conscience I often found so much false measure in their reproaches and praises, that I had not greatly erred if I had rather erred then done well, after their fashion. Such as we especially, who live a private life not exposed to any gaze but our owne, ought in our hearts establish a touchstone, and there to touch our deedes and try our actions; and accordingly, now cherish and now chastise ourselves. I have my owne lawes and tribunall, to judge of mee, whither I addresse myselfe more than any where els. I restraints my actions according to other, but extend them according to myselfe. None but yourself knows rightly whether you be demiss and cruel, or loyal and devout. Others see you not, but guess you by uncertaine conjectures. They see not so much your nature as your arte. Adhere not then to their opinion, but hold unto your owne. *Tuo tibi iudicio est utendum. Virtutis et vitiorum grave ipsius conscientie pondus est: qua sublata jacent omnia:*¹ "You must use your owne judgement. The weight of the very conscience of vice and vertues is heavy: take that away and all is downe." But whereas it is said that repentance neerely followeth sin, seemeth not to imply sinne placed in his rich aray, which lodgeth in us as in his proper mansion. One may disavow and disclaime vices that surprise us, and whereto our passions transport us; but those which by long habits are rooted in a strong and anked in a powerful will, are not subject to contradiction. Repentance is but a denying of our will, and an opposition of our fantasies which diverts us here and there. It makes some disavow his former vertue and continence.

*Quæ mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
Vel cur his animis incoleus non redeunt genus?*²

Why was not in a youth same mind as now?

Or why beares not this mind a youthful brow?

That is an exquisite life which even in his owne private keepeth itselfe in awe and order. Every one may play the jugler, and represent an honest man upon the stage; but within, and in bosome, where all things are lawfull, where all is concealed; to keepe a due rule or formall decorum, that's the point. The next degree is to be so in ones owne home, and in his ordinary actions, whereof we are to give accompt to nobody, wherein is no study, nor art; and therefore Bias describing the perfect state or a family whereof (saith he) the maister be such inwardly by himselfe, as he is outwardly, for

feare of the lawes, and respect of mens speeches. And it was a worthy saying of Iulius Drusus, to those workemen, which for three thousand crownes offered so to reforme his house, that his neighbours should no more overlooke into it. I will give you sixe thousand (said he) and contrive it so that on all sides every man may looke into it. The custome of Agesilaus is remembered with honour, who in his travaile was wont to take up his lodging in churches, that the people and Gods themselves might pry into his private actions. Some have bene admirable to the world, in whom nor his wife, nor his servants ever noted anything remarkable. "Few men have bene admired of their familiars. No man hath bene a prophet, not onely in his house, but in his owne country," saith the experience of histories. Even so in things of nought. And in this base example is the image of greatnesse discerned. In my climate of Gascoigne they deeme it a jest to see mee in print. The further the knowledge which is taken of mee is from my home, of so much more worth am I. In Guienne I pay printers, in other places they pay mee. Upon this accident they ground, who living and present keepe close-lurking, to purchase credit when they shall be dead and absent. I had rather have lesse. And I cast not myselfe into the world, but for the portion I draw from it. That done I quit it. The people attend on such a man with wonderment, from a publike act, unto his owne doores; together with his robes hee leaves of his part: falling so much the lower by how much higher hee was mounted. View him within, there all is turbulent, disordered and vile. And were order and formality found in him, a lively, impartiall and well sorted judgement is required to perceive and fully to discern him in these base and private actions. Considering that order is but a dumpish and drowsie vertue: to gaine a battaile, performe an ambassage, and governe a people, are noble and worthy actions; to chide, laugh, sell, pay, love, hate, and mildly and justly to converse both with his owne and with himselfe; not to relent, and not gaine-say himselfe, are things more rare, more difficult and lesse remarkable.

Retired lives sustaine that way, whatever some say, offices as much more crabbed and extended then other lives doe. And private men (saith Aristotle) serve vertue more hardly and more highly attend her, then those which are magistrates or placed in authority. Wee prepare ourselves unto eminent occasions, more for glory then for conscience. The nearest way to come unto

¹ Cic. Nat. Deor. l. iii.

² Hor. Car. l. iv. Od. x. 7.

glory were to doe that for conscience which wee doe for glory. And me seemeth the vertue of Alexander representh much lesse vigor in her large theater, then that of Socrates in his base and obscure exercitation. I easily conceive Socrates in the roome of Alexander; Alexander in that of Socrates I cannot. If any aske the one what hee can do, he will answer, "Conquer the world;" let the same question bee demanded of the other, he will say, "Leade my life conformably to its naturall condition;" a science much more generous, more important, and more lawfull.

The worth of the minde consisteth not in going high, but in marching orderly. Her greatnesse is not exercised in greatnesse; in mediocrity it is. As those which judge and touch us inwardly make no great accompt of the brightnesse of our publike actions, and see they are but streakes and poyntes of cleare water surging from a bottome otherwise slimie and full of mud: so those who judge us by this gay outward apparence conclude the same of our inward constitution, and cannot couple popular faculties as theirs are, unto these other faculties which amaze them so farre from their levell. So do we attribute savage shapes and ougly formes unto divels. As who doeth not ascribe high-raised eyebrowes, open nostrils, a sterne frightfull visage, and a huge body unto Tamberlaine, as is the forme or shape of the imagination we have fore-conceived by the bruite of his name? had any heretofore shewed me Erasmus, I could hardly had bin induced to think but whatsoever he had said to his boy or hostes, had been Adages and Apothegmes. We imagine much more fitly an artificer upon his close stoole or on his wife, then a great judge, reverend for his carriage and regardfull for his sufficiencie; we think, that from those high thrones they should not abase themselves so low as to live. As vitious mindes are often incited to do well by some strange impulsion, so are vertuous spirits mooved to do ill. They must then be judged by their settled estate, when they are neare themselves, and as we say, at home, if at any time they be so; or when they are nearest unto rest, and in their naturall seate. Naturall inclinations are by institution helped and strengthened, but they neither change nor exceed. A thousand natures in my time have a thwart, a contrary discipline escaped toward vertue or toward vice.

*Sic ubi desueta silvis in carcere clausa,
Mansuere fove, et vultus posuere minaces,
Atque hominem didicerit pati, si torrida parum
Venit in ora cruer, redeunt rabiesque furorque,*

*Admonitque tument gustato sanguine fances,
Pervet, et à trepido vix abinet ira magistro.*

So when wilde beasts, disused from the wood,
Fierce looks laid-downe, grow tame, closed
in a cage,
Taught to beare man, if then a little blood
Touch their hot lips, furie returns and rage;
Their jawes by taste admonisht swell with
vaines,
Rage boyles, and from faint keeper scarce
abstaines.

These originall qualities are not grubb'd out, they are but covered and hidden. The Latin tongue is to me in a manner naturall; I understand it better than French; but it is now fortie yeares I have not made use of it to speake, nor much to write; yet in some extreame emotions and suddaine passions, wherein I have twice or thrice falne, since my yeares of discretion, and namely, once, when my father being in perfect health, fell all alone upon me in a swoone, I have ever, even from my very hart, uttered my first words in Latine: nature rushing and by force expressing itselfe against so long a custome; the like example is alleaged of divers others. Those which in my time have attempted to correct the passions of the world by new opinions, reforme the vices of apparence; those of essence they leave untouched if they encrease them not. And their encrease is much to be feared. We willingly protract al other well-doing upon these externall reformatations of lesse cost and of greater merit; whereby we satisfie good-cheape, other naturall consubstantiall and intestine vices. Looke a little into the course of our experience. There is no man (if he listen to himselfe) that doth not discover in himselfe a peculiar forme of his, a swaying forme, which wrestleth against the institution, and against the tempests of passions, which are contrary unto him. As for me, I feele not my selfe much agitated by a shocke; I commonly finde my selfe in mine owne place, as are sluggish and lumpish bodies. If I am not close and neare unto my selfe, I am never farre off; my debauches or excesses transport me not much. There is nothing extreame and strange; yet have I found fits and vigorous lusts. The true condemnation, and which toucheth the common fashion of our men, is that their very retreatate is full of corruption and filth. The idea of their amendment is blurred and deformed; their repentance crazed and faultie very neere as much as their sinne. Some, either because they are so fast and naturally joynd unto vice, or through long custome have lost all sense of its ugliness.

To others (of whose ranke I am) vice is burthenous, but they counter-balance it with pleasure, or other occasions, and suffer it, and at a certaine rate lend themselves unto it though basely and viciously. Yet might happily so remote a disposition of measure bee imagined, where with justice, the pleasure might excuse the offence, as we say of profit. Not onely being accidental, and out of sinne, as in thefts, but even in the very exercise of it, as in the acquaintance or copulation with women; where the provocation is so violent, and as they say, sometime irresistible. In a towne of a kinsman of mine, the other day, being in Armignac, I saw a country man, commonly surnamed the Theefe, who himselfe reported his life to have been thus. Being borne a begger, and perceiving that to get his bread by the sweate of his browe and labour of his hands, would never sufficiently arme him against penury, he resolved to become a Theefe; and that trade had employed all his youth safely, by meanes of his bodily strength: for he ever made up harvest and vintage in other mens grounds; but so farre off, and in so great heapes, that it was beyond imagination one man should in one night carry away so much upon his shoulders: and was so carefull to equall the pray and disperse the mischief he did, that the spoile was of lesse import to every particular man.

Hee is now in old yeares indifferently rich; for a man of his condition (Godamercy his trade) which he is not ashamed to confesse openly, and to reconcile himselfe with God, he affirmeth, to be daly ready, with his gettings, and other good turnes, to satisfie the posterity of those hee hath heretofore wronged or robbed; which if himselfe bee not of abilitie to performe (for hee cannot do all at once) hee will charge his heires withall, according to the knowledge he hath of the wrongs by him done to every man. By this description, bee it true or false, he respecteth theft, as a dishonest and unlawfull action, and hateth the same: yet lesse then pinching want: he repents but simply; for in regard it was so counterbalanced and recompenced, he repenteth not. That is not that habit which incorporates us unto vice, and confirmeth our understanding in it; nor is it that boysterous winde, which by violent blasts dazeleth and troubleth our mindes, and at that time confoundes and overwhelmes both us, our judgement, and all into the power of vice. What I doe is ordinarily full and compleate, and I march (as wee say) all in one pace: I have not many motions, that hide themselves and slinke away from my reason, or which very neare are not guided

by the consent of all my partes, without division, or intestine sedition: my judgement hath the whole blame or commendation; and the blame it hath once, it hath ever: for almost from its birth it hath bene one of the same inclination, course and force. And in matters of generall opinions, even from my infancy, I ranged myselfe to the point I was to hold. Some sinnes there are outrageous, violent and seldaine; leave we them.

But those other sinnes, so often reassumed, determined and advised upon, whether they be of complexion, or of profession and calling, I cannot conceive how they should so long be settled in one same courage, unlesse the reason and conscience of the sinner were therunto inwardly privie and constantly willing. And how to imagine or fashion the repentance thereof, which, he vanteth, doth some times visit him, seemeth somewhat hard unto me. I am not of Pythagoras Sect, that men take a new soule, when to receive Oracles they approach the images of Gods, unless he would say with all, that it must be a strange one, new, and lent him for the time: our owne, giving so little signe of purification, and cleannesse worthe of that office. They doe altogether against the Stoicall precepts, which appoint us to correct the imperfections and vices we finde in our selves, but withall forbid us to disturbe the quiet of our minde. They make us beleve they feele great remorse, and are inwardly much displeased with sinne; but of amendment, correction or intermission, they shew us none. Surely there can be no perfect health, where the disease is not perfectly removed. Were repentance put in the scale of the ballance, it would weigh down sinne. I finde no humour so easie to be counterfeited as Devotion: if one conforme not his life and conditions to it, her essence is abstruse and concealed, her apparence gentle and stately.

For my part, I may in generall wish to be other then I am; I may condemne and mislike my universall forme, I may beseech God to grant me an undefiled reformation, and excuse my naturall weakenesse: but mee seemeth I ought not to terme this repentance, no more then the displeasure of being neither Angell nor Cato. My actions are squared to what I am and confirmed to my condition. I cannot doe better: and repentance doth not properly concerne what is not in our power; sorrow doth. I may imagine infinite dispositions of a higher pitch, and better governed then myne, yet doe I nothing better my faculties; no more then mine arme becommeth stronger, or my wit more excellent, by conceiving some

others to be so. If to suppose and wish a more nobler working then ours, might produce the repentance of our owne, wee should then repent us of our most innocent actions: for so much as we judge that in a more excellent nature, they had bene directed with greater perfection and dignity, and ourselves would doe the like. When I consult with my age of my youtnes proceedings, I finde that commonly (according to my opinion), I managed them in order. This is all my resistance is able to performe, I flatter not myselfe: in like circumstances, I should ever be the same. It is not a spot, but a whole dye that staynes mee. I acknowledge no repentance that is superficial, meane, and ceremonious. It must touch me on all sides before I can terme it repentance. It must pinch my entrailles, and afflict them as deeply and thoroughly as God himselfe beholds mee. When in negotiating, many good fortunes have slipt me for want of good discretion, yet did my projects make good choyce, according to the occurrences presented unto them. Their manner is ever to take the easier and surer side. I finde that in my former deliberations, I proceeded, after my rules, discreetely for the subjects state propounded to mee; and in like occasions, would proceede alike a hundred yeares hence. I respect not what now it is, but what it was, when I consulted of it. The consequence of all dessignes consists in the seasons; occasions passe, and matters change uncessantly. I have in my time runne into some grosse, absurde, and important errors; not for want of good advise, but of good happe. There are secret and indivinable parts in the objects men doe handle, especially in the nature of men and mute conditions without shew, and sometimes unknowne of the very possessors, produced and stirred up by suddaine occasions. If my wit could neyther finde nor presage them, I am not offended with it; the function thereof is contained within its owne limits. If the successe beare me, and favour the side I refused, there is no remedy: I fall not out with myselfe: I accuse my fortune, not my endeavour: that's not called repentance. Phocion had given the Athenians some counsell, which was not followed: the matter, against his opinion, succeeding happily. "How now, Phocion (quoth one), art thou pleased the matter hath thrived so well?" "Yea (said hee) and I am glad of it; yet repent not the advise I gave."

When any of my friends come to me for counsell, I bestow it franklie and clearelie, not as (well-nigh all the world doth) waver-

ing at the hazard of the matter, whereby the contrary of my meaning may happen: that so they may justly finde fault with my advise: for which I care not greatly. For they shall doe me wrong, and it became not mee to refuse them that dutie. I have no body to blame for my faults or misfortunes but myself. For in effect I seldome use the advise of other unless it be for complement sake, and where I have need of instruction or knowledge of the fact. Marry in things wherein nought but judgement is to be employed; strange reasons may serve to sustaine, but not to divert me. I lend a favourable and courteous eare unto them all. But (to my remembrance) I never believed any but mine owne. With me they are but flies and moathes, which distract my will. I little regard mine owne opinions, other mens I esteeme as little: fortune payes mee accordingly. If I take no counsell I give as little. I am not much sought after for it, and lesse credited when I give it: neither know I any enterprise, either private or publike, that my advise hath directed and brought to conclusion. Even those whom fortune had someway tyde thereunto, have more willingly admitted the direction of others conceits then mine. As one that am as jealous of the rights of my quiet, as of those of my authority; I would rather have it thus.

Where leaving me, they jumpe with my profession, which is wholly to settle and containe me in my selfe. It is a pleasure unto me to bee disinterested of other mens affayres, and disingaged from their contentions. When sutes or businesses bee overpast, howsoever it bee, I greeve little at them. For, the imagination that they must necessarily happen so, puts mee out of paine; behould them in the course of the universe, and enchained in Stoycall causes, your fantazie cannot by wish or imagination remooove one point of them, but the whole order of things must reverse both what is past and what is to come. Moreover, I hate that accidentall repentance which olde age brings with it.

Hee that in ancient times said he was beholden to yeares because they had ridde him of voluptuousnesse, was not of mine opinion: I shall never give impuissance thanks for any good it can do me: *Nec tam aversa unquam videbitur ab opere suo providentia, ut debilitas interoptima inveniatur*: "Nor shall foresight ever bee seene so averse from hir owne worke, that weaknesse bee found to bee one of the best things." Our appetites are rare in olde age: the blowe overpassed, a deepe satiety seizeth upon us: therein I see no conscience.

Fretting care and weaknesse imprint in us an effeminate and drowzie vertue.

Wee must not suffer ourselves so fully to bee carried into naturall alterations as to corrupt or adulterate our judgement by them. Youth and pleasure have not heretofore prevailed so much over me, but I could ever (even in the midst of sensualities) discern the ugly face of sinne: nor can the distaste which yeares bring on me, at this instant, keepe mee from discerning that of voluptuousnesse in vice. Now I am no longer in it, I judge of it as if I were still there. I who lively and attentively examine my reason, finde it to be the same that possessed me in my most dissolute and licentious age; unless, perhaps, they being enfeebled and empyred by yeares, doe make some difference: and finde, that what delight it refuseth to affoorde mee in regarde of my bodilie health, it would no more denie mee, then in times past, for the health of my soule. To see it out of combate, I holde it not the more couragious. My temptations are so mortified and crazed as they are not worthy of its oppositions: holding but my hand before me, I becalme them. Should one present that former concupiscence unto it, I feare it would be of lesse power to sustaine it than heretofore it hath beene. I see in it, by itselfe no increase of judgement, nor accesse of brightnesse; what it now judgeth, it did then. Wherefore if there be any amendment, 'tis but diseased. Oh miserable kinde of remedie to be beholden unto sickness for our health. It is not for our mishap, but for the good success of our judgement to performe this office. Crosses and afflictions make me doe nothing but curse them. They are for people that cannot bee awaked but by the whip, the course of my reason is the nimble in prosperity. It is much more distracted and busied in the digesting of mischiefs than of delights, I see much clearer in faire weather. Health forewarneth me as with more pleasure, so to better purpose than sickness. I approached the nearest I could unto amendment and regularity, when I should have enjoyed the same; I should be ashamed and vexed that the misery and mishap of my old age could exceede the health, attention, and vigor of my youth: and that I should be esteemed, not for what I have beene, but for what I am leaft to be. "The happy life (in my opinion), not (as said Antisthenes) the happy death, is it that makes mans happinesse in this world."

I have not preposterously busied myselfe to tie the taile of a Philosopher unto the head and bodie of a varlet: nor that this paultrie end should disavow and belie the

fairest, soundest, and longest part of my life. I will present myselfe and make a generall muster of my whole, everywhere uniformly. Were I to live againe it should be as I have already lived. I neither deplore what is past, nor dread what is to come: and if I be not deceived, the inward parts have neereley resembled the outward. It is one of the chiefeest points wherein I am beholden to fortune, that in the course of my bodies estate, each thing hath beene carried in season. I have seene the leaves, the blossoms, and the fruit; and now see the drooping and withering of it. Happily, because naturally. I beare my present miseries the more gently because they are in season, and with greater favour make me remember the long happinesse of my former life. In like manner my discretion may well bee of like proportion in the one and the other time: but sure it was of much more performance, and had a better grace, being fresh, jolly, and full of spirit, then now that it is wornie, decrepite, and toylesome.

I therefore renounce these casual and dolorous reformatiōns. God must touch our heartes; our conscience must amende of itselfe, and not by re-inforcement of our reason, nor by the enfeebling of our appetites. Voluptuousnesse in itselfe is neither pale nor discoloured to bee discerned by bleare and troubled eyes. Wee should affect temperance and chastity for itselfe, and for Gods cause, who hath ordained them unto us: that which caters bestow upon us, and which I am beholden to my chollicke, is for neither temperance nor chastitie. A man cannot boast of contemning or combating sensuality if hee see her not, or know not her grace, her force, and most attractive beauties. I know them both, and therefore may speake it. But mee thinks our soules in age are subject unto more importunate diseases and imperfections then they are in youth. I said so, being young, when my beardlesse chinne upbraided me; and I say it againe now that my gray beard gives me authority. We entitle wisdom, the frowardnesse of our humours, and the distaste of present things; but in truth wee abandon not vices so much as we change them; and in my opinion for the worse. Besides a sillie and ruinous pride, cumbersome tattle, wayward and unsotiable humours, superstition, and a ridiculous carking for wealth, when the use of it is well-nigh lost, I finde the more envie, injustice, and lewdnesse in it. It sets more wrinkles in our minds then on our foreheads: nor are there any spirits, or very rare ones, which in growing old taste not sorely and mustily. Man marcheth entirely

towards his increase and decrease. View but the wisdom of Socrates, and divers circumstances of his condemnation. I dare say he something lent himself unto it by prevarication of purpose: being so neere, and at the age of seventy, to endure the benumbing of his spirits richest pace, and

willingly amplifieth, and wire-draws the same, even unto the highest pitch of toile. It's idleness is therefore a painefull trade unto mee, and offensive to my health. Most wits have neede of extravagant stuffe, to un-benume and exercise themselves: mine hath neede of it rather to settle and

is a powerful maladie which naturally and imperceptibly glideth into us: there is required great provision of study, heed, and precaution to avoid the imperfections wherewith it chargeth us; or at least to weaken their further progresse. I finde that notwithstanding all my entrenchings, by little and little it getteth ground upon me: I hold out as long as I can, but know not whither at length it will bring me. Happe what happe will, I am pleased the world know from what height I tumbled.

CHAPTER III.

Of three Commerces or Societies.

WE must not cleave so fast unto our humours and dispositions. Our chiefest sufficiency is to apply our selves to divers fashions. It is a being, but not a life, to bee tied and bound by necessity to one onely course. The goodliest mindes are those that have most variety and pliability in them. Behold an honourable testimony of old Cato. *Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceret, quodcumque ageret.*¹ "He had a wit so turneable for all things alike, as one would say hee had bene onely borne for that hee went about to do." Were I to dresse my selfe after mine owne manner, there is no fashion so good whereto I would be so affected or tied as not to know how to leave and loose it. Life is a motion unequall, irregular, and multiforme. It is not to be the friend (lesse the master) but the slave of ones selfe to follow uncessantly, and bee so addicted to his inclinations, as hee cannot stray from them, nor wrest them. This I say now, as being extreemly pestered with the importnity of my minde, forso much as shee cannot amuse her selfe, but whereon she is busied; nor employ her selfe, but bent and whole. How light soever the subject is one gives it, it

the most laborious care and principall studie of it is to studie itselfe. Bookes are one of those businesses that seduce it from studie. At the first thoughts that present themselves, it rouseth up and makes proofe of all the vigour it hath. It exerciseth its function sometimes toward force, sometimes towards order and comelinesse, it rangeth, moderates and fortifieth. It hath of itselfe to awaken the faculties of it: Nature having given it, as unto all other, matter of its owne for advantage, subjects fit enough whereon to devise and determine. Meditation is a large and powerfull study to such as vigorously can taste and employ themselves therein. I had rather forge then furnish my minde.

There is no office or occupation either weaker or stronger then that of entertaining of ones thoughts according to the mind, whatsoever it be. The greatest make it their vocation, *Quibus vivere est cogitare*, to whom it is all one to live and to meditate. Nature hath also favoured it with this privilege, that there is nothing we can do so long, nor action whereto we give ourselves more ordinarily and easily. It is the worke of Gods (saith Aristotle) whence both their happinesse and ours proceedeth. Reading serves mee especially to awake my conceit by divers objects: to busie my judgement, not my memory. Few entertainements then stay mee without vigour and force. 'Tis true that courtesie and beautie possesse mee as much or more then waight and depth. And because I slumber in all other communications, and lend but the superficial parts of my attention unto them, it often befalleth mee in such kinde of weake and absurd discourses (discourses of countenance) to blurt out and answer ridiculous toles and fond absurdities, unworthy a childe; or wilfully to hold my peace; therewithall more foolishly and incivilly. I have a kind of raving fanciful behaviour, that retireth mee into myselfe; and on the other side, a grosse and childish ignorance of many ordinary things; by means of which two qualities, I have in my daies committed five or six as sottish trickes as any one whosoever; which to my derogation may bee reported. But to

¹ Liv. *Ecl. Mac.* l. ix.

¹ Sen. *Epist.* lvi.

follow my purpose, this harsh complexion of mine makes me nice in conversing with men (whom I must picke and cull out for the nonce) and unfit for common actions. Wee live and negotiate with the people : if their behaviour importune us, if wee disdaine to lend ourselves to base and vulgar spirits, which often are as regular as those of a finer mould ; and all wisdom is unsavourie that is not conformed to common insipience. Wee are no longer to intermeddle either with our or other mens affaires ; and both publicke and private forsake such kind of people.

The least wrested and most naturall proceedings of our minde are the fairest ; the best occupations, those which are least forced. Good God, how good an office doth wisdom unto those whose desires she squareth according to their power. There is no science more profitable. As one may, was the burden and favoured saying of Socrates : a sentence of great substance. Wee must addresse and stay our desires to things most easie and neerest. Is it not a fond-peevisch humour in mee to disagree from a thousand to whom my fortune joineth mee, without whom I cannot live, to adhere unto one or two that are out of my commerce and conversion ; or rather to a fantastick conceit, or fancieful desire, for a thing I cannot obtaine ? My soft behaviours and milde manners, enemies to all sharpnesse and foes to all bitterness, may easily have discharged mee from envie and contention. To bee beloved, I say not, but not to be hated, never did man give more occasion. But the coldnesse of my conversation hath with reason robd mee of the goodwill of many ; which may be excused if they interpret the same to other or worse sense. I am most capable of getting rare amities, and continuing exquisite acquaintances. For so as with so greedie hunger I snatch at such acquaintances as answer my taste and square with my humour. I so greedily produce and headlong cast myself upon them, that I do not easily misse to cleave unto them, and where I light on, to make a steady impression ; I have often made happie and successfull triall of it.

In vulgar worldly friendships, I am somewhat cold and barren : for my proceeding is not naturall, if not unresisted and with hoised-full sailes. Moreover, my fortune having enured and allured mee, even from my infancie, to one sole singular and perfect amitie, hath verily, in some sort, distasted mee from others : and overdeeply imprinted in my fantasie, that it is a beast sociable and for companie, and not of troupe, as said an ancient writer, So that it is natu-

rally a paine unto mee to communicate my selfe by halves and with modification : and that servile or suspicious wisdom which in the conversation of these numerous and imperfect amities, is ordained and proposed unto us : prescribed in these dayes especially, wherein one cannot speake of the world but dangerously or falsely. Yet I see, that who (as I do) makes for his ende, the commodities of his life (I meane essentiall commodities) must avoide as a plague these difficulties and quaintnesse of humour.

I should commend a high rayed minde, that could both bende and discharge itselfe : that whereever hir fortune might transport hir, shee might continue constant : that could discourse with hir neighbours of all matters, as of hir building, of hir hunting and of any quarrell ; and entertaine with delight a carpenter or a gardiner. I envie those which can be familiar with the meanest of his followers, and vouchsafe to contract friendship and frame discourse with their own tenants. Nor do I like the advise of Plato, ever to speake imperiously unto our attendants, without blithnesse and sance any familiarity : be it to men or women servants. For, besides my reason, it is inhumanity and injustice to attribute so much unto that prerogative of fortune and the governement : where lesse inequality is permitted betwene the servant and master, is in my conceite the more indifferent. Some other study to rouse and raise the minde, but I to abase and prostrate mine : it is not faulty but in extension.

*Narras et genus Æaci,
Et pugnatâ sacro bella sub Ilio.
Uno Chium pretio cadum
Mercurius, quis aquam temperat ignibus,
Uno præbente domum, et quata
Pelignis carcam frigoribus, laces.*¹

You tell of Æacus the pedigree ;
The warres at sacred Troye you do display.
You tell not at what price a hoghead we
May buy of the best wine ; who shall allaye
Wine-fire with water, at whose house to holde.
At what a-clock I may be kept from colde.

Even as the Lacedemonian valour had neede of moderation, and of sweet and pleasing sounds of flutes, to flatter and allay it in time of warre, least it should runne headlong into rashnesse and fury : whereas all other nations use commonly peacing sounds and strong shouts, which violently excite and enflame their souldiers courage : so thinke I (against ordinary custome) that in the employment of our spirit, wee have for the most part more need of leade then wings ; of coldnesse and quiet,

¹ HOR. *Car.* l. ii. 3, *Od.* xix.

then of heate and agitation. Above all, in my mind, the onely way to play the foole well is to seeme wise among fooles: to speake as though ones tongue were ever bent to *Faular in punta di forchetta*:¹ "To syllabize or speake mincingly." One must lend himself unto those hee is with, and sometimes affect ignorance. Set force and subtiltie aside; in common employments 'tis enough to reserve order; dragge your selfe even close to the ground, they will have it so. The learned stumble willingly on this block: making continuall muster and open show of their skill, and dispersing their bookes abroad: and have in these dayes so filled the closets, and possessed the eares of Ladyes, that if they retaine not their substance, at least they have their countenance: using in all sorts of discourse and subject how base or popular soever, a newe, an affected and learned fashion of speaking and writing.

*Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta, quid vltra?
Concumbunt docte.*²

They in this language feare, in this they fashion Their joyes, their cares, their rage, their inward passion;

What more? they learned are in copulation.

And alledge Plato and Saint Thomas for things, which the first man they meete would decide as well, and stand for as good a witnesse. Such learning as could not enter into their minde, hath staid on their tongues. If the well-borne will give any credit unto me, they shall be pleased to make their own and naturall riches to prevaile and be of worth: They hide and shroud their formes under forraine and borrowed beauties: It is great simplicity for anybody to smother and conceale his owne brightness, to shine with a borrowed light: They are buried and entombed under the arte of CAPSVLA-TOTÆ, it is because they do not sufficiently know themselves: the world contains nothing of more beauty: It is for them to honour artes, and to beautifie embellishment. What neede they more then to live beloved and honoured: They have, and know but too much in that matter. There needes but a little rousing and enflaming of the faculties that are in them.

When I see them meddling with Rhetoricke, with Law, and with Logicke, and such like trash, so vaine and unprofitable for their use, I enter into feare that those who advise them to such things, doe it that they may have more law to governe them under that pretence. For what other ex-

cuse can I devise for them? It is sufficient, that without us, they may frame, or roule the grace of their eyes, unto cheerfulness, unto severity, and unto mildnesse: and season a "No" with frowardnesse, with doubt and with favour; and require not an interpreter in discourses made for their service. With this learning they command without controule, and over-rule both Regents and Schooles. Yet if it offend them to yeeld us any pre-eminence, and would for curiosity sake have part in bookes also: Poesie is a study fit for their purpose, being a wanton, amusing, subtil, disguised, and prattling arte; all in delight, all in shew, like to themselves. They may also select divers commodities out of History. In Morall Philosophy they may take the discourses which enable them to judge of our humours, to censure our conditions, and to avoide our guiles and treacheries; to temper the rashnesse of their owne desires, to husband their liberty: lengthen the delights of life, gently to beare the inconstancy of a servant, the peevishnesse or rudenesse of a husband, the importunity of yeares, the unwelcomnesse of wrinkles, and such like minde-troubling accidents. Loe heare the most and greatest share of learning I would assigne them.

There are some particular, retired and close dispositions. My essentiall forme is fit for communication and production: I am all outward and in apparence; borne for society and unto friendship. The solitude I love and commend is especially but to retire my affections and redeeme my thoughts unto my selfe: to restraine and close up, not my steppes, but my desires and my cares, resigning all forraigne solicitude and trouble, and mortally shunning all manner of servitude and obligation; and not so much the throng of men as the importunity of affaires. Locall solitarinesse (to say truth) doth rather extend and enlarge me outwardly: I give my selfe to State-businesse and to the world more willingly when I am all alone. At the court, and in presse of people, I close and slinke into mine owne skinne. Assemblies thrust mee againe into my selfe. And I never entertaine my selfe so fondly, so licentious, and so particularly, as in places of respect and ceremonious discretion. Our follies make mee not laugh, but our wisdomes doe. Of mine owne complexion, I am no enemy to the agitations and stirrings of our Courts: I have there past great part of my life; and am inured to bee merry in great assemblies; so it be by intermission, and sutable to my humour.

But this tendernes and coinesse of judgement (wherof I speake) doth perforce tie

¹ Italian proverb.

² JUVEN. SAT. VI. 189.

me unto solitarinesse. Yen even in mine owne house, in the midst of a numerous family and most frequented houses, I see people more then a good many, but seldome such as I love to converse or communicate withall. And there I reserve, both for my selfe and others, an unaccustomed liberty; making truce with ceremonies, assistance, and invitings, and such other troublesome ordinances of our courtesies (O servile custome and infortunate manner) there every man demeaneth himselfe as hee pleaseth, and entertaineth what his thoughts affect: whereas I keepe my selfe silent, meditating and close, without offence to my guests or friends.

The men whose familiarity and society I hunt after, are those which are called honest, virtuous and sufficient: the image of whom distaste and divert mee from others. It is (being rightly taken) the rarest of our formes; and a forme or fashion chiefly due unto nature.

The end or scope of this commerce is principally and simply familiarity, conference and frequentation: the exercise of mindes, without other fruite. In our discourses all subjects are alike to me: I care not though they want either weight or depth; grace and pertinence are never wanting; all therein is tainted with a life and constant judgement, and commixt with goodnesse, liberty, cheerefulness, and kindness. It is not onely in the subject of Law, and affaires of Princes, that our spirit sheweth its beautie, grace and vigor: it sheweth them as much in private conferences. I know my people by their very silence and smyling, and peradventure discover them better at a table then sitting in serious counsell.

Hippomachus said, hee discerned good wrestlers but by seeing them march through a street. If Learning vouchsafe to step into our talke, shee shall not be refused; yet must not shee bee sterne, mairing, imperious and infortunate, as commonly shee is; but assistant and docile of herselfe. Therein wee seeke for nothing but recreation and pastime: when we shall looke to be instructed, taught and resolved, we will go seeke and sue to hir in hir throne. Let hir if she please keepe from us at that time; for, as commodious and pleasing as shee is: I presume that for a neede we could spare hir presence, and doe our businesse well enough without hir. Wits well borne, soundly bred and exercised in the practise and commerce of men, become gracious and plausible of themselves. Arte is but the checke-roule and register of the productions uttered and conceites produced by them.

The company of faire and society of honest women is likewise a sweet commerce for me: *Nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus.* "For we also have learned eyes." If the minde have not so much to solace himselfe as in the former, the corporall senses, whose part is more in the second, bring it to a proportion neere unto the other: although in mine opinion not equall. But it is a society wherein it behooveth a man somewhat to stand upon his guard: and especially those that are of a strong constitution, and whose body can do much,

In my youth I heated myselfe therein and was very violent: and indured all the rages and furious assaults which Poets say happen to those who, without order or discretion, abandon themselves over-loosely and riotously unto it. True it is indeed, that the same lash hath since stood me instead of an instruction.

*Quicunque Argolico de classe Capharea fugit,
Semper ab Euboeis vela retorquet aquis.*¹

Greeke sailors that Capharean Rockes did fly,
From the Euboean Seas their sailes still ply.

It is folly to fasten all ones thoughts upon it, and with a furious and indiscreet affection to engage himselfe unto it: but on the other side, to meddle with it without love or bond of affection, as comedians do, to play a common part of age and manners, without ought of their owne but bare-conned words, is verily a provision for ones safety: and yet is a cowardly one; as is that of one who would forgoe his honour, his profit or his pleasure, for feare of danger; for it is certaine that the practisers of such courses cannot hope for any fruite able to moove or satisfie a worthy minde.

One must very earnestly have desired that whereof he would enjoy an absolute delight: I meane, though fortune should unjustly favour their intention: which often hapneth, because there is no woman, how deformed or unhandosome soever, but thinks herselfe lovely, amiable and praiseworthy, either for hir age, hir haire or gate (for there are generally more faire then foule ones): and the Brachmanian maides wanting other commendations, by proclamation for that purpose, made shew of their matrimoniall parts unto the people assembled, to see if thereby at least they might get them husbands. By consequence there is not one of them, but upon the first oath one maketh to serve her, will very easily be perswaded to thinke well of herselfe. Now this common treason and

¹ Cic. *Parad.*

² Ovid. *Trist.* l. i. El. i. 83.

ordinary protestations of men in these dayes must needs produce the effects experience already discovereth : which is, that either they joyne together, and cast away themselves on themselves to avoid us, or on their side follow also the example wee give them ; acting their part of the play without passion, without care, and without love, lending themselves to this entercourse : *Neque affectui suo aut alieno obnoxie* : "Neither liable to their own nor other folkes affection." They think, according to Lyssas perswasions in Plato, they may so much the more profitably and commodiously yeeld unto us, by how much lesse we love them : wherein it will happen as in comedies, the spectators shall have as much or more pleasure as the comedians. For my part, I no more acknowledge Venus without Cupid, then a motherhood without an offspring : they are things which enterlend and enter-owe own another their essence. Thus doth this cozening rebound on him that useth it, and as it cost him little, so gets he not much by it. Those which made Venus a goddess, have respected that her principall beautie was incorporeall and spirituall. But shee whom these kinde of people hunt after, is not so much as humane, nor also brutall ; but such as wilde beasts would not have her so filthy and terrestriall. We see that imagination enflames them, and desire or lust urgeth them, before the body : we see in one and other sex, even in whole herds, choise and distinctions in their affections, and amongst themselves, acquaintances of long continued good-will and liking. And even those to whom age denieth bodily strength, doe yet bray, neigh, roare, skip and wince for love. Before the deed we see them full of hope and heat ; and when the body hath plaid his part, even tickle and tingle themselves with the sweetness of that remembrance : some of them swell with pride at parting from it, others all weary and glutted, ring out songs of glee and triumph. Who makes no more of it but to discharge his body of some naturall necessitie, hath no cause to trouble others with so curious preparation. It is no food for a greedy and clownish hunger. As one that would not be accounted better than I am, thus much I will display of my youths wanton-errors : Not onely for the danger of ones health that follows the game (yet could I not avoid two, although light and cursorie assaults) but also for contempt, I have not much bene given to mercenarie and common acquaintances. I have coveted to set an edge on that sensuall pleasure by difficultie, by desire, and for some glory. And

liked Tiberius his fashion, who in his amours was swaied as much by modesty and noblesse as by any other quality. And Floras humour, who would prostitute herselfe to none worse then Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, and tooke delight in the dignitie and greatnesse of her lovers, doth somewhat sute with mine. Surely glittering pearles and silken cloathes adde something unto it, and so doe titles, nobilitie and a worthie traine. Besides which, I made high esteeme of the minde, yet so as the body might not justly be found fault withall : For, to speake my conscience, if either of the two beauties were necessarily to be wanting, I would rather have chosen to want the mentall, whose use is to be employed in better things. But in the subject of love, a subject that chiefly hath reference unto the two senses of seeing and touching, something may be done without the graces of the minde, but little or nothing without the corporall. Beautie is the true availefull advantage of women : it is so peculiarly theirs, that ours, though it require some features and different allurements, is not in her right cue or true bias, unlesse confused with theirs : childish and beardslesse. It is reported that such as serve the great Turke under the title of beautie (whereof the number is infinite) are dismissed at furthest when they once come to the age of two and twenty yeeres. Discourse, discretion, together with the offices of true amitie, are better found amongst men : and therefore governe they the worlds affairs. These two commences or societies are accidental and depending of others ; the one is troublesome and tedious for its raritie, the other withers with old age ; nor could they have sufficiently provided for my lives necessities. That of bookes, which is the third, is much more solid-sure and much more ours, some other advantages it yeeldeth to the two former, but hath for her share constancie and the facilitie of her service. This accomteth and secondeth all my course, and everywhere assisteth me : it comforts me in age and solaceth me in solitarinesse ; it easeth mee of the burthen of a weary some sloth : and at all times rids me of tedious companies : it abateth the edge of fretting sorrow, on condition it be not extreme and over-insolent. To divert me from any importunate imagination or insinuating conceit, there is no better way then to have recourse unto books ; with ease they allure mee to them, and with facility they removee them all. And though they perceive I neither frequent nor seek them, but wanting other more essential

lively, and more naturall commodities, they never mutinie or murmur at mee; but still entertaine mee with one and selfe-same visage. He may well walke alofte that leades his horse by the bridle, saith the proverbe. And our James king of Naples and Sicillie, who being faire, young, healthy and in good plight, caused himselfe to be caried abroad in a plaine wagon or skreene, lying upon an homely pillow of coarse feathers, cloathed in a sute of home spinne gray, and a bonet of the same, yet royally attended on by a gallant troupe of nobles, of litters, coches, and of all sorts of choiced horses, a number of gentlemen and officers, represented a tender and wavering austerity. The sicke man is not to be moved that hath his health in his sleeve. In the experience and use of his sentence, which is most true, consisteth all the com-mo-ditie I reape of bookes. In effect I make no other use of them than those who know them not. I enjoy them, as a miser doth his gold; to know that I may enjoy them when I list, my mind is settled and satisfied with the right of possession. I never travel without bookes, nor in peace nor in warre: yet doe I passe many dayes and moneths without using them. It shall be anon, say I, or to-morrow, or when I please; in the meane while the time runnes away, and passeth without hunting me. For it is wonderfull what repose I take, and how I continue in this consideration, that they are at my elbow to delight me when time shall serve; and in acknowledging what assistance they give unto my life. This is the best munition I have found in this humane peregrination, and I extremely bewaile those men of understanding that want the same. I accept with better will all other kindes of amusements, how slight soever, forsomuch as this cannot faile me. At home I betake me somewhat the oftner to my library, whence all at once I command and survey all my household. It is seated in the chiefe entrie of my house, thence I behold under me my garden, my base court, my yard, and looke even into most roomes of my house. There without order, without method, and by peece-meales I turne over and ransacke, now one booke and now another. Sometimes I muse and rave; and walking up and downe I endight and enregister these my humours, these my conceits. It is placed on the third storie of a tower. The

greatest part of my lives dayes, and weare out most houres of the day. I am never there a nights. Next unto it is a handsome neat cabinet, able and large enough to receive fire in winter, and very pleasantly windowen. And if I feared not care more then cost (care which drives and diverts me from all businesse), I might easily joyne a convenient gallerie of a hundred paces long and twelve broad on each side of it, and upon one floore; having already, for some other purpose, found all the walles raised unto a convenient height. Each retired place requireth a walke. My thoughts are prone to sleep if I sit long. My minde goes not alone, as if ledges did moove it. Those that studie without bookes are all in the same case. The forme of it is round, and hath no flat side, but what serveth for my table and chaire: In which bending or circling manner, at one looke it offereth me the full sight of all my bookes, set round about upon shelves or desks, five rankes one upon another. It hath three bay-windowes, of a farre-extending, rich and unresisted prospect, and is in diameter sixteene paces void. In winter I am lesse continually there: for my house (as the name of it importeth) is perched upon an over-pearing hillocke; and hath no part more subject to all wethers then this; which pleaseth me the more, both because the accesse unto it is somewhat troublesome and remote, and for the benefit of the exercise which is to be respected; and that I may the better seclude my-selfe from companie, and keepe incrochers from me, there is my seat, that is my throne. I endeavour to make my rule therein absolute, and to sequester that only corner from the communie of wife, of children and of acquaintance. Elsewhere I have but a verball authoritie, of confused essence. Miserable in my minde is he who in his owne home hath nowhere to be to himself; where hee may particularly court, and at his pleasure hide or withdraw selfe. Ambition puieth her followers well to keepe them still in open view, as a statue in some conspicuous place. *Magna servietus est magna fortuna*.¹ "A great fortune is a great bondage." They cannot be private so much as at their privie. I have deemed nothing so rude in the austerity of the life which our Church-men affect as that in some of their companies they institute a naturall societie of place, and a naturall

alone. Above it is a great wardrobe. It was in times past the most unprofitable place of all my house. There I pass the

to be ever alone, then never be able to be

¹ SEN. *Conf. ad Pol. c. xxvi.*

so. If any say to me, It is a kind of vilifying the Muses to use them only for sport and recreation, he wots not as I do, what worth, pleasure, sport and passtime is of: I had well nigh termed all other ends ridiculous. I live from hand to mouth, and, with reverence be it spoken, I live but to my selfe: there end all my designs. Being young I studied for ostentation; then a little to enable my selfe and become wiser; now for delight and recreation, never for gaine. A vaine conceit and lavish humour I had after this kind of stuffe; not only to provide for my need, but somewhat further to adorne, and embellish my selfe withall: I have since partly left it. "Bookes have and containe divers pleasing qualities to those that can duly choose them." But "no good without paines; no roses without prickles." It is a pleasure not absolutely pure and neate; no more then all others; it hath his inconveniences attending on it, and sometimes waightly ones: The minde is therein exercised, but the body (the care whereof I have not yet forgotten) remaineth therewithst without action, and is wasted, and ensorowed, I know no excesse more hurtfull for me, nor more to be avoided by me, in this declining age. Loe here my three most favoured and particular employments. I speake not of those I owe of dutie to the world.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Diverting and Diversions.

I WAS once employed in comforting of a truly-afflicted Ladie: the greatest part of their discourses are artificial and ceremonious,

*Vberibus semper lachrimis, semperque paratis,
In statione sua, atque expectantibus illam,
Quo jubeat manare modo.*¹

With plenteous teares; still readie in their stand,

Expecting still their mistresses commaund,
How they must flow, when they must goe.

Men do but ill in opposing themselves against this passion; for opposition doth but incense and engage them more to sorrow and quietness: "The disease is exasperated by the jealousie of debate." In matters of common discourse we see that what I have spoken without heede or care, if one come to contest with me about it, I stiffly maintaine and make good mine owne,

much more if it be a thing wherein I am interested. Besides, in so doing you enter but rudely into your matter, whereas a physitions first entertainment of his patient should be gracious, cheerful, and pleasing. "An ugly and froward physitian wrought never any good effect." On the contrary then, we must at first assist and smoothe their laments, and witness some approbation and excuse thereof. By which means you get credit to go on, and by an easie and insensible inclination you fall into more firme and serious discourses and fit for their amendment. But I, who desired chiefly to gull the assistants, that had their eyes cast on me, meant to save their mischief: I verily finde by experience that I have but an ill and unfruitfull vaine to persuade. I present my reasons either too sharpe, or too drie, or too stirringly, or too carelessly. After I had for a while applied myself to her torment, I attempted not to cure it by strong and lively reasons: either because I wanted them, or because I supposed I might otherwise effect my purpose the better. Nor did I cull out the severall fashions of comfort prescribed by philosophy: That the thing lamented is not ill, as Cleanthes; or but a little ill, as the Peripatetikes: that to lament is neither just nor commendable, as Chrysippus: nor this Epicurus, most agreeing with my manner, to translate the conceit of ykresome into delightsome things: nor to make a load of all this masse, dispensing the same, as one hath occasion, as Cicero. But faire and softly declining our discourses, and by degrees bending them unto subjects more neare, then a little more remote, even as shee more or lesse enclined to mee. I unperceivably removed those dolefull humours from hir: so that as long as I was with her, so long I kept her in cheerefull countenance and untroubled fashion, wherein I used diversion. Those which in the same service succeeded mee, found her no whit amended; the reason was, I had not yet driven my wedge to the roote. I have peradventure elsewhere launcea at some kindes of publike diversions. And the militairie customes used by Pericles in the Peloponnesian warre, and a thousand others elsewhere, to divert or withdrawe an armie of an enemy from their owne country, is too frequent in histories. It was an ingenious diverting wherewith the Lord of Himbercourt saved both himself and others in the towne of Liege, into which the Duke of Burgundie, who beleagred the same, had caused him to enter, to performe the covenants of their accorded yeelding. The inhabitants thereof, to provide for it, assembled by night, and began to mutinie

¹ JUVEN. *Sat.* vi. 273.

against their former agreement, determining upon this advantage to set upon the negotiators, now in their power. Hee perceiving their intent, and noise of this shoure readie to fall upon him, and the danger his lodging was in, forthwith rushed out upon them two citizens (whereof he had divers with him) furnished with most plausible and new offers to be propounded to their counsell: but indeed forged at that instant to serve his turne withall, and to amuse them. These two stayed the first approaching storme, and carried this incensed Hydra-headed monster multitude backe to the towne house, to heare their charge, and accordingly to determine of it. The conclusion was short, when loe a second tempest came rushing on, more furiously enraged than the former; to whom he immediately despatched foure new and semblable intercessors, with protestations that now they were in earnest to propose and declare new and farre more ample conditions unto them, wholly to their content and satisfaction; whereby this disordered rout was againe drawne to their conclave and senate-house. In summe, he by such a dispensation of amusements, diverting their headlong fury, and dissipating the same with vaine and frivolous consultations, at length lulled them into so secure a sleep, that he gained the day, which was his chiefest drift and only aymed scope. This other storie is also of the same predicament. Atalanta, a maid of rare surpassing beautie, and of a wondrous strange disposition, to ridde herselfe from the importunate pursuit of a thousand amorous sutors, who solicited her for marriage, prescribed this law unto them, that she would accept of him that should equall her in running; on condition those she should overcome might lose their lives. Some there were found who deemed this prize worthe the hazard, and who incurred the penaltie of so cruell a match. Hippomenes comming to make his assay after the rest, devoutly addressed himself to the divine protectresse of all amorous delights, earnestly invoking her assistance, who gently listening to his hearty prayers, furnished him with three golden apples, and taught him how to use them. The scope of the race being plaine, according as Hippomenes perceived his swift-footed mistress to approach his heeles, he let fall (as at unawares) one of his apples: the heedless maiden gazing and wondring at the alluring beautie of it, failed not to turne and take it up.

*Obstupuit virgo, nitidique euphine pomi,
Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.*¹

¹ Quid. Met. l. x. 666,

The maid amaz'd, desiring that faire gold,
Turnes by her course, takes it up as it roll.

The like he did (at his need) with the second and third, untill by this disgressing and diverting, the goale and advantage of the course was judged his. When physicians cannot purge the rheume, they divert and remove the same unto some lesse dangerous part. I also perceive it to be the most ordinary receipt for the mindes diseases. *Abducendus etiam nonnunquam animus est ad aliena studia, sollicitudines, curas, negotia: Loci denique mutatione, tanquam aegroti non convalescentes, saepe curandus est:* "Our mind also is sometimes to be diverted to other studies, cogitations, cares, and businesses: and lastly to be cured by change of place, as sick folkes use that otherwise cannot get health." We make it seldome to shooke mischiefs with direct resistance; we make it neither to beare nor to break, but to shun or divert the blow. This other lesson is too high and over-hard. It is for him of the first ranke merely to stayer upon the thing itselfe, to examine and judge it. It belongeth to one onely Socrates, to accost and entertaine death with an undaunted ordinary visage, to become familiar and play with it, he seeketh for no comfort out of the thing itselfe. To die seemeth unto him a naturall and indifferent accident: thereon he wisely fixeth his sight, and thereon he resolveth without looking elsewhere. Hegesias his disciples, who with hunger starved themselves to death, incensed thereunto with the perswading discourses of his lessons; and that so thicke as King Ptolemy forbade him any longer to entertaine his schoole with such murderous precepts; those considered not death in itselfe, they judged it not: this was not the limit of their thoughts, they run on, and ayme at another being. Those poore creatures we see on scaffolds, fraught with an ardent devotion, therein to the uttermost of their power, employing all their senses; their eares attentive to such instructions as preachers give them, their hands and eyes lift up towards heaven; their voice uttering loud and earnest praiers: all with an enger and continuall ruth-mooving motion; doe verily what in such an unavoydable exigent is commendable and convenient. One may well commend their religion, but not properly their constancy. They shunne the brunt, they divert their consideration from death; as we use to dandle and busie children, when we would lance them or let them blood. I have seen some, who if by fortune they chanced to cast their eyes towards the dreadful preparations of death which were round about them, fall

into trances, and with fury cast their cogitations elsewhere. Wee teach those that are to passe over some steepy downefall or dreadfull abisse, to shut or turne aside their eyes. Subrius Flavivius, being by the appointment of Nero to be put to death by the hands of Niger, both chiefe commanders in war: when he was brought unto the place where the execution should be performed, seeing the pit Niger had caused to be digged for him uneven and unhandsomely made: "Nor is this pit (quoth he to the souldiers that stood about him) according to the true discipline of war:" and to Niger, who willed him to hold his head steady, "I wish thou wouldest stricke as steddily." He guessed right; for Nigers arme trembling, he had divers blowes at him before he could strike it off. This man seemed to have fixed his thoughts surely and directly on the matter. He that dies in the fury of battle, with weapons in hand, thinkes not then on death, and neither feeleth nor considereth the same: the heate of the fight transports him. An honest man of my acquaintance, falling downe in a single combate, and feeling himselfe stab'd nine or ten times by his enemy, was called unto by the bystanders to call on God and remember his conscience; but he told me after, that albeit those voices came unto his eares, they had no whit mooved him, and that he thought on nothing but how to discharge and revenge himselfe. In which combat he vanquished and slew his adversary.

He who brought L. Silanus his condemnation, did much for him, in that when he heard him answer he was prepared to die, but not by the hands of base villaines, ran upon him with his souldiers to force him; against whom obstinately defending himself, though unarmed, with fists and feet, he was slaine in the conflict: dispersing with a ready and rebellious choller the painefull sence of a long and fore-prepared death, to which he was assigned. We ever thinke on somewhat else: either the hope of a better life doth settle and support us, or the confidence of our childrens worth, or the future glory of our name, or the avoyding of this liles mischieves, or the revenge hanging over their heads that have caused and procured our death:

Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,

Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine

Dido
Sape vocaturum.

*Audiam, et hæc manes veniet mihi fama sub imos.*¹

I hope, if powers of heaven have any power, On rockes he shall be punisht, at that houre
He oft on Didoes name shall pittilesse exclaime,
This shall I heare, and this report, shall to me
in my grave resort.

Xenophon sacrificed with a crowne on his head, when one came to tell him the death of his sonne Gryllus in the battell of Mantinea. At the first hearing whereof he cast his crowne to the ground, but finding upon better relation how valiantly he died, he tooke it up and put it on his head againe. Epicurus also at his death comforted himselfe in the eternitie and worth of his writings. *Omnes clari et nobilitati labores sunt tolerabiles:*¹ "All glorious and honourable labours are made tolerable." And the same wound and the same toile (saith Xenophon) toucheth not a generall of an armie as it doth a private souldier. Epaminondas tooke his death much the more cheerefully, being informed that the victorie remained on his side. *Hæc sunt solatia, hæc fomenta summorum dolorum:*² "These are the comforts, these the eases of most grievous paines." And such other like circumstances amuse, divert and remooove us from the consideration of the thing in it selfe. Even the arguments of Philosophie, at each clappe wrest and turne the matter aside, and scarcely wipe away the scabbe thereof. The first man of the first Philosophicall Schoole and Superintendent of the rest, that great Zeno, against death cried out: "No evil is honourable; death is: therefore is death no evil." Against drunkennesse: "No man entrusts his secrets to a drunkard; every one to the wise: therefore the wise will not be drunke." Is this to hit the white? I love to see that these principall wits cannot rid themselves of our company. As perfect and absolute as they would be, they still are but grosse and simple men. Revenge is a sweet-pleasing passion, of a great and naturall impression: I perceive it well, albeit I have made no triall of it. To divert of late a young prince from it, I told him not, he was to offer the one side of his cheek to him who had stroke him on the other, in regard of charity; nor displaid I unto him the tragicall events Poesie bestoweth upon that passion. There I left him, and strove to make him taste the beaultie of a contrary image; the honour, the favour and the good-will he should acquire by gentlesse and goodnesse: I diverted him to ambition. Behold how they deale in such cases. If your effectiion in love be over-powerfull, disperse or dissipate the same, say they; and they say true, for

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iv. 382, 387.

² CIC. *Tusc.* l. i.

³ *Ibid.*

I have often, with profit, made triall of it : break it by the vertue of severall desires, of which one may be regent or chief master, if you please ; but for fear it should misuse or tyrannize you, weaken it with dividing, and protract it with diverting the same.

*Cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena,
Conjicito humorem collectum in corpora quæque.*¹

When raging lust excites a panting tumor.
To divers parts send that collected humor.

And looke to it in time, lest it vex you, if it have once seized on you.

*Si non prima novis conturbes vulnera plagis,
Volvitæque vagus Veneri ante recentia curas.*²

Unless the first wounds with new wounds
you mix,
And ranging cure the fresh with common
tricks.

I was once neerely touched with a heavy displeasure, according to my complexion, and yet more just then heave : I had per-adventure lost my selfe in it, had I only relied upon mine owne strength. Needing a vehement diversion to with-draw me from it, I did by arte and studie make my selfe a lover, whereto my age assisted me ; love discharged and diverted me from the inconvenience which good-will and amitie had caused in me. So is it in all things else. A sharp conceit possesseth, and a violent imagination holdeth me ; I finde it a shorter course to alter and divert, then to tame and vanquish the same : if I cannot substitute a contrary unto it, at least I present another unto it. Change ever easeth, varietie dissolveth, and shifting dissipateth. If I cannot buckle with it, I flie from it : and in shunning it, I stray and double from it. Shifting of place, exercise and company, I save my selfe amid the throng of other studies and amusements, where it loseth my tracke, and so I slip away. Nature proceedeth thus, by the benefit of inconstancy : for the time it hath bestowed on us, as a soveraigne physitian of our passions chiefly obtains his purpose that way, when fraughting our conceits with other and different affairs, it dissolveth and corrupteth that first apprehension, how forcible soever it be. A wise man seeth little lesse his friend dying at the end of five and twenty yeeres, then at the beginning of the first yeere ; and according to Epicurus, nothing lesse : for he ascribed no qualification of perplexities, either to the foresight or antiquitie of them. But so many other cogitations crosse this, that it languisheth, and in the end groweth weary.

To divert the inclination of vulgar reports, Alcibiades cut off his faire dogs ears and tail, and so drove him into the market place ; that giving this subject of prattle to the people, they might not meddle with his other actions. I have also seen some women, who to divert the opinions and conjectures of the babbling people, and to divert the fond tattling of some, did by counterfeit and dissembled affections overshadow and cloak true affections. Amongst which I have noted some, who in dissembling and counterfeiting have suffered themselves to be intrapped wittingly and in good earnest ; quitting their true and originall humour for the fained : of whom I learne that such as finde themselves well seated are very fooles to yeele unto that maske. The common greetings, and publike entertainements being reserved unto that set or appointed servant, beleeve there is little sufficiency in him, if in the end he usurpe not your roome and send you unto his. This is properly to cut out and stitch up a shoe for another to put on. A little thing doth divert and turne us ; for a small thing holds us. We do not much respect subjects in grosse and alone : they are circumstances, or small and superficiall images that moove and touch us ; and vaine rindes which rebound from subjects.

*Folliculos ut nunc teretes æstate cicade
Linquunt.*¹

As grasse-hoppers in summer now for-ake
The round-grown sheaves, which they in
time should take.

Plutarke himselfe bewailes his daughter by the sopperies of his childehood. The remembrance of a farewell, of an action, of a particular grace, or of a last commendation, afflicts us. Cæsars gowne disquieted all Rome, which his death had not done : the very sound of names, which jingleth in our eares, as, "Oh, my poore master ;" or "Alas, my deare friend ;" "Oh, my good father ;" or, "Alas, my sweete daughter." When such like repetitions pinch me, and that I looke more nearely to them, I finde them but grammaticall laments, the word and the tune wound me. Even as Preachers exclamations do often move their auditory more then their reasons : and as the pittifull groane of a beast yerneth us though it be killed for our use : without poising or entring there-whilest into the true and massie essence of my subject.

*Hic se stimulus dolor ipse lacessit.*²

Griefe by these provocations,
Puts it selfe in more passions.

¹ PERS. Sat. vi. 73 ; LUCR. l. iv. 1036.

² LUCR. l. iv. 1063.

¹ LUCR. l. v. 812.

² LUCAN. l. li. 43.

They are the foundations of our mourning. The concept of the stone, namely in the yard, hath sometime for three or foure dayes together so stopped my urine, and brought me so neare deaths-doore, that it had bene meere folly in me to hope, nay to desire, to avoyd the same, considering what cruell pangs that painefull plight did seize me with. Oh how cunning a master in the murdering arte or hangmans trade was that good Emperour who caused malefactors yards to bee fast-tide, that so hee might make them dye for want of pissing. In which ill plight finding my selfe, I considered by how slight causes and frivolous objects, imagination nourished in me the griefe to lose my life : with what atomes the consequence and difficulty of my dislodging was contrived in my minde : to what idle conceits and frivolous cogitations we give place in so waighty a case or important affaire, a dogge, a horse, a hare, a glasse, and what not, were corrupted in my losse. To others, their ambitious hopes, their purse, their learning : in my minde as sottishly. I view death carelessly when I behould it universally as the end of life. I overwhelme and contemne it thus in great, by retayle it spoiles and proules me. The teares of a lacquey, the distributing of my cast sutes, the touch of a knowne hand, an ordinary consolation, doth disconsolate and intender me. So do the plaints and fables of trouble vex our mindes : and the wailing laments of Dydo and Ariadne passionate even those that beleewe them not in Virgill nor in Catullus : it is an argument of an obstinate nature and indurate hart, not to be moved therewith : as for a wonder, they report of Polemon : who was not so much as appaled at the biting of a dog, who tooke away the braun or calfe of his leg. And no wisdom goeth so far, as by the due judgement to conceive aright the evident cause of a sorrow and griefe, so lively and wholly, that it suffer or admit no accession by presence, when eyes and eares have their share therein : parts that cannot be agitated but by vaine accidents. Is it reason that even arts should serve their purposes, and make their profit of our imbecillity and natural blockishnes? An orator (saith Rhetorick) in the play of his pleading, shall be moved at the sound of his owne voice, and by his fained agitations : and suffer himself to be cozened by the passion he representeth : imprinting a lively and essentiall sorrow, by the juggling he acteth, to transference it into the judges, whom of the two it concerneth lesse : as the persons hired at our funerals who to aide the ceremony of mourning make sale of their tears by measure, and of their sorrow by

waight. For although they strive to act it in a borrowed forme, yet by habituating and ordering their countenance, it is certaine they are often wholly transported into it, and entertaine the impression of a true and unfained melancholly. I assisted, amongst divers others of his friends, to convey the dead corpse of the Lord of Grammont from the siege of La Fere, where he was untimely slain, to Soissons. I noted that everywhere as we passed along we filled with lamentation and tears all the people we met, by the only show of our convoyes mourning attire ; for the deceased man's name was not so much as known or heard of about those quarters, Quintilian reporteth to have scene comedians so farre ingage in a sorrowfull part, that they wept after being come to their lodgings : and of himselfe, that having undertaken to move a certaine passion in another, he had found himselfe surprised not only with shedding of tears, but with a palenesse of countenance, and behaviour of a man truly dejected with griefe. In a country neare our mountains the women say and unsay, weepe and laugh with one breath, as Martin the priest ; for, as for their lost husbands, they encrease their waymentings by repetition of the good and gracefull parts they were endowd with, therewithall under one they make publike relation of those imperfections, to work, as it were, some recompence unto themselves, and transchange their pitty unto disdain ; with a much better grace than we, who when we lose a late acquaintance, strive to loade him with new and forged prayses, and to make him farre other, now that we are deprived of his sight, then he seemed to be when we enjoied and beheld him ; as if mourning were an instructing party, teares cleared our understanding by washing the same. I renounce from this time forward all the favourable testimonies any man shall afford me, not because I shall deserve them, but because I shall be dead. If one demand that fellow, what interest he hath in such a siege, the interest of example (will he say) and common obedience of the Prince ; I nor looke nor pretend any benefit thereby, and of glory I know how small a portion commeth to the share of a private man such as I am. I have neither passion nor quarrell in the matter. Yet the next day shall you see him all changed, and chafing, boiling, and blushing with rage, in his ranke of battaile, ready for the assault. It is the glaring reflecting of so much steel, the flashing thundering of the cannon, the clang of trumpets, and the rattling of drummes,

that have infused this new fury, and rankor in his swelling vaines. A frivolous cause, will you say. How a cause? There needeth none to excite our minde. A doating humour without body, without substance, overwayeth and tosseth it up and down. Let me thinke of building castles in Spayne, my imagination will forge me commodities and afford me means and delights wherewith my minde is really tickled and essentially gladdened. How often do we pester our spirits with anger or sadness by such shaddowes, and entangle our selves into fantastical passions which alter both our mind and body? What astonished, fearing, and confused mumpes and mowes doth this dotage stir up in our visages? What skipplings and agitations of members and voice! Seemes it not by this man alone, that he hath false visions of a multitude of other men with whom he doth negotiate; or some inward goblin that torments him? Enquire of your selfe, where is the object of this alteration? Is there any thing but us in Nature, except subsisting nullity, over whom it hath any power? Because Cambyzes dreamed that his brother should be king of Persia, he put him to death: a brother whom he loved and ever trusted. Aristodemus, king of the Messenians, killed himselfe upon a conceite he tooke of some ill presage, by I knowe not what howling of his dogs; and King Midas did as much, being troubled and vexed by a certaine displeasing dreame of his owne. It is the right way to prize ones life at the right worth of it to forgo it for a dream. Hear notwithstanding our mindes triumph over the bodies weakenesses and misery: in that it is the prey and marke for all wrongs and alterations to feede on and aime at. It hath surely much reason to speak of it.

*O prima infelix fingenti terra Prometheus:
Ille parum cauti pectoris egit opus.
Corpora disponans, mentem non vidit in arte:
Recta animi primum debuit esse via.¹*

Unhappy earth first by Prometheus formed,
Who of small providence a worke performed.
He framing bodies saw in arte no minde:
The mindes way first should rightly be assign'd.

CHAPTER V.

Upon some Verses of Virgil.

PROFITABLE thoughts, the more full and solide they are, the more combersome and heavy are they; vice, death, poverty, and diseases are subjects that waigh

and grieve. We must have our minde instructed with meanes to sustaine and combat mischiefs, and furnished with rules how to live well and believe right: and often rouze and exercise it in this goodly study. But to a mind of the common stampe it must be with intermission and moderation; it groweth weake by being continually overwrested. When I was young I had neede to be advertised and sollicit to keepe my selfe in office: mirth and health (says one) sute not so well with these serious and grave discourses. I am now in another state. The conditions of age do but over-much admonish, instruct, and preach unto me. From the excesse of jollity, I am false into the extreame of severity: more peevish and more untoward. Therefore, I do now of purpose somewhat give way unto licentious allurements; and now and then employ my minde in wanton and youthfull conceits, wherein she recreates herselfe. I am now but too much settled; too heavy and too ripe. My yeares read me daily a lesson of coldnesse and temperance. My body shunneth disorder, and feares it: it hath his turne to direct the minde toward reformation; his turne also to rule and sway; and that more rudely and imperiously. Be I awake or asleepe, it doth not permit me one houre but to ruminate on instruction, on death, on patience, and on repentance. As I have heretofore defended my selfe from pleasure, so I now ward my selfe from temperance: it haleth me too far back, and even to stupidity. I will now every way be master of my selfe. Wisdome hath hir excesses, and no lesse need of moderation then follic. So that lest I should wither, I varnish and over cloy my selfe with prudence, in the intermissions my evils afford mee;

Mens intenta suis ne fiet usque malis.¹

Still let not the conceit attend,
Theills that it too much offend.

I gently turne aside, and steale my eyes from viewing that tempestuous and cloudy skie I have before me; which (thankes be to God) I consider without feare, but not without contention and study. And amuse my selfe with the remembrance of past youth-tricks:

— animus quod perdidit, optat,

Atque in præterita se totus imagine versat.²

The minde, what it hath lost, doth wish and cast,
And turne and winde in images forepast.

That infancy looketh forward, and age backward; was it not that which Janus his double visage signified? yeares entraine me

¹ PROPERT. l. iii. *Elcg.* iv. 6.

¹ OVID. *Trist.* l. iv. *El.* i. 4.

² PETRON. *Arb. Sat.*

if they please: but backward. As far as mine eyes can discern that faire expired season, by fits I turne them thitherward. If it escape my bloud and veines, yet will I not roote the image of it out of my memory:

- hoc est,

*Vivere bis, vita posse priore frui,*¹

'This is the way for any to live twice,
Who can of former life enjoy the price.

Plato appoints old men to be present at youthfull exercises, dances, and games, to nake them rejoyce at the bodies agility and comelines of others, which is now no longer in them, and call to their remembrance the grace and favour of that blooming age; and willet them to give the honour of the victory to that young man who hath gladdened and made most of them mery. I was heretofore wont to note sullen and gloomy daies as extraordinary: now are they my ordinary ones: the extraordinary are my faire and cleere daies. I am ready to leape for joy, as at the receaving of some unexpected favour, when nothing grieveth me. Let me tickle my selfe, I can now hardly wrest a bare smile from this wretched body of mine. I am not pleased but in conceite and dreaining, by sleight to turne aside the wayward cares of age: but sure there is need of other remedies then dreaining, a weake contention of arte against nature. It is meere simplicity, as most men do, to prolong and anticipate humane incommodities. I had rather be lessewhile olde, then old before my time. I take hold even of the least occasions of delight I can meet withall. I know now by hearesay divers kindes of wise, powerfull and glorious pleasures: but opinion is not of sufficient force over me to make me long for them. I would not have them so stately, lofty, and disdainfull: as pleasant, gentle, and ready. *A natura discedimus; populo nos damus, nullius rei bono auctori:*² "We forsake nature; we follow the people author of no good." My philosophy is in action, in naturall and present, little in conceit. What if I should be pleased to play at cob-nut or whip a top?

Non ponebat enim riuores ante salutem.

He did not prize what might be said,
Before how all might safe be laid.

Voluptuousnesse is a quality little ambitious; it holds it selfe rich enough of it selfe without any accesse of reputation; and is best affected where it is most obscured. That young man should deserve the whip who would spend his time in choosing out the neatest wine and best sauces. There is

nothing I ever knew or esteemed lesse: I now beginne to learne it. I am much ashamed of it, but what can I do with all? and am more ashamed and vexed at the occasions that compell me to it. It is for us to dally, doate, and trifle out the time; and for youth to stand upon nice reputation, and hold by the better end of the staffe. That creepeth towards the world and marcheth toward credite; we come from it. *Sibi arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam, sibi pilam, sibi nationes et cursus habebant: nobis senibus, ex lusionibus multis, talos relinquunt, et tesseras.*³ "Let them keepe their armor, their horses, their lances, their polaxes, their tennis, their swimming, and their running; and of their many games, let them put over to us old men the tables and the cardes." The very lawes send us home to our lodgings. I can do no lesse in favour of this wretched condition, whereto my age forceth mee, then furnish it with somewhat to dandle and amuse it selfe, as it were childehood, for when all is done we fall into it againe. And both wisdom and folly shall have much to do, by interchange of offices to support and succour me in this calamity of age.

*Misce stultitiam consiliis breuem.*⁴

With short-like-foolish tricks,
Thy gravest counsels mixe.

Withall I shun the lightest pricklings; and those which heretofore could not have scratched me, do now transpeare me. So willingly my habite doth now begin to apply it selfe to evil: *In fragile corpore odiosus omnis offensio est:* "All offence is irkesome to a crased body."

*Mensque pati durum sustinet agra nihil.*⁵

A sicke minde can endure,
No hard thing for hir cure.

I have ever beene ticklish and nice in matters of offence; at this present I am more tender and every where open.

*Et minima vires frangere quassa valent.*⁶

Least strength can breake
Things worne and weake.

Well may my judgement hinder me from spurning and repining at the inconveniences which nature allots me to indure; from feeling them it cannot. I could finde my heart to runne from one ende of the world to another, to search and purchase one yeare of pleasing and absolute tranquillity; I who have no other scope than to

¹ Cic. De Senec.

² Hor. l. iv. Od. xii. 27.

³ Cic. De Senec.

⁴ Ovid. Pont. l. i. El. vi. 18.

⁵ Ovid. Trist. l. iii. El. xi. 22.

¹ MART. l. x. Epig. xxiii. 7.

² SEN. Epist. xcix.

³ ENNIUS.

live and be mery. Drouzie and stupide tranquillity is sufficiently to be found for me, but it makes me drouzy and dizzie, therefore I am not pleased with it. If there be any body or any good company in the country, in the city, in France, or any where els, resident, travelling, that likes of my conceites, or whose humours are pleasing to me, they neede but hold up their hand, or whistle in their fiste, and I will store them with Essayes of pithe and substance, with might and maine. Seeing it is the mindes priviledge to renew and recover it selfe on old age, I earnestly advise it to do it; let it bud, blossome, and flourish if it can as mistletoe on a dead tree. I feare it is a traitor; so straightly is she clapsed, and so hard doth she cling to my body, that on every hand she forsakes me; to follow the body in hir necessities. I flatter her in private, I urge hir to no purpose, in vaine I offer to divert hir from this combination, and bootlesse it is for me to present hir Seneca, or Catullus, or ladies, or stately dances: if hir companion have the chollicke, it seemes she also hath it. The very powers or faculties that are particular and proper to hir, cannot then rouze themselves: they evidently seeme to be en-rehuned; there is no bliithnes in hir productions, if there be none in the body. Our schollers are to blame, who serching the causes of our mindes extraordinary fits and motions, besides they ascribe some to a divine fury, to love, to warre-like fiercenesse, to Poesie, and to wine, if they have not also allotted health her share: a health, youthfull, lusty, vigorous, full, idle, such as heretofore the Aprill of my yeares and security offered me by fittes. That fire of jocondnesse stirreth up lively and bright sparkles in our mind. beyond our natural brightness and amongst the most working, if not the most desperate enthusiasmes or inspirations. Well, it is no wonder if a contrary estate clogge and naile my spirit, and drawe from it a contrary effect.

*Ad nullum consurgit opus, cum corpore languet.*¹

It to no worke doth rise,
When body fainting lyes.

And yet would have me beholden to him for lending (as he sayth) much lesse to this consent then beareth the ordinary custome of men. Let us at least, while we have time, chase all evils and expell all difficulties from our society.

*Dum licet obducta solvatur fronte senectus;*²
With wrinkled wimpled forehead let old yeares,
While we may, be resolv'd to merrie cheere.

Tetrica sunt amanda jocularibus:
"Unpleasant things and sowre matters should be sweetened and made pleasant with sportefull mixtures." I love a lightsome and civil discretion, and loathe a roughnes and austerity of behaviour: suspecting every peevish and wayward countenance.

*Tristemque vultus tetrici arrogantiam.*¹

Of austere countenance,
The sad soure arrogance.

Et habet tristis quoque turba cynædos.

Fidlers are often had,
Mongst people that are sad.

I easily believe Plato, who saith that easie or hard humours are a great prejudice unto the mindes goodnesse or badnesse. Socrates had a constant countenance, but lightsome and smyling: not frowardly constant, as old Crassus, who was never seene to laugh. Vertue is a pleasant and buxom quality. Few I know will snarle at the liberty of my writings, that have not more cause to snarle at their thoughts looseness. I conforme myself unto their courage, but I offend their eyes. It is a well ordered humour to wrest Platos writings, and straine his pretended negotiations with Phledon, Dion, Stella, Archeanassa. *Non pudeat dicere, quod non pudet sentire* "Let us not bee ashamed to speake what we shame not to thinke." I hate a wayward and sad disposition, that glideth over the pleasures of his life, and fattens and feeds on miseries, as flies that cannot cleave to smooth and sleeke bodies, but seize and holde on rugged and uneven places; or as cupping-glasses, that affect and suck none but the worst bleud. For my part I am resolved to dare speake whatsoever I dare do: and am displeased with thoughts not to be published. The worst of my actions or condicions seeme not so ugly unto me as I finde it both ugly and base not to dare to avouch them. Every one is wary in the confession; we should be as heedy in the action. The bouldnes of offending is somewhat recompensed and restrained by the bouldnes of confessing. He that should be bound to tell all, should also bind himself to do nothing which one is forced to conceale. God graunt this excesse of my license draw men to freedom, beyond these cowardly and squeamish vertues, sprung from our imperfections; that by the expense of my immoderation I may reduce them unto reason. One must surway his faultes and study them, ere he be able to repeat them. Those which hide them from others, commonly conceal them also from

¹ COR. GAL. EI. i. 125.

² HOR. Epod. i. 3, 7.

¹ MART. I. vii. *Enig.* lvii. 9.

themselves; and esteeme them not sufficiently hidden if themselves see them. They withdraw and disguise them from their own consciences. *Quare vitia sua nemo confitetur? Quia etiam nunc in illis est, somnium narrare vigilantis est:*¹ "Why doth no man confesse his faults? Because hee is yet in them: and to declare his dreame, is for him that is waking." The bodies evils are discerned by their increase. And now we find that to be the gout which we termed the rheume or a bruse. The evils of the mind are darkened by their own force; the most infected feeleth them least. Therefore is it that they must often a day be handled, and violently be opened and rent from out the hollow of our bosome. As in the case of good, so of bad offices, only confession is sometimes a satisfaction. Is there any deformity in the error which dispenseth us to confesse the same? It is a paine for me to dissemble, so that I refuse to take charge of other men's secrets, as wanting hart to disavow my knowledge. I can conceal it; but deny it I cannot, without much ado and some trouble. To be perfectly secrete, one must be so by nature, not by obligation. It is a small matter to be secret in the Princes service, if one be not also a liar. He that demanded Thales Milesius, whether he should solemnly deny his lechery; had he come to me, I would have answered him, he ought not do it, for a lie is in mine opinion worse than lechery. Thales advised him otherwise, bidding him swear, thereby to warrant the more by the lesse. Yet was not his counsell so much the election as multiplication of vice. Whereupon we sometimes use this byword, that we deale wel with a man of conscience, when in counterpoise of vice we propose some difficulty unto him: but when he is inclosed betweene two vices, he is put to a hard choise. As Origen was dealt withal, either to commit idolatry, or suffer himself to be sodomatically abused by a filthy Egyptian slave that was presented unto him, he yielded to the first condition, and viciously saith one. Therefore should not those women be distasted according to their error, who of late protest that they had rather charge their conscience with ten men then one masse. If it be indiscretion so to divulge ones errors, there is no danger though it come into example and use; for Ariston said, that the winds men feare most are those which discover them. Wee must tuck up this homely rag that cloaketh our manners. They send their conscience to the stews, and keepe their countenance in order. Even traitors and murderers

observe the laws of ceremony, and thereto fixe their endeavors. So that neither can injustice complaine of incivility nor malice of indiscretion. 'Tis pittie a bad man is not a foole, and that decency should cloak his vice. These pargettings belong only to good and sound wals, such as deserve to be whited, to be preserved. In favour of Huguenots, who accuse our auricular and private confession, I confesse my selfe in publike religiously and purely. Saint Augustine, Origen, and Hippocrates have published the errors of their opinions; I likewise of my maners. I greedily long to make my selfe knowne, nor care I at what rate, so it be truly; or, to say better, I hunger for nothing; but I hate mortally to be mistaken by such as shall happen to know my name. He that doth all for honour and glory, what thinks he to gaine by presenting himselfe to the world in a maske, hiding his true being from the peoples knowledge. Commend a crook-back for his comely statue, he ought to take it as an injury if you be a coward, and one honoreth you for a valiant man, is it of you he speaketh? You are taken for another. I should like as well to have him glory in the courtesies and lowtings that are shewed him, supposing himselfe to be ringleader of a troupe when he is the meanest follower of Archelaus, King of Macedon, passing through a street, somebody cast water upon him, was advised by his followers to punish the party. "Yea, but," quoth he, "whoever it was, he cast not the water upon me, but upon him he thought I was." Socrates to one that told him he was railed upon and ill spoken of: "Tush," said he, "there is no such thing in me. For my part, should one commend me to be an excellent pilote, to be very modest, or most chaste, I should owe him no thanks. Likewise should any man call me traitour, theefe or drunkard, I would deeme my selfe but little wronged by him. Those who misknow themselves may feed themselves with false approbations; but not I, who see and search my selfe into my very bowels, and know full well what belongs unto me. I am pleased to be lesse commended, provided I be better knowne. I may be esteemed wise for such conditions of wisdom that I account meere folles. It vexeth me that my Essayes serve ladies in lieu of common ware and stuffe for their hall; this chapter will preferre me to their cabinet. I love their society somewhat private, their publike familiarity wants favor and savor. In farewells we heate above ordinary our affections to the things we forgo. I here take my last leave of this worlds pleasures: loe here our last embraces.

¹ SEN. *Epist.* 4. 3.

And now to our theame. Why was the acte of generation made so naturall, so necessary and so just, seeing we feare to speake of it without shame, and exclude it from our serious and regular discourses; we pronounce to rob, to murder, to betray; and this we dare not but betweene our teeth. Are we to gather by it, that the lesse we breathe out in words the more we are allowed to furnish our thoughts with? For words least used, least written, and least concealed should best be understood, and most generally knowne. No age, no condition are more ignorant of it than of their bread. They are imprinted in each one, without expressing, without voice or figure. And the sexe that doth it most, is most bound to suppress it. It is an action we have put in the precincts of silence, whence to draw it were an offence: not to accuse or judge it. Nor dare we beare it but in circumlocution and picture. A notable favour, to a criminal offender, to be so execrable, that justice deem it injustice to touch and behold him, freed and saved by the benefit of this condemnation severity. Is it not herein as in matters of books, which being once called in and forbidden, become more saleable and publik? As for me, I will take Aristotle at his word, that bashfulness is an ornament to youth, but a reproach to age. These verses are, preached in the old schoole, a schoole in which I hold more then of the moderne: her virtues seem greater unto me, her vices lesse.

*Vex qui par trop fuit Venus estriuent
Fuit autem que Venus qui trop la suivent.*¹

Who strives o'ermuch Venus to shunne, offends
Alike with him that wholly hir intends.

*Tu dea, tu rerum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quicquam diis in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque fit letum, nec amabile quicquam,*

Goddess, thou rul'st the nature of all things.
Without thee nothing into this light springs,
Nothing is lovely, nothing pleasures brings.

I know not who could set Pallas and the Muses at odds with Venus, and make them cold and slow in affecting of love; as for me, I see no Deities that better sute together, nor more endebted one to another. Whoever shall go about to remove amorous imaginations from the Muses, shall deprive them of the best entertainment they have, and of the noblest subject of their work: and who shall debarre Cupid the service and conversation of Poesie, shall weaken him of his best weapons. By this meanes they caste upon the God of acquaintance, of amitie and goodwill; and

upon the Goddesses, protectresses of humanity and justice, the vice of ingratitude, and imputation of churlishnesse. I have not so long beene cashiered from the state and service of this God, but that my memory is still acquainted with the force of his worth and valour.

agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ.¹
I feele, and feeling know
How my old flames regrow.

There commonly remaine some reliques of shivering and heate after an ague:

Nec mihi deficiat calor hic, hyemantibus annis,
When winter yeares com on,
Let not this heate be gon.

As drie, as sluggish and unwieldy as I am,
I feele yet some warme cinders of my passed heate.

*Qual l'alto Egeo, perche Aquilone o Noto
Cessi, che tutto prima il tolse e scosse,
Non s'accieta ci pero, ma l' suona e l' moto
Ritien dell' onde anco agitate e grosse*
As graund Ægean Sea, because the voice
Of windes doth cease, which it before enraged,
Yet doth not calme, but stil retaines the noise
And motion of huge billowes unasswaged.

But for so much as I know of it, the power and might of this God are found more quick and lively in the shadows of the Poesie then in their owne essence.

Et versus digitos habet.²
Verses have full effect
Of fingers to erect.

It representeth a kinde of aire more lovely then love it selfe. Venus is not so faire, not so alluring, all naked, quick and panting, as she is here in Virgill.

*Dixerat, et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
Cunctantem amplexu molli fovet: Ille repente
Accepti solitum flammam, notusque medullas
Intravit calor, et labefacta per ossa currit.
Non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta coruscis
Ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.³*

So said the Goddess, and with soft embrace
Of snow-white arme, the grim-fire doth en-
chase,
He straight tooke wonted fire, knowne heate
at once
His marrow pierc't, ranne through his
weakened bones;
A fierie flash with thunder doth divide,
With radiant lightning through a storme doth
glide.

*— ea verba loquutus,
Optatos dedit amplexus, placidumque petivit
Conjugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.*

¹ LUCR. l. i. 22.

¹ VIRG. ÆN. l. iv. 23.

² Ib. l. viii. 387.

³ JUV. SAT. vi. 197.

⁴ Ib. 404.

A sweet embrace, when he those words had said,
He gave, and his lims pleasing-rest he praid
To take in his wives bosome lolling laid.

What therein I finde to be considered is, that he depainteth her somewhat stirring for a maritall Venus. In this discreete match, appetites are not commonly so fondling, but drowsie and more sluggish. Love disdaineth a man should hold of other then himselfe, and dealeth but faintly with acquaintances begun and entertained under another title as marriage is. Alliances, respects and meanes, by all reason, waigh as much or more as the grace and beauty. A man doth not marry for himselfe, whatsoever he aleageth, but as much or more for his posteritie and familie. The use and interest of mariage concerneth our offspring a great way beyond us. Therefore doth this fashion please me, to guide it rather by a third hand, and by anothers sense, then our owne: all which, how much doth it dissent from amorous conventions? Nor is it other then a kinde of incest in this reverend alliance and sacred bond to employ the efforts and extravagant humour of an amorous licentiousnes, as I thinke to have said elsewhere. One should (saith Aristotle) touch his wife soberly, discreetly and severely, least that tickling too lasciviously, pleasure transport her beyond the bounds of reason. What he speaketh for conscience, physitions alleage for health: saying that pleasure excessively hotte, voluptuous and continuall, altereth the seede and hindereth conception. Some other say, besides, that to a languishing congression (as naturally that is) to store it with a convenient and fertile heat, one must but seldome and by moderate intermissions present himselfe unto it.

Quo rapiet sitiens Venerem, interiusque recon-
*dat.*¹

Thirsting to snatch a fit,
And inly harbour it.

I see no mariages faile sooner or more troubled then such as are concluded for beauties sake, and huddled up for amorous desires. There are required more solide foundations and more constant grounds, and a more wariemarching to it: this earnest youthly heate serveth to no purpose. Those who thinke to honour marriage by joyning love unto it (in mine opinion) doe as those who, to doe vertue a favour, holde that nobilitie is no other thing then vertue. Indeed, these things have affinitie, but therewithall great difference: their names and titles should not thus be commixt; both are wronged so to be confounded. Nobilitie is

a worthy, goodly quality, and introduced with good reason, but inasmuch as it dependeth on others, and may fall to the share of any vicious and worthless fellowe, it is in estimation farre shorte of vertue. If it be a vertue, it is artificiall and visible; relying both on time and fortune; divers in forme, according unto countries; living and mortall; without birth, as the river Nilus: genealogicall and common; by succession and similitude; drawne along by consequence, but a very weake one. Knowledge, strength, goodnesse, beauty, wealth and all other qualities fall within compasse of commerce and communication; whereas this consumeth it selfe in it selfe, of no employment for the service of others. One proposed to one of our Kings the choice of two competitors in one office, the one a gentleman, the other a yeoman: hee appointed that without respect unto that quality, he who deserved best should be elected; but were their valour or worth fully alike, the gentleman should be regarded, this was justlie to give nobilitie her right and ranke. Antigonus, to --- unknowne young man who sued unto him for his fathers charge, a man of valour and who was lately deceased: "My friend (quoth hee) in such good turnes I weigh not my souldiers noble birth so much as their sufficiency." Of truth it should not be herein as with the officers of Spartan kings; trumpeters, musitians, cookes, in whose roome their children succeeded, how ignorant soever, before the best experienced in the trade. Those of Calicut make of their nobility a degree above humane. Marriage is interdicted them, and all other vocations saving warre. Of concubines they may have as many as they list, and women as many lechardes, without jealousye one of another. But it is a capital crime and unremissible offence to contract or marry with any of different condition; nay, they deeme themselves disparaged and polluted if they have but touched them in passing by. And as if their honour were much injured and interested by it they kill those who approach somewhat too neare them; in such sort that the ignoble are bound to cry as they walk along, like the gondoliers or water men of Venice along the streetes, least they should jostle with them: and the nobles command them to what side of the way they please. Thereby do these avoyde an obloquie which they esteeme perpetual, and those an assured death. No continuance of time, no favour of prince, no office, no vertue, nor any wealth can make a clown to become a gentleman; which is much furthered by this custome, that mariages of

one trade with another are strictly forbidden. A shoe-maker cannot marry with the race of a carpenter, and parents are precisely bound to train up orphans in their fathers trade, and in no other. Whereby the difference, the distinction and continuance of their fortune is maintained. A good marriage (if any there be) refuseth the company and conditions of love; it endeavoureth to present those of amity. It is a sweet society of life, full of constancy, of trust, and an infinite number of profitable and solid offices, and mutuall obligations: no woman that thoroughly and impartially tasteth the same

(*Optato quam junxit lumine tada*¹

Whom loves-fire joyned in double band,
With wished light of marriage brand)

would forgoe her estate to be her husbands master. Be she lodged in his affection as a wife, she is much more honourably and surly lodged. Be a man passionately entangled in any unlawfull lust or love, let him then be asked "On whom he would rather have some shame or disgrace to alight; eyther on his lawfull wife, or on his lechard mistress," "whose misfortune wold afflict him most, and to whom wisheth he greater good or more honour?" These questions admit no doubt in a sound marriage. The reason we see so few good, is an apparent sign of its worth, and a testimony of its price. Perfectly to fashion and rightly to take it, is the worthiest and best part of our societie. We cannot be without it, and yet we disgrace and vilifie the same. It may be compared to a cage, the birds without dispaire to get in, and those within dispaire to get out. Socrates being demanded, whether was most commodious, to take or not to take a wife: "Which soever a man doth (quoth he), he shall repent it." It is a match wherto may well be applied the common saying, *Homo homini aut Deus, aut lupus*:² "Man unto man is either a God or a wolf," to the perfect erecting whetof are the concurrences of divers qualities required. It is, now a dayes, found most fit or commodious for simple mindes and popular spirits whose dainties, curiosity and idlenes, do not so much trouble. Licentious humours, debauched conceits (as are mine), who hate all manner of duties, bondes, or observances are not so fit, so proper, and so suitable for it.

*Et mihi dulce magis resolutio vivere collo.*³

Sweeter it is to me, with loose necke to live free.

Of mine owne disposition, would Wisdome her selfe have had me, I should have refused to wed her. But we may say our pleasure;

the custome and use of common life overbeareth us. Most of my actions are guided by example, and not by election; yet, did I not properly enuite my selfe unto it, I was led and brought thereunto by strange and unexpected occasions; for, "not only incommodious things, but foule, vicious and inevitable, may by some condition and accident become acceptable and allowed." So vaine is mans posture and defence; and truly I was then drawne unto it, being but ill prepared and more backward then now I am that have made triall of it. And as licentious as the world reputes me, I have (in good truth) more strictly observed the lawes of wedlock then either I had promised or hoped. It is no longer time to wince when one hath put on the shackles. A man ought wisely to husband his liberty, but after he hath once submitted himselfe unto bondage, he is to stick unto it by the lawes of common duty, or at least enforce himselfe to keepe them. Those which undertake that covenant to deale therein with hate and contempt, do both injustly and incommodiously; and that goodly rule I see passe from hand to hand among women, as a sacred oracle,

Sers ton mary comme maistre:

Et l'en garde come d'un traistre.

Your husband as your master serve ye:

From him as from false friend preserve ye.

which is as much to say, beare thy selfe toward him with a constrained enmity and distrustful reverence (a stile of warre, and cry of defiance) is likewise injurious and difficult. I am too milde for such crabbed designes. To say truth, I am not yet come to that perfection of sufficiency and quaintnesse of wit, as to confound reason with injustice, and laugh or scoffe at each order or rule that jumps not with my humour. To hate superstition, I do not presently cast my selfe into irreligion. If one do not alwaies discharge his duty, yet ought he at least ever love, ever acknowledge it. It is treason for one to marry unless he wed. But go we on. Our poet describeth a marriage full of accord and good agreement, wherein notwithstanding there is not much loyalty. Did he meane it was not possible to performe loves rights, and yet reserve some rights toward marriage; and that one may bruse it, without altogether breaking it? A servant may picke his masters purse, and yet not hate him. Beauty, opportunity, destiny for destiny, hath also a hand therein,

(— *fatum est in partibus illis*

*Quas sinus abscondit; nam si tibi sidera cessent,
Nil faciet longi mensura incognita nerui.*⁴

¹ CATUL. Com. Ber. lxxix.

² ERAS. Chil. i. cent. clxix. 70.

³ COR. GAL. El. i. 61.

⁴ JUV. Sat. ix. 32. ~

In those parts there is fate, which hidden are ;
If then thou be not wrought for by thy starre,
The measure of long nerves unknowne to no-
thing serves.)

have entangled a woman to a stranger, yet peradventure not so absolutely, but that some bond may be left to hold her to her husband. They are two dissignes, having severall and unconfounded pathes leading to them. A woman may yeeld to such a man whom in no case she would have married. I mean not for the conditions of his fortune, but for the qualities of his person. Few men have wedded their sweethearts, their paramours or mistresses, but have come home by weeping crosse, and ere long repented their bargain. And even in the other world, what an unquiet life leads Jupiter with his wife, whom before he had secretly known and lovingly enjoyed? This is as they say, "to beray the panier, and then put it on your head." My selfe have seene in some good place love shamefully and dishonestly cured by marriage ; the considerations are too much different. We love without disturbance to ourselves ; two divers and in themselves contrary things. Isocrates said, that the towne of Athens pleased men, even as ladies doe whom wee serve for affection. Every one loved to come thither, to walke and passe away the time, but none affected to wed it ; that is to say : to endenison, to dwell and habituate himselfe therein. I have (and that to my spight and griefe), seene husbands hate their wives, onely because themselves wronged them. Howsoever, wee should not love them lesse for our faults ; at least for repentance and compassion they ought to be dearer unto us. These are different ends (saith he), and yet in some sort compatible. Wedlocke hath for his share, honour, justice, profit and constancie, a plaine but more generall delight. Love melts in onely pleasure ; and truly it hath it more ticklish, more lively, more quaint, and more sharpe, a pleasure inflamed by difficulty ; there must be a kinde of stinging, tingling and smarting. It is no longer love, be it once without arrowes or without fire. The liberality of ladies is too profuse in marriage, and blunts the edge of affection and desire. To avoide this inconvenience, see the punishment inflicted by the lawes of Lycurgus and Plato. But women are not altogether in the wrong, when they refuse the rules of life prescribed to the world, forsomuch as onely men have established them without their consent. There is commonly brauling and contention between them and us ; and the nearest consent we have with them is but stormy and tumultuous. In the opinion of our

author, we herein use them but inconsiderately. After we have knownen, that without comparison they are much more capable and violent in loves effects then we, as was testified by that ancient priest who had bene both man and woman, and tried the passions of both sexes.

Venus huic erat utraque nota :¹
Of both sortes he knew venery.

We have moreover learned by their owne mouth, what tryall was made of it, though in divers ages, by an Emperour and an Empresse of Rome, both skilful and famous masters in lawlesse lust and unruly wantonnesse ; for he in one night deflowered ten Sarmatian virgines that were his captives ; but she really did one night also answere five and twenty severall assaults, changing her assailants as she found cause to supply her neede or fitte her taste,

— *adhuc ardens rigida tentigine vulvae*
Et lassata viris, nondum satiata recessit.²

and that upon the controversie happened in Catalogue betweene a wife and a husband ; shee complaining on his over-violence and continuance therein (not so much in my conceit, because she was thereby over-labored, for but byfaith I beleeve not miracles), as under this pretext, to abridge and bridle the authority of husbands over their wives, which is the fundamental part of marriage : and to shew that their frowning, sullennesse and peevishnesse exceede the very nuptiall bed, and trample under-foote the very beauties, graces and delights of Venus (to whose complaint her husband, a right churlish and rude fellow answered, that even on fasting dayes he must needes do it ten times at least) was by the Queene of Aragon given this notable sentence : by which after mature deliberation of counsel, the good Queen to establish a rule and imitable example unto all posterity, for the moderation and required modesty in a lawfull marriage, ordained the number of sixe times a day as a lawfull, necessary and competent limit. Releasing and diminishing a great part of her sexes neede and desire, to establish (quoth she) an easie forme, and consequently permanent and immutable. Hereupon doctors cry out ; what is the appetite and lust of women, when as their reason, their reformation and their vertue, is retailed at such a rate? considering the divers judgement^o of our desires : for Solon, master of the lawiers schoole alloweth but

¹ OVID. *Met.* l. iii. 323. Tiros.

² JUVEN. *Sat.* vi. 127.

three times a month because this matrimonial intercourse should not decay or faile. Now after we beleev'd (say I) and preached thus much, we have for their particular portion allotted them continency, as their last and extreame penalty. There is no passion more importunate then this, which we would have them only to resist; not simply as a vice in it selfe, but as abomination and execration, and more then irreligion and parricide; whilst we our selves without blame or reproach offend in it at our pleasure. Even those amongst us who have earnestly labored to overcome lust, have sufficiently viewed what difficulty, or rather irresistible impossibilitie they found in it, using nevertheless materiall remedies, to tame, to weaken and coole the body. And we on the other side would have them sound, healthy, strong, in good liking, well-fed and chaste together, that is to say, both hot and colde. For marriage, which we averre should hinder them from burning, affords them but smal refreshing, according as our manners are. If they meet with a husband whose force by reason of his age is yet boyling, he will take a pride to spend it elsewhere.

*Sit tandem pudor, aut camus in ius,
Multis mentula nullibus redempta,
Non est hac tua, Basse, vendidisti.*¹

The philosopher Polemon was justly called in question by his wife, for sowing in barren fieldes the fruit due to the fertile. But if they match with broken stuffe in ful wedlocke, they are in worse case then either virgins or widowes. We deeme them sufficiently furnished if they have a man lie by them. As the Romans reputed Clodia Leta a vestall virgine disflowered, whom Caligula had touched, although it was manifestly proved she had but approached her; but on the contrary, their need or longing is thereby encreased; for but the touch or company of any man whatsoever stirreth up their heate, which in their solitude was hushd and quiet, and lay as cinders raked up in ashes. And to the end, as it is likely, to make by this circumstance and consideration their chastitie more meritorious: Boleslaus and Kinge his wife, King and Queene of Poland, lying together, the first day of their mariage vowed it with mutual consent, and in despite of all wedlocke commoditie of nuptiall delights maintained the same. Even from their infancy wee frame them to the sports of love: their instruction, behaviour, attire, grace, learning and all their words aimeth

onely at love, respects onely affection. Their nurces and their keepers imprint no other thing in them, then the lovelinesse of love, were it but by continually presenting the same unto them, to distaste them of it: My daughter (al the children I have) is of the age wherein the lawes excuse the forwardest to marry. She is of a slowe, nice and milde complexion, and hath accordingly beene brought up by hir mother in a retired and particular manner: so that shee beginneth but now to put-off childish simplicitie. She was one day reading a French booke before me, an obscene word came in her way (more bawdie in sound then in effect, it signifieth the name of a tree and another thing), the woman that looks to hir staid her presently, and somewhat churlishly made her step over the same. I let hir alone, because I would not crosse their rules, for I medle nothing with this government: womens policie hath a mysticall proceeding, we must be content to leave it to them. But if I be not deceived, the conversation of twenty lacqueys could not in six moneths have settled in her thoughts, the understanding, the use and consequences of the sound belonging to those filthy syllables as did that good olde woman by her checke and interdiction.

*Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus
Jam nunc, et incestos amoris
De tenero meditatur ungui.*¹

Maides mariage ripe straight to be taught
delight
Ionic daunces, fram'd by arte aright
In every joynt, and ev'n from their first
haire
Incestuous loves in meditation beare.

Let them somewhat dispence with ceremonies, let them fall into free libertie of speach; we are but children, we are but gullies, in respect of them, about any such subject. Heare them relate how we sue, how we woo, how we sollicite, and how we entertaine them, they will soone give you to understand that we can say, that we can doe, and that we can bring them nothing but what they already knew, and had long before digested without us. May it be (as Plato saith) because they have one time or other beene themselves wanton, licentious and amorous lads? Mine eares hapned one day in a place, where without suspicion they might listen and steale some of their private, lavish and bould discourses; O why is it not lawfull for me to repeat them? By'r lady (quoth I to my selfe), it is high time

¹ MART. I. xii. *Epig.* xcix. 10.

¹ HOR. *Car.* I. iii. *Od.* vi. 21.

indeed for us to go studie the phrases of Amadis, the metaphors of Aretine, and eloquence of Boccace, thereby to become more skillfull, more ready and more sufficient to confront them: surely we bestow our time wel; there is nor quaint phrase, nor choise word, nor ambiguous figure, nor pathetical example, nor love-expressing gesture, nor alluring posture, but they know them all better then our bookes: it is a cunning bred in their vaines and will never out of the flesh,

*Et mentem Venus ipsa dedit.*¹

Venus her selfe assign'd

To them both meanes and minde,

which these skill-infusing schoole-mistresses nature, youth, health and opportunitie, are ever buzzing in their eares, ever whispering in their minds: they need not learn, nor take paines about it; they beget it, with them it is borne.

*Nec tantum nireo gavisus est ulla columbo
Compar, vel si quid dicitur improbius,
Oculi mordenti semper decerpere rostro:
Quantum præcipue multivota est mulier.*²

No pigeons hen, or paire, or what worse name
You list, makes with hir snow-white cock such
game,

With biting bill to catch when she is kist,
As many-minded women when they list.

Had not this naturall violence of their desires beene somewhat held in awe by feare and honor, wherewith they have beene provided, we had all beene defamed. All the worlds motions bend and yeeld to this conjunction, it is a matter everywhere infused; and a centre whereto all lines come, all things looke. The ordinances of ancient and wise Rome, ordained for the service, and instituted for the behoofe of love, are yet to be seene; together with the precepts of Socrates to instruct courtezans.

*Necnon libelli Stoici inter sericos
Jacere puluillos amant.*³

Ev'n Stoicks books are pleas'd

Amidst silke cushions to be eas'd.

Zeno among other laws, ordered also the struglings, the opening of legges, and the actions, which happen in the deflowering of a virgin. Of what sense was the book of Strato the philosopher, of carnall copulation? And whereof treated Theophrastus in those he entitled, one *The Lover*, the other *Of Love*? Whereof Aristippus in his volume *Of Ancient Deliciousnesse* or *Sports*? What implied or what imported the ample and lively descriptions in Plato, of the loves practiced in his dayes? And

the lover of Demetrius? And Clinias, or the forced lover of Heraclides Ponticus? And that of Aristhenes, of the getting of children, or of weddings? And the other of the master, or of the lover? And that of Aristo of amorous exercises? Of Cleanthes, one of love, the other of the Art of love? The amorous dialogues of Spherus? And the filthy intolerable, and without blushing not to be uttered fable of Jupiter and Juno, written by Chrysippus? And his so lascivious fifty *Epistles*? I will omit the writings of some philosophers who have followed the sect of Epicurus, protectresse of all manner of sensuality and carnall pleasure. Fifty severall Deities were in times past allotted to this office. And there hath beene a nation found, which to allay and coole the lustfull concupiscent of such as came for devotion, kept wenches of purpose in their temples to be used; and it was a point of religion to deale with them before one went to prayers. *Nimirum propter continentiam incontinentia necessaria est, incendium ignibus extinguitur:* "Belike we must be incontinent that we may be continent, burning is quenched by fire." In most places of the world that part of our body was deified. In that same province some flead it to offer, and consecrated a peece thereof; others offred and consecrated their æed. In another the young men did publicly pierce and in divers places open their yard between flesh and skin, and through the holes put the longest and biggest stickes they could endure, and of those stickes made afterwards a fire, for an offering to their Gods, and were esteemed of small vigour and lesse chastity if by the force of that cruell paine they shewed any dismay. Elsewhere the most sacred magistrate was revered and acknowledged by those parts. And in divers ceremonies the portraiture thereof was carried and shewed in pompe and state, to the honour of sundry deities. The Egyptian dames in their Bacchanalian feasts wore a wooden one about their necks, exquisitely fashioned, as huge and heavy as every one could conveniently beare: besides that which the statue of their God represented, which in measure exceeded the rest of his body. The married women here-by, with their coverchefs frame the figure of one upon their foreheades; to glory themselves with the enjoying they have of it; and comming to be widowes, they place it behind, and hide it under their quoifes. The greatest and wisest matrons of Rome were honoured for offering flowers and garlands to God Priapus. And when their virgins were married, they (during the nuptials) were made to sit upon their

¹ VIRG. *Geor.* l. iii. 267.

² CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 125.

³ HOR. *Epod.* viii. 15.

priviti^{as}. Nor am I sure whether in my time I have not seene a glimpse of like devotion. What meant that laughter-moving, and maids-looke-drawing peece our fathers wore in their breeches, yet extant among the Switzers? To what end is at this present day the shew of our formall peeces under our Gascoine hoses, and often (which is worse) above their naturall greatnesse, by falsehood and imposture? A little thing would make me believe that the said kinde of garment was invented in the best and most upright ages, that the world might not be deceived, and all men should yeeld a publike account of their sufficiency. The simplest nations have it yet somewhat resembling the true forme. Then was the worke-mans skill instructed, how it is to be made, by the measure of the arme or foot. That good meaning man, who in my youth, thorowout his great city, caused so many faire, curious and ancient statues to be guelded, lest the sense of feeling might be corrupted, following the advice of that other good ancient man;

*Flagitii principium est nudare inter cives corpora:*¹

Mongst civill people sinne,
By baring bodies we beginne,

should have considered, how in the mysteries of the good goddesses, all apparance of man was excluded; that he was no whit neerer, if he did not also procure both horses and asses, and at length Nature her selfe to be guelded.

*Omne adeo genus in terris, hominumque ferarumque,
Et genus agnorum, pecudes, pictaque volucres,
In furias ignemque ruunt.*²

All kindes of things on earth, wilde beast,
mankinde,

Field-beasts, faire-fethered fowle, and fish
(we finde)

Into loves fire and fury run by kinde.

The Gods (saith Plato) have furnished man with a disobedient, skittish, and tyrannicall member; which like an untamed furious beast, attempteth by the violence of his appetite to bring all things under his becke. So have they allotted women another as insulting, wilde and fierce; in nature like a greedy, devouring, and rebellious creature, who if when he craveth it, hee bee refused nourishment, as impatient of delay, it enrageth; and infusing that rage into their bodies, stoppeth their conduits, hindreth their respiration, and causeth a thousand kindes of inconveniences, untill sucking up the fruit of the

generall thirst, it has largely bedewed and enseeded the bottome of their matrix. Now my law-giver should also have considered that peradventure it were a more chaste and commodiously fruitfull use betimes to give them a knowledge and taste of the quicke, than according to the liberty and heate of their fantasie, suffer them to guesse and imagine the same. In lieu of true essentiall parts they by desire surmise and by hope substitute others, three times as extravagant. And one of my acquaintance was spoiled by making open shew of his in place, where yet it was not convenient to put them in possession of their more serious use. What harme cause not those huge draughts or pictures, which wanton youth with chalker or coales draw in each passage, wall, or staires of our great houses, whence a cruell contempt of our naturall store is bred in them? Who knoweth whether Plato, ordaining amongst other well-instituted Commonwealths, that men and women, old and young, should in their exercises or gymnastickes present themselves naked one to the sight of another, aimed at that or no? The Indian women, who daily without interdiction view their men all over, have at least wherewith to asswage and coole the sense of their seeing. And whatsoever the women of that great kingdom of Pegu say, who from their waist downward, have nothing to cover themselves but a single cloth slith before; and that so straight that what nice modestie or ceremonious decencie soever they seem to affect, one may plainly at each step see what God hath sent them: that it is an invention or shift devised to draw men unto them, and with-draw them from other men or boies, to which unnaturall brutish sinne that nation is wholly addicted: it might be said, they lose more than they get: and that a full hunger is more vehement then one which hath beene glutted, be it but by the eyes. And Livia said, that to an honest woman a naked man is no more than an image. The Lacedemonian women, more virgin-wives then are our maidens, saw every day the young men of their citie naked at their exercises: themselves nothing precise to hide their thighs in walking, esteeming themselves (saith Plato) sufficiently clothed with their vertue, without vardingall. But those of whom S. Augustine speaketh, have attributed much to nakednesse, who made a question, whether women at the last day of judgement should rise againe in their proper sex, and not rather in ours, lest even then they tempt us in that holy state. In summe, we lure and every way flesh them: we uncessantly

¹ Cic. *Tusc.* l. iv. En. * Virg. *Georg.* l. iii. 244.

enflame and encite their imagination : and then we cry out, But oh, but oh, the belly. Let us confesse the truth, there are few amongst us that feare not more the shame they may have by their wives offences, then by their owne vices ; or that cares not more (oh wonderous charity) for his wives, then his own conscience ; or that had not rather be a theefe and church-robber, and have his wife a murderer and an heretike, then not more chaste than himselfe. Oh impious estimation of vices ! Both wee and they are capable of a thousand more hurtfull and unnaturall corruptions then is lust or lasciuiousnesse. But we frame vices and waigh sinnes, not according to their nature, but according to our interest ; whereby they take so many different unequall formes. The severity of our lawes makes womens inclination to that vice more violent and faulty then its condition beareth ; and engageth it to worse proceedings then is their cause. They will readily offer rather to follow the practise of law, and plead at the barre for a fee, or go to the warres for reputation, then in the midst of idlenesse and deliciousnesse be tied to keepe so hard a sentinell, so dangerous a watch. See they not plainly, how there is neither merchant, lawyer, souldier, or church-man, but will leave his accounts, forsake his client, quit his glory and neglect his function, to follow this other businesse ? And the burden-bearing porter, souterly cobbler and toilefull labourer, all harassed, all besmeared and all besmoiled through travell, labour and trudging, will forget all, to please himselfe with this pleasing sport.

*Nam tu quæ tenuit dives Achæmenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias opes,
Permutare velis crine Licynniæ,
Plenas aut Arabum domos,
Dum fragrantia detorquet ad oscula
Cervicem, aut facili sævitia negat,
Quæ poscente magis gaudet eripi,
Interdum rapere occupat ?¹*

Would you exchange for your faire mistresse haire,

All that the rich Achæmenes did hold,
Or all that fertile Phrygiæ soile doth beare,
Or all th' Arabians store of spice and gold ?
Whilst she to fragrant kisses turns her head,
Or with a courteous coinesse them denies ;
Which more then he that speeds she would have sped,
And which sometimes to snatch she formost hies ?

I wot not whether Cæsars exploits, or Alexanders achievements exceed in hardiness the resolution of a beauteous young

woman, trained after our manner in the open view and uncontrolled conversion of the world, solicited and battered by so many contrary examples, exposed to a thousand assaults and continuall pursuits, yet still holding herselfe good and unvanquished. There is no point of doing more thorny nor more active then this of not doing. I finde it easier to bear all ones life a combersome armour on his backe then a maiden-head. And the vow of virginity is the noblest of all vowes, because the hardest. *Diabolus virtus in lumbis est* :¹ The devil's master-point lies in our loines," saith St. Jerome. Surely we have resigned the most difficult and vigorous devoire of mankind unto women, and quit them the glory of it, which might stead them as a singular motive to opinionate themselves therein, and serve them as a worthy subject to brave us, and trample under feet that vaine pre-eminence of valour and vertue we pretend over them. They shall finde (if they but heed it) that they shall thereby not only be highly regarded, but also more beloved. A gallant undaunted spirit leaveth not his pursuits for a bare refusall ; so it bee a refusall of chastitie, and not of choice. Wee may swear, threaten and wailingly complaine ; we lie, for we love them the better. There is no enticing lure to wisdom and secret modestie ; so it be not rude, churlish, and froward. It is blockishnesse and basenesse to be obstinately willfull against hatred and contempt. But against a vertuous and constant resolution matched with an acknowledging minde, it is the exercise of a noble and generous minde. They may accept of our service unto a certaine measure, and make us honestly perceive how they disdaine us not, for the law which enjoineth them to abhorre us because we adore them, and hate us forso-much as love them, is doubtless very cruell, were it but for its difficultie. Why may they not listen to our offers and not gaine-say our requests, so long as they containe themselves within the bounds of modestie ? Wherefore should we imagine they inwardly affect a freer meaning ? A queene of our time said wittily, that " to refuse mens kinde summons is a testimony of much weakness, and an accusing of ones own facility ; and that an unattempted lady could not vaunt of her chastitie." Honours limits are not restrained so short ; they may somewhat be slackted, and without offending somewhat dispensed withall. At the end of his frontiers there is left a free, indifferent, and neuter space. He that could drive and force his mistresse

¹ MOR. CAR. l. ii. Od. xii. 21.

¹ HIERON.

into a corner and reduce her into her sort, hath no great matter in him if he be not content with his fortune. The price or honor of the conquest is rated by the difficultie. Will you know what impression your merits, your services and worth have made in her heart? Judge of it by her behaviour and disposition.

Some one may give more that (all things considered) giveth not too much. The obligation of a benefit hath wholly reference unto the will of him that giveth; other circumstances which fall within the compasse of good turnes, are dumbe, dead and casual. That little she giveth may cost her more then all her companion hath. If rarenesse be in any thing worthy estimation, it it ought to be in this. Respect not how little it is, but how few have it to give. The value of money is changed according to the coine, stampe or marke of the place. Whatsoever the spight or indiscretion of some may upon the excesse of their discontentment make them say: Vertue and truth doe ever recover their advantage. I have known some whose reputation hath long time been impeached by wrong and interested by reproach, restored unto all mens good opinion and generall approbation without care or art, only by their constancie, each repenting and denying what he formerly beleev'd. From wenches somewhat suspected, they now hold the first ranke amongst honourable ladies. Some told Plato that all the world spake ill of him: "Let them say what they list," quoth hee, "I will so live that I'll make them recant and change their speeches." Besides the feare of God and the reward of so rare a glory which should incite them to preserve themselves, the corruption of our age enforceth them unto it, and were I in their clothes, there is nothing but I would rather doe then commit my reputation into so dangerous hands. In my time the pleasure of reporting and blabbing what one hath done (a pleasure not much short of the acte it selfe in sweetnesse) was only allowed to such as had some assured, trustie, and singular friend; whereas now-a-daies the ordinary entertainments and familiar discourses of meetings and at tables are the boastings of favours received, graces obtained, and secret liberalities of ladies. Verily, it is too great an abjection and argueth a basenesse of heart, so fiercely to suffer those tender, daintie, delicious joyes to be persecuted, pelted, and foraged by persons so ungratefull, so undiscree, and so giddy-headed. This our immoderate and lawlesse exasperation against this vice, proceedeth and is bred of jealousy; the most

vaine and turbulent infirmitie that may afflict mans minde.

*Quis velat appposito lumen de lumine sumi?
Dent licet assidue, nil tamen inde perit.*¹

To borrow light of light, who would deny?
Though still they give, nothing is lost thereby.

That, and Envie her sister, are (in mine opinion) the fondest of the troupe. Of the latter, I cannot say much; a passion which how effectuell and powerfull soever they set sooth, of her good favour she medleth not with me. As for the other I know it only by sight. Beasts have some feeling of it. The shepheard Cratis, being fallen in love with a shee goat, her bucke for jealousy beat out his braines as hee lay asleepe. Wee have raised to the highest straine the excesse of this moodie fever, after the example of some barbarous nations. The best disciplined have therewith been tainted, it is reason, but not carried away by it:

*Ense maritali nemo confossus adulter,
Purpureo stygius sanguine tinxit aquas.*

With husbands sword yet no adulter slaine,
With purple blood did Stygian waters staine.

Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompey, Authony, Cato and divers other gallant men were cuckolds, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it. There was in all that time but one gullish coxcombe Lepidus, that died with the anguish of it.

*Ala tunc te miserum malique fati,
Quem attractis pedibus patente porta,
Percurrent mugilesque raphanique.*²

Ala thee then wretched, of accursed fate,
Whom fish-wives, radish-wives of base estate,
Shall scuffling over-runne in open gate.

And the God of our Poet, when he surprised one of his companions napping with his wife, was contented but to shame them:

*Atque aliquis de iis non tristibus optat,
Sic fieri turpis.*³

Some of the merier Gods doth wish in heart
To share their shame, of pleasure to take part.

And yet forbearth not to be enflamed with the gentle dalliances and amorous blandishments she offereth him, complaining that for so slight a matter he should distrust her to him deare-deare affection:

*Quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit
Quo tibi Divæ mei?*

So faine why fetch you your pleas pedigree?
Whither is fled the trust you had in mee?

And which is more, she becomes a suiter to him in the behalfe of a bastard of hers,

¹ OVID. *Art. Amand.* l. iii. 93.

² CATUL. *Lyr. Epig.* xv. 17.

³ OVID. *Met.* l. iv. 187.

⁴ VIRG. *Æn.* l. vii. 395.

Arma rogo genitrix nato.¹

A mother for a sonne, I crave,
An armor he of you may have.

Which is freely granted her : and Vulcan
speakes honourably of Æneas,

Arma acri facienda viro.²

An armour must be hammered out,
For one of courage sterne and stout.

In truth with an humanity more then hu-
mane. And which excesse of goodnesse by
my consent shall onely be left to the Gods :

Nec divis hominis componier æquum est.³

Nor is it meet, that men with Gods
Should be compar'd, there is such ods.

As for the confusion of children, besides that
the gravest law-makers appoint and affect
it in their Common-wealths, it concerneth not
women with whom this passion is, I wot not
how in some sort better placed, fitter seated.

*Sæpe etiam Juno maxima cæcicolum
Conjugis in culpa flagravet quotidiana.⁴*

Ev'n Juno, chiefe of Goddesses, oft-time,
Hath growne hot at her husbands daily crime.

When jealousie once seizeth on these silly,
weake, and unresisting soules, 'tis pitifull to
see how cruelly it tormenteth, insultingly it
tyrannizeth them. It insinuateth it selfe
under colour of friendship ; but after it once
possesseth them, the same causes which
served for a ground of good-will, serve for
the foundation of mortall hatred. And of all
the mindes diseases, that is it, whereto most
things serve for sustenance, and fewest for
remedy. The vertue, courage, health, merit
and reputation of their husbands are the
firebrands of their despight, and motives of
their rage.

Nulla sunt inimicitia nisi amo *rbæ.⁵*

No enmities so bitter prove,
And sharpe, as those which spring of love.

This consuming feaver blemisheth and
corrupteth all that otherwise is good and
goodly in them. And how chaste or good
a houswife soever a jealous woman is, there is
no action of hers but tasteth of sharpnesse
and smaks of importunity. It is a furious
perturbation, a moody agitation, which
throws them into extremities altogether
contrary to the cause. The successe of
one Octavius in Rome was strange, who,
having layen with and enjoied the love of
Pontia Posthumia, increased his affection by
enjoying her, and instantly sued to marry
her ; but being unable to perswade her, his

extreme passionate love precipitated him
into effects of a most cruell, mortall and
inexorable hatred, whereupon he killed her.
Likewise the ordinary symptoms or passions
of this other amorous disease are intestine
hates, slie monopolies, close conspiracies :

Notumque, furens quid fœmina possit.¹

It is knowne what a woman may,
Whose raging passions have no stay.

And a raging spight, which so much the
more fretteth it selfe by being forced to ex-
cuse it selfe under pretence of good-will.
Now the duty of chastitie hath a large
extension and farre-reaching compasse. Is
it their will we would have them to bridle ?
That's a part very pliable and active. It is
very nimble and quick-rolling to bee staied.
What ? If dremes do sometimes engage
them so farre as they cannot dissemble nor
deny them ; it lieth not in them (nor perhaps
in chastitie it selfe, seeing she is a female) to
shield themselves from concupiscence and
avoid desiring. If only their will interesse
and engage us, where and in what case are
we ? Imagine what great throng of men
there would bee in pursuit of this privilege,
with winged-speed (though without eies and
without tongue) to be carried upon the
fist of every woman that would buy him.
The Scythian women were wont to thrust
out the eies of all their slaves and prisoners
taken in warre, thereby to make more free
and private use of them. Oh what a furious
advantage is opportunitie ! He that should
demand of me what the chiefe or first part
in love is, I would answer, To know how to
take fit time ; even so the second, and like-
wise the third. It is a point which may doe
all in all. I have often wanted fortune, but
sometimes also enterprise. God shield him
from harme that can yet mocke himselfe
with it. In this age more rashnesse is re-
quired ; which our youths excuse under
colour of heat. But should our women
looke neerer unto it, they might finde how
it rather proceedeth of contempt. I super-
stitiously feared to offend ; and what I love
I willingly respect. Besides that, who de-
priveth this merchandize of reverence, de-
faceth all lustre of it. I love that a man
should therein somewhat play the childe,
the dastard and the servant. If not alto-
gether in this, yet in some other things I
have some aires or motives of the sottish
bashfulnesse, wherof Plutarch speaketh ;
and the course of my life hath diversly
beene wounded and tainted by it ; a qualitie
very ill beseeeming my universall forme. And
what is there amongst us but sedition and

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. viii. 382.

² CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 141.

³ PROPERT. l. ii. *El.* viii. 3.

⁴ *Ib.* 441.

⁵ *Ib.* 138.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. v. 6.

jarring? Mine eyes be as tender to beare a refusall as to refuse; and it doth so much trouble me to be troublesome to others, that where occasions force me or dutie compelleth me to trie the will of any one, be it in doubtful things, or of cost unto him, I do it but faintly and much against my will: but if it be for mine owne private businesse (though Homer say most truly, that in an indigent or needy man, bashfulness is but a fond vertue) I commonly substitute a third party, who may blush in my roome: and direct them that employ mee, with like difficulty: so that it hath sometimes befallen me to have the will to deny when I had not power to refuse. It is then folly to go about to bridle women of a desire so fervent and so naturall in them. And when I heare them bragge to have so virgin-like a will and cold mind, I but laugh and mocke at them. They recoile too farre backward. If it be a toothlesse beldame or decrepit grandame, or a young drie pthisicke starveling; if it be not altogether credible, they have at least some colour or appearance to say it. But those which stirre about and have a little breath left them, marre but their market with such stuffe: forso much as inconsiderate excuses are no better then accusations. As a gentleman my neighbour, who was suspected of insufficiencie,

*Languidior tenera cui pendens sicula beta,
Nunquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam,*¹

to justifie himselfe, three or foure dayes after his mariage, swore confidently that the night before he had performed twenty courses, which oath hath since served to convince him of meere ignorance, and to divorce him from his wife. Besides, this allegation is of no great worth; for there is nor continencie nor vertue where no resistance is to the contrary. It is true, may one say, but I am not ready to yeeld. The Saints themselves speake so. This is understood of such as boast in good earnest of their coldnesse and insensibility, and would be credited with a serious countenance: for, when it is from an affected looke (where the eyes give words the lie) and from the faltring speech of their profession (which ever workes against the wooll) I allow of it. I am a duteous servant unto plainnesse, simplicity and liberty; but there is no remedie, if it be not meere plaine, simple or infantine; it is fond, inept and unseemly for ladies in this commerce; it presently inclineth and bendeth to impudence. Their disguisings, their figures and dissimulations cozen none but fooles; their lying sitteth in the chaire of honour; it is a

byway, which by a false posterne leads us unto truth. If we cannot containe their imaginations, what require we of them, the effects? Many there be who are free from all strangers-communication, by which chastitie may be corrupted and honestie defiled.

*Illud saepe facit, quod sine teste facit.*²

What she doth with no witnesse to it, She often may be found to do it.

And those whom we feare least are peradventure most to be feared; their secret sins are the worst.

*Offensor maccha simpliciore minus.*³

Pleas'd with a whores simplicity, Offended with her nicitie.

There are effects which without impuritie may lose them their pudicitie, and which is more, without their knowledge. *Obstetrix virginis cuiusdam integritatem manu velut explorans, sive malevolentia, sive inscitia, sive casu, dum inspicit, perdidit*: "A midwife searching with her finger into a certaine maiden's virginity, either for ill will, or of unskilfulnesse, or by chance, whilst shee seekes and lookes into it, shee lost and spoiled it." Some one hath lost or wronged her virginity in looking or searching for it; some other killed the same in playing with it. We are not able precisely to circumscribe them the actions we forbid them: our law must be conceived under generall and uncertaine termes. The very idea we forge unto their chastity is ridiculous. For amongst the extremest examples or patterns I have of it, it is Patua, the wife of Faunus, who, after shee was married, would never suffer her selfe to be seene of any man whatsoever. And Hierons wife, that never felt her husbands stinking breath, supposing it to be a quality common to all men. It were necessary, that to satisfie and please us, they should become insensible and invisible. Now let us confess that the knot of the judgement of this duty consisteth principally in the will. There have beene husbands who have endured this accident, not only without reproach and offence against their wives, but with singular acknowledgment, obligation and commendation to their vertue. Some one that more esteemed her honestie then she loved her life, hath prostituted the same unto the lawlesse lust and raging sensuality of a mortall hatefull enemy, thereby to save her husbands life; and hath done that for him which she never could have beene induced to do for her selfe. This is no place to extend these examples; they are too high and over-rich to be presented in

¹ CAT. *Eleg.* iii. 27.

¹ MART. l. vii. *Epig.* lxi. 6.

² MART. l. vi. *Epig.* vii. 6.

this luster: let us therefore reserve them for a nobler seat. But to give you some examples of a more vulgar stampe. Are there not women daily seene amongst us, who for the only profit of their husbands, and by their expresse order and brokage, make sale of their honesty? And in old times Plautius the Argian, through ambition offred his to King Philip. Even as that Galba, who bestowed a supper on Mecenas, perceiving him and his wife beginne to bandy eyetricks and signes, of civility shrunke downe upon his cushion, as one expressed with sleepe, to give better scope unto their love: which he avouched as pretily: for at that instant a servant of his, presuming to lay hands on the plate which was on the table, he cried outright unto him: "How now varlet? seest thou not I sleepe only for Mecenas?" One may be of a loose behaviour, yet of purer will and better reformed then another who frameth her selfe to a precise appearance. As some are seene complaine because they vowed chastitie before yeeres of discretion or knowledge, so have I seene others unfaindely bewaile and truly lament that they were vowed to licentiousnesse and dissolutenes before the age of judgement and distinction. The parents lewdnesse may be the cause of it; or the force of impulsive necessity, which is a shrewd counsellor and a violent perswader. Though chastity were in the East Indies of singular esteeme, yet the custome permitted that a married wife might freely betake her selfe to what man soever did present her an elephant: and that which some glory to have been valued at so high a rate. Phedon the philosopher, of a noble house, after the taking of his country Elis, professed to prostitute the beauty of his youth to all comers, so long as it should continue, for money to live with and beare his charges. And Solon was the first of Greece (say some), who by his lawes gave women liberty, by the price of their honesty, to provide for their necessities: a custome which Herodotus reporteth to have beene entertained before him in divers commonwealths. And moreover, what fruit yeelds this carefull vexation? For, what justice soever be in this passion, yet should we note whether it harrie us unto our profit or no. Thinkes any man that he can ring them by his industrie?

*Pone scram, cohibe; sed quis custodiet ipsos Custodes? cautia est, et ab illis incipit uxor.*¹

Keepe her with locke and key: but from her who shall keepe

Her keepers? She begins with them, her wits so deepe.

What advantage sufficeth them not in this so skillfull age? Curiosity is everywhere vicious, but herein pernicious. It is meere folly for one to seeke to be resolved of a doubt, or search into a mischief, for which there is no remedie, but makes it worse, but festereth the same: the reproach whereof is increased, and chiefly published by jealousy; and the revenge whereof doth more wound and disgrace our children then it helpeth or graceth us. You waste away and die in pursuit of so concealed a mysterie, of so obscure a verification. Whereunto how piteously have they arrived, who in my time have attained their purpose? If the accuser or intelligencer present not withall the remedie and his assistance, his office is injurious, his intelligence harmefull, and which better deserveth a stabbe then doth a lie. Wee flout him no lesse that toileth to prevent it, then laugh at him that is a cuckold and knowes it not. The character of eucoldrie is perpetuall; on whom it once fastneth it holdeth for ever. The punishment bewraith it more then the fault. It is a goodly sight to draw our private misfortunes from out the shadow of oblivion or dungeon of doubt, for to blazon and proclaime them on tragical stages; and misfortunes which pinch us not, but by relation. For (as the saying is) she is a good wife, and that a good marriage, not that is so indeed, but whereof no man speaketh. Wee ought to be wittily-wary to avoid this irksome, this tedious and unprofitable knowledge. The Romans were accustomed, when they returned from any journey, to send home before, and give their wives notice of their coming, that so they might not surprize them. And therefore hath a certaine nation instituted the priest to open the way unto the bridegroom, on the wedding day, thereby to take from him the doubt and curiosity of searching in this first attempt, whether shee come a pure virgin to him, or be broken and tainted with any former love. But the world speaks of it. I know a hundred cuckolds which are so honestly and little undecently. An honest man and a gallant spirit is moaned, but not disesteemed by it. Cause your vertue to suppress your mishap, that honest-minded men may blame the occasion and curse the cause; that he which offends you may tremble with onely thinking of it. And, moreover, what man is scot-free, or who is not spoken of in this sense, from the meanest unto the highest?

*tot qui legionibus imperitavit,
Et melior quam tu multis fuit, improbe, rebus.*¹

¹ JUVEN. Sat. vi. 247.

¹ LUCR. l. iii. 1070.

He that so many bands of men commanded,
Thy better much, sir knave, was much like
branded.

Seest thou not how many honest men, even in thy presence, are spoken of and touched with this reproach? Imagine then they will be as bold with thee, and say as much of thee else-where. For no man is spared; and even ladies will scoff and prattle at it. And what do they nowadays more willingly flout at, than at any well composed and peaceable marriage: There is none of you all but hath made one cuckold or other. Now nature stood ever on this point, kae mee Ile kae thee, and ever ready to bee even alwise on recompences and vicissitude of things, and to give as good as one brings. The long-continued frequency of this accident should by this time have seasoned the bitter taste thereof: it is almost become a custome. Oh miserable passion, which hath also this mischief, to be incommunicable.

*Fortis etiam nostris invidit questibus aures.*¹

Fortune ev'n eares; envied,
To heare us when we cried.

For to what friend dare you entrust your grievances, who, if hee laugh not at them, will not make vie of them, as a direction and instruction to take a share of the quarie or bootie to himselfe? As well the sowrenesse and inconveniences, as the sweetness and pleasures incident to marriage, are secretly concealed by the wiser sort. And amongst other importunate conditions belonging to wedlocke, this one, unto a babbling fellow as I am, is of the chiefest; that tyrannous custome makes it uncomely and hurtfull for a man to communicate with any one all hee knowes and thinkes of it. To give women advice to distaste them from jealousy, were but time lost or labour spent in vaine. Their essence is so infected with suspicion, with vanity and curiosity, that we may not hope to cure them by any lawfull meane. They often recover of this infirmite by a forme of health, much more to be feared than the disease itselfe. For even as some enchantment cannot ridde away an evil but with laying it on another, so when they lose it, they transerre and bestow this maladie on their husbands. And to say truth, I wot not whether a man can endure anything at their hands worse then jealousy; of all their conditions it is most dangerous, as the head of all their members. Pittacus said, that "every man had one imperfection or other, his wives curst pate was his;" and but for that, he should esteeme himselfe

most happy. It must needs be a weightie inconvenience, wherewith so just, so wise and worthy a man, felt the state of his whole life distempered: what shall we petie fellowes doe then? The Senate of Marseille had reason to grant and enroll his request who demanded leave to kill himselfe, thereby to free and exempt himselfe from his wives tempestuous scolding humor; for it is an evil that is never cleane rid away, but by removing the whole peece: and hath no other composition of worth, but flight or sufferance; both too-too hard, God knowes. And in my conceit, he understood it right that said, a good marriage might be made betwene a blinde woman and a deafe man. Let us also take heed, lest this great and violent strictnesse of obligation we enioine them, produce not two effects contrary to our end: that is to wit, to set an edge upon their suiters stomachs, and make women more easie to yeeld. For, as concerning the first point, enhancing the price of the place, we raise the price and endear the desire of the conquest. Might it be Venus her selfe, who so cunningly enhanced the market of her ware by the brokage or pandering of the lawes? knowing how sottish and tastelesse a delight it is, were it not enabled by opinion and endeared by dearnesse? To conclude, it is all but hogges flesh, varied by sauce, as said Flaminus his host. Cupid is a roguish God; his sport is to wrestle with devotion and to contend with justice. It is his glory, that his power checketh and copes all other might, and that all other rules give place to

*Materiam culpe prosequiturque sua.*¹

He prosecutes the ground,
Where he is faultily found.

And as for the second point; should wee not be lesse cuckolds if we lesse feared to be so; according to womens conditions: whom inhibition inciteth, and restraint inviteth.

*Uti velis nolunt, ubi nolis volunt ultro;*²

They will not when you will,
When you will not, they will;

*Concessa pudet ire via.*³

They are asham'd to passe
The way that granted was.

What better interpretation can we finde concerning Messalinas demeanor? In the beginning she made her silly husband cuckold, secretly and by stealth (as the fashion is)

¹ CATUL. *Her. Argon.* 170.

¹ OVID. *Trist. El.* i. 34.

² TER. *Eunuc.* act iv. sc. 6.

³ LUCAN. l. ii. 445.

but perceiving how uncontrolled and easily she went on with her matches, by reason of the stupidity that possessed him, shee presently contemned and forsooke that course, and began openly to make love, to avouch her servants, to entertaine and favour them in open view of all men; and would have him take notice of it, and seeme to be distasted with it: but the silly gull and senselesse coxcombe awaked not for all this, and by his over-base facility, by which hee seemed to authorize and legitimate her humours, yeelding her pleasures weerish, and her amours tastelesse: what did shee? Being the wife of an Emperour, lustie in health and living; and where? In Rome, on the worlds chiefe theater, at high nooneday, at a statly feast, in a publike ceremonie; and which is more, with one Silius, whom long time before she had freely enioyed, she was solemnly married one day that her husband was out of the citie. Seemes it not that she tooke a direct course to become chaste, by the retchlesnesse of her husband? or that she sought another husband, who by jealousie might whet her appetite, and who insisting might incite her? But the first difficultie she met with was also the last. The drowzie beast roused himselfe and suddenly started up. One hath often the worst bargaines at the hands of such sluggish loggerheads. I have seene by experience, that this extreme patience of long-sufferance, if it once come to be dissolved, produceth most bitter and outrageous revenges: for, taking fire all at once, choller and fury huddling all together, becoming one confused chaos, clattereth forth their violent effects at the first charge.

Iraeque omnes effundit habenas ¹

It quite lets loose the raine,
That anger should restraime.

He caused both her and a great number of her instruments and abettors to be put to death; yea such as could not doe withall, and whom by force of whipping she had allured to her adulterous bed. What Virgill saith of Venus and Vulcan, Lucretius had more sutablely said it of a secretly-stolne enjoying betweene her and Mars.

— *belli fera munera Mavors*

*Armipotens regit in gremium qui sepe tuum se
Rei: cit, aeterno devinctus vulnere amoris:
Pascit amore avidos inhians in te Dea visus.
Eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore:
Hunc tu Diva tuo recubantem corpore sancto
Circumfusa super, suavis ex ore loquelas
Funde.* ²

Mars, mighty arm'd, rules the fierce feats of
armes,

Yet often casts himselfe into thine armes,
Oblig'd thereto by endlesse wounds of love,
Gaping on thee feeds greedy sight with love,
His breath hangs at thy mouth who upward
lies;

Goddesse thou circling him, while he so lies,
With thy celestiall body, speeches sweet
Powre from thy mouth (as any nectar sweet).

When I consider this, *relicti, pascit, inhians, molli, fovet, medullas, labefacta, pendet, percurrit*, and this noble *circumfusa*, mother of gentle *infusus*, I am vexed at these small points and verball allusions, which since have sprung up. To those well-meaning people there need no sharpe encounter or witty equivocation: their speech is altogether full and massie, with a naturall and constant vigor: they are all epigram, not only taile, but head, stomacke and feet. There is nothing forced, nothing wrested, nothing limping; all marcheth with like tenour. *Contextus totus virilis est, non sunt circa flosculos occupati*. The whole composition or text is manly, they are not bebusied about rhetorike flowers. This is not a soft quaint eloquence, and only without offence; it is sinnowe, materiall, and solid; not so much delighting, as filling and ravishing, and ravisheth most the strongest wits, the wittiest conceits. When I behold these gallant formes of expressing, so lively, so nimble, so deepe, I say not this is to speake well, but to think well. It is the quaintnesse or liveliness of the conceit that elevateth and puffes up the words. *Pectus est quod disertum facit*: "It is a mans owne breast that makes him eloquent." Our people terme judgement, language; and full conceptions, fine words. This pourtraiture is directed not so much by the hands dexterity as by having the object more lively printed in the minde. Gallus speaks plainly because he conceiveth plainly. Horace is not pleased with a slight or superficiall expressing; it would betray him; he seeth more cleere and further into matters: his spirit pickes and ransacketh the whole store-house of words and figures, to shew and present himselfe; and he must have them more then ordinary, as his conceit is beyond ordinary. Plutarch saith that he discerned the Latine tongue by things. Here likewise the sense enlighteneth and produceth the words: no longer windy or spongy, but of flesh and bone. They signifie more then they utter. Even weake ones shew some image of this. For, in Italie, I spake what I listed in ordinary discourses, but in more serious and pithy I durst not have dared to trust to an idiom which I could not winde or turne beyond its common grace or vulgar bias. I will be able to adde and use in it somewhat of mine owne. The managing and

¹ Virg. *Æn.* l. xii. 499.

² Lucr. l. i. 33.

employment of good wits endeareth and giveth grace unto a tongue: not so much innovating as filling the same with more forcible and divers services, wresting, straining and enfolding it. They bring no words unto it, but enrich their owne, waigh-downe and cramme-in their signification and custome; teaching it unwonted motions; but wisely and ingeniously. Which skill how little it is given to all, may plainly bee discerned by most of our moderne French writers. They are over-bold and scornfull, to shunne the common trodden path: but want of invention and lacke of discretion looseth them. There is nothing to be scene in them but a miserable strained affectation of straunge inke-pot termes; harsh, cold and absurd disguisements, which in stead of raising, pull downe the matter. So they may gallantize and flush it in noveltie, they care not for efficacie. To take hold of a new farre-fetcht word, they neglect the usuall, which often are more significant, forcible and sinnowy. I finde sufficient store of stuffe in our language, but some defect of fashion. For there is nothing but could be framed of our hunters gibbrish words or strange phrases, and of our warriours peculiar tearmes; a fruitfull and rich soile to borrow of. And as herbes and trees are bettered and fortified by being transplanted, so formes of speech are embellished and graced by variation. I finde it sufficiently plenteous, but not sufficiently playable and vigorous. It commonly faileth and shrinketh under a pithy and powerfull conception. If your march therein be far extended, you often feele it droope and languish under you, unto whose default the Latine doth now and then present his helping hand, and the Greeke to some others. By some of these words which I have culled out, we more hardly perceive the energie or effectuall operation of them, forsomuch as use and frequencie have in some sort abated the grace and made their beauty vulgar. As in our ordinary language we shall sometimes meete with excellent phrases and quaint metaphors, whose blithenesse fadeth through age, and colour is tarnished by too common using them. But that doth nothing distaste those of sound judgement, nor derogate from the glory of those ancient authors, who, as it is likely, were the first that brought these words into luster, and raised them to that straine. The sciences handle this over finely with an artificiall maner, and different from the vulgar and naturall forme. My page makes love, and understands it feelingly; read Leon Hebraeus or Ficinus unto him; you speake of him, of his thoughts and of his actions, yet understands he no

thing what you meane. I nor acknowledge nor discerne in Aristotle the most part of my ordinary motions. They are clothed with other robes, and shrouded under other vestures for the use of academical schooles. God send them well to speed; but were I of the trade, I would naturalize arte as much as they artize nature. Farewell, Benbo and Equicola. When I write I can well omit the company, and spare the remembrance of books; for feare they interrupt my forme. And in truth good authors deject me too-much, and quaille my courage. I willingly imitate that painter who, having bungler-like drawn and fondly represented some cockes, forbad his boies to suffer any live cocke to come into his shop. And to give my selfe some luster or grace have rather neede of some of Antigenydes the musician's invention; who, when he was to play any musick, gave order that before or after him, some other bad musicians should cloy and surfet his auditory. But I can very hardly be without Plutark, he is so universall and so full, that upon all occasions, and whatsoever extravagant subject you have undertaken, he intrudeth himselfe into your work, and gently reacheth you a helpe-affording hand, fraught with rare embellishments and inexhaustible of precious riches. It spightes me that he is so much exposed unto the pillage of those which haunt him. He can no sooner come in my sight, or if I cast but a glance upon him, but I pull some legge or wing from him. For this my dissignement, it much fitteth my purpose that I write in mine owne house, in a wild country, where no man helpeth or releeveth me; where I converse with nobody that understands the Latine of his Paternoster, and as little of French. I should no doubt have done it better elsewhere, but then the worke had beene lesse mine, whose principall drift and perfection is to be exactly mine. I could mend an accidentall errour, whereof I abound in mine unwary course; but it were a kinde of treason to remove the imperfections from me, which in me are ordinary and constant. When anybody else, or myselfe have said unto my selfe: Thou art too full of figures or allegories; here is a word meerely-bred Gaskoyne; that's a dangerous phrase (I refuse none that are used in the frequented streets of France, those that will combat use and custome by the strict rules of grammar do but jest), there's an ignorant discourse that's a paradoxicall relation: or there's a foolish conceit; thou doest often but dally: one will thinke thou speakest in earnest what thou hast but spoken in jest. Yea (say I), but I correct unadvised, not customarie errors. Speake I not so every where?

Doe I not lively display my selfe? That sufficeeth : I have what I will. All the world may know me by my booke, and my booke by me : but I am of an apish and imitating condition. When I medled with making of verses (and I never made any but in Latine), they evidently accused the poet I came last from reading. And of my first essayes, some taste a little of the stranger. At Paris I speake somewhat otherwise then at Montaigne. Whom I behold with attention doth easily convey and imprint something of his in me. What I heedily consider, the same I usurpe : a foolish countenance, a crabbed looke, a ridiculous manner of speach. And vices more : because they pricke mee, they take fast hold upon mee, and leave mee not, unless I shake them off. I have more often beene heard to sweare by imitation then by complexion. Oh injurious and dead-killing imitation : like that of those huge in greatnesse and matchlesse in strength apes, which Alexander met withall in a certaine part of India : which otherwise it had beene hard to vanquish. But by this their inclination to counterfeite whatsoever they saw done, they afforded the meanes. For, thereby the hunters learnt in their sight to put on shoes, and tie them with many strings and knots ; to dresse their heads with divers strange attires, full of sliding knots, and dissemblingly to rub their eyes with glew or bird-lime ; so did those silly harmlesse beasts indiscreetly employ their apish disposition. They ensnared, glewed, entramelled, haltred and shackled themselves. That other faculty of extempore and wittily representing the gestures and words of another, which often causeth sport and breedeth admiring, is no more in me then in a blocke. When I sweare after mine owne fashion, it is onely by God ; the directest of all oathes. They report that Socrates swore by a dogge ; Zeno by that interjection (nowadaies used amongst the Italties) Capari ; and Pythagoras by water and by aire, I am so apt at unawares to entertaine these superficial impressions, that if but for three daies together I use myselfe to speake to any prince with your grace or your highnesse, for eight daies after I so forget myselfe, that I shall still use them for your honour or your worship : and what I am wont to speake in sport or jest, the next day after I shall speake in good serious earnest. Therefore in writing I assume more unwillingly much beaten arguments, for feare I handle them at others charges. All arguments are alike fertile to me. I take them upon any triffe. And I pray God this were not undertaken by the commandement of a minde as fleeting. Let me begin with that likes me best, for all

matters are linked one to another. But my conceit displeaseth me, forsoemuch as it commonly produceth most foolish dotages from deepest studies, and such as content me on a suddaine, and when I least looke for them ; which as fast fleete away, wanting at that instant some holdefast. On horse-back, at the table, in my bed ; but most on horse-backe, where my amplest meditations and my farthest reaching conceits are. My speach is somewhat nicely jealous of attention and silence ; if I be in any earnest talke, who interrupteth me, cuts me off. In travell, even the necessity of waies breakes off discourses. Besides that I most commonly travell without company, which is a great helpe for continued reasonings : whereby I have sufficient leasure to entertaine my selfe. I thereby have that successe I have in dreames : in dreaming I commend them to my memory (for what I dream I doe it willingly), but the next morning I can well call to minde what colour they were of, whether blith, sad or strange ; but what in substance, the more I labour to finde out, the more I overwhelme them in oblivion. So of casuall and unpremeditated conceits that come into my braine, nought but a vaine image of them remaineth in my memory : so much onely as sufficeth unprofitably to make me chafe, spight and fret in pursuite of them. Well, then, leaving booke aside, and speaking more materially and simply, when all is done I find that love is nothing else but an insatiate thirst of enjoying a greedily desired subject. Nor Venus that good huswife, other then a tickling delight of emptying ones seminary vessels : as is the pleasure which nature giveth us to discharge other parts, which becommeth faulty by immoderation and defective by indiscretion. To Socrates love is an appetite of generation by the mediation of beauty. Now, considering oftentimes the ridiculous tickling or titillation of this pleasure, the absurd, giddy, and hare-brained motions wherewith it tosseth Zeno and agitates Cratippus : that unadvised rage, that furious and with cruelty enflamed visage in loves lustfull and sweetest effects : and then a grave, sterne, severe, surly countenance in so fond-fond an action, that one hath pell-mell lodged our joyes and filthes together, and that the supremest voluptuousness both ravisheth and plaineth, as doth sorrow. I beleeve that which Plato saies to be true, that man was made by the Gods for them to toy and play withall.

— *quam ita jocandi sentia ?*
What cruelty is this, so set on jesting is ?

And that Nature in mockery left us the most troublesome of our actions, the most

common ; thereby to equall us, and without distinction to set the foolish and the wise, us and beasts all in one rank ; no barrill better herring. When I imagine the most contemplative and discreetly-wise men in these tearmes, in that humour, I hold him for a cozeners ; for a cheater to seeme either studiously contemplate or discreetly wise. It is the foulness of the peacockes feete which doth abate his pride, and stoope his gloating-eyed taylor ;

*videntem dicere verum,
Quid vetat ?*¹

What should forbid thee sooth to say. yet be as merry as we may.

Those which in playes refuse serious opinions, do as one reporteth, like unto him who dreadeth to adore the image of a saint, if it want a cover, an aprone or a tabernacle. We feed full well and drinke like beasts ; but they are not actions that hinder the offices of our mind. In those we hold good our advantage over them, whereas this brings each other thought under subjection, and by its imperious authority makes brutish and dulleth all Platoes philosophy and divinity ; and yet he complains not of it. In all other things you may observe decorum and maintaine some decency : all other operations admit some rules of honesty ; this cannot onely be imagined, but vicious or ridiculous. See whether for example sake you can but find a wise or discrete proceeding in it. Alexander said that he knew himselfe mortall chiefly by this action and by sleeping ; sleepe doth stifle and suppresseth the faculties of our soule, and that both endevoureth and dissipates them. Surely it is an argument not onely of our originall corruption, but a badge of our vanity and deformity. On the one side nature urgeth us unto it ; having thereunto combined, yea fastned the most noble, the most profitable, and the most sensually-pleasing of all her functions ; and on the other suffereth us to accuse, to condemne and to shunne it, as insolent, as dishonest and as lewder to blush at it, and allow, yea and to commend abstinence. Are not we most brutish to terme that worke beastly which begets and which maketh us ? Most people have concurred in divers ceremonies of religion, as sacrifices, lumnaries, fastings, incensings, offerings, and amongst others, in condemnation of this action. All opinions agree in that, besides the so-farre extended use of circumcision. We have peradventure reason to blame our selves for making so foolish a production as man, and to entitle

both the deed and parts thereto belonging shameful (mine are properly so at this instant). The Essenians, of whom Plinie speaketh, maintained themselves a long time without nurses or swathing clothes by the arrival of strangers that came to their shoares, who seconding their fond humor, did often visit them. A whole nation hazarding rather to consume then engage themselves to feminine embracements, and rather lose the succession of all men then forge one. They report that Zeno never dealt with woman but once in all his life, which he did for civility, least he should over obstinately seeme to contemne the sex. Each one avoideth to see a man borne, but all runne hastily to see him dye. To destroy him we seeke a spacious field and a full light, but to construct him we hide our selves in some darke corner and worke as close as we may. It is our dutie to conceale our selves in making him ; it is our glory, and the originall of many vertues to destroy him being framed. The one is a manifest injury, the other a great favor, for Aristotle saith that in a certaine phrase, where he was borne, to bonifie or benefit was as much to say as to kill one. The Athenians, to equal the disgrace of these two actions being to cleanse the Ile of Delos and justify themselves unto Apollo forbad within that precinct all buriall and births, *Nostri nosmet pavitet* : " We are weary of our selves." There are some nations that when they are eating they cover themselves. I know a lady (yea one of the greatest) who is of opinion that to chew is an unseemly thing, which much empaireth their grace and beauty, and therefore by hir will she never comes abroad with an appetite. And I know a man that cannot endure one should see him eate, and shunneth all company more when he filleth then when he emptieth himselfe. In the Turkish empire there are many who to excell the rest will not be seene when they are feeding, and who make but one meale in a weeke, who mangle their face and cut their limmes, and who never speake to anybody, who think to honour their nature by disnaturating themselves : oh fantastick people that prize themselves by their contempt and mend by empairing. What monstrous beast is this that makes himselfe a horror to himselfe, whom his delights displease, who tyes himselfe unto misfortune ? Some there are that conceale their life,

*Exilique domos et dulcia limina mutant,*²

They change for banishment, the places that might best content,

¹ HOR. SER. l. i. SAT. ii. 24.

¹ TER. PHOR.

² VIRG. GEOR. l. ii. 511.

and steale it from the sight of other men; that eschew health and shun mirth as hatefull qualities and harmefull. Not only divers sects but many people curse their birth and blesse their death. Some there be that abhorre the glorious sunne and adore the hideous darknesse. We are not ingenious but to our own vexation; it is the true foode of our spirits; force a dangerous and most unruly implement.

*O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent.*¹

O miserable they, whose joyes in fault we lay.

Alas, poore silly man, thou hast but too many necessary and unavoidable incommodities, without increasing them by thine owne invention, and are sufficiently wretched of condition without any arte; thou aboundest in reall and essentiall deformities, and need not forge any by imagination. Doest thou find thy selfe too well at ease, unless the moiety of thine ease molest thee? Findest thou to have supplied or discharged all necessary offices whereto nature engageth thee, and that she is idle in thee, if thou binde not thy selfe unto new offices? Thou fearest not to offend hir universall and undoubted lawes, and are moved at thine owne partiall and fantastical ones. And by how much more particular, uncertaine, and contradicted they are, the more endeavours thou bestowest that way. The positive orders of thy parish tie thee, those of the world do nothing concerne thee. Runne but a little over the examples of this consideration, thy life is full of them. The verses of these two poets, handling lasciviousnesse so sparingly and so discreetly as they do in my conceit, seeme to discourage and display it nearer; ladies cover their bosome with networke, priests manysacred things with a vail, and painters shadow their workes to give them the more luster and to adde more grace unto them. And they say that the streakes of the sunne and force of the winde are much more violent by reflection then by a direct line. The Egyptian answered him wisely that asked him what he had hidden under his cloake? "It is," quoth he, "hidden under my cloake that thou maiest not know what it is." But there are certaine other things which men conceale to shew them. Hear this fellow more open:

*Et nudam pressi corpus ad usque meum.*²

My body I applied, even to her naked side,

Me thinkes he baffles me. Let Martiall at his pleasure tuck up Venus he makes

her not by much appeare so wholly. He that speakes all he knows, doth cloy and distaste us. Who feareth to express himselfe, leadeth our conceits to imagine more than happily he conceiveth. The treason in this kind of modesty, and chiefly as these do in opening us so faire a path unto imagination. Both the action and description should taste of purloyning. The love of the Spaniards and of the Italian pleaseth me; by how much more respective and fearefull it is the more nicely close and closely nice it is, I wot not who in ancient time wished his throat were as long as a cranes neck that so hee might the longer and more leasurably taste what he swallowed. That wish were more to purpose than this suddaine and violent pleasure, namely, in such natures as mine, who am faulty in suddainnesse. To stay her fleeting and delay her with preambles, with them all serveth for favour, all is construed to be a recompence, a wink, a cast of the eye, a bowing, a word, or a signe, a becke is as good as a dew guard. Hee that could dine with the smoke of roste meat, might he not dine at a cheape rate? would he not soon bee rich? It is a passion that commixeth with small store of solide essence, great quantity of doating vanity and febricitant raving; it must therefore be requited and served with the like. Let us teach ladies to know how to pravaile, highly to esteeme themselves, to amuse, to circumvent and cozen us. We make our last charge the first; we shew our selves right Frenchmen, ever rash, ever headlong. Wire drawing their favours and entalling them by retails, each one, even unto miserable old age, findes some listes end, according to his worth and merite. He who hath no jovisance but in enjoying, who shootes not but to hit the marke, who loves not hunting but for the prey; it belongs not to him to entermedle with our schoole. The more steps and degrees there are, the more delight and honour is there on the top. We should bee pleased to bee brought unto it as unto stately pallaces by divers porches, severall passages, long and pleasant galleries, and well contrived turnings. This dispensation would in the end redound to our benefite; we should stay on it, and longer love to lie at racke and manger, for these snatches and away marre the grace of it. Take away hope and desire, we grow faint in our courses, we come but lagging after. Our mastery and absolute possession is infinitely to bee feared of them. After they have wholly yielded themselves to the mercy of our faith and constancy, they have hazarded something. They are rare and

¹ COR. GAL. EL. i. 188.

² OVID. AM. l. i. EL. v. 24.

difficult vertues : so soone as they are ours,
we are no longer theirs.

— *postquam cupida mentis satiata libido
est.*

*Verba nihil metuere, nihil perjuriam curant.*¹

The lust of greedy minde once satisfied,
They feare no words : nor reke others falsified.

And Thrasionides, a young Grecian, was
so religiously amorous of his love, that
having after much suit gained his mistress
hart and favour, he refused to enjoy
hir, least by that jovissance he might or
quench, or satisfie, or languish that burning
flame and restlesse heat wherwith he
gloried, and so pleasingly fed himselfe.
Things farre fetcht and dearly bought are
good for ladies. It is the deare price
makes viands savour the better. See but
how the forme of salutations, which is
peculiar unto our nation, both by its
facility bastardize the grace of kisses, which
Socrates saith, to be of that consequence,
waight and danger, to ravish and steale our
hearts. It is an displeasing and injurious
custome unto ladies, that they must afford
their lips to any man that hath but three
lackies following him, how unhandsome and
loathsome soever he be

*Cuius livida naribus caninis,
Defendit glacies, rigetque barba ?
Centum occurrere malo culicibus*²

From whose dog nostrils black-blew ice
depends,

Whose beard frost-hardened stands on
bristled ends, &c.

Nor do we our selves gaine much by it :
for as the world is divided into foure parts,
so for foure faire ones we must kisse fiftie
foule : and to a nice or tender stomack, as
are those of mine age, one ill kisse doth
surpay one good. In Italy they are pas-
sionate and languishing suitors to very
common and mercenarie women ; and thus
they defend and excuse themselves, saying,
that even in enjoying there be certaine
degrees, and that by humble services they
will endeavour to obtaine that which is the
most absolutely perfect. They sell but their
bodies, their willes cannot be put to sale ;
that is too free, and too much its owne.
So say these, that it is the will they attempt,
and they have reason : it is the will one
must serve and most sollicite. I abhor to
imagine mine, a body voide of affection.
And me seemeth, this frenzie hath some
affinity with that boyes fond humor,
who for pure love would wantonize with
that fayre image of Venus which Praxiteles

had made : one of the furious Egyptian who
lusted after a dead womans corpse, which
he was enbaulming and stitching up : which
was the occasion of the lawe that after-
ward was made in Egypt, that the bodies
of faire, young, and nobly borne women
should be kept three dayes before they
should be delivered into the hands of those
who had the charge to provide for their
funerals and burials. Periander did more
miraculously, who extended his conjugall
affection (more regular and lawfull) unto
the enjoying of Melissa his deceased wife.
Seemes it not to be a lunatique humour in
the moone, being otherwise unable to
enjoy Endimion her favourite darling, to
lull him in a sweete slumber for many
months together ; and feed herselfe with
the jovissance of a boye, that stirred not
but in a dreame ? I say likewise, that a man
loveth a body without a soule when he loveth
a body without his consent and desire. All
enjoyings are not alike. There are some
hecticke, faint and languishing ones. A
thousand causes, besides affection and good
will, may obtaine us this graunt of women.
It is no sufficient testimony of true affection :
therein may lurke treason, as elsewhere :
they some time goe but faintly to worke, and
as they say with one buttocke :

*Tanquam thura merumque parent ;*¹

As though they did dispense
Pure wine and frankincense.

*Absentem marmoreasque putes.*²

Of marble you would thinke she were,
Or that she were not present there.

I knowe some that would rather lend that
then their coach, and who impart not them-
selves, but that way : you must also marke
whether your company pleaseth them for
some other respect or for that end onely as
of a lustie-strong grome of a stable : as also
in what rank and at what rate you are there
lodged or valued :

- tibi si datur uni ;

*Quo lapide illa diem candidiore notet.*³

If it afforded be to thee alone,
Whereby she counts that day of all dayes one.

What if she eate your bread with the sauce
of a more pleasing imagination ?

*Te tenet, absentes alios suspirat amores.*⁴

Thee she retaines, yet sigheth she
For other loves that absent be.

What, have wee not seene some in our

¹ CATUL. ARG. V. 147.

² MART. I. V. EPIG. XCIV. 10.

¹ MART. I. XI. EPIG. XIV. 5. 12.

² ID. LXI. 8.

³ CATUL. ELEG. IV. 147.

⁴ TIBUL. IV. ELEG. V. 11.

dayes to have made use of this action for the execution of a most horrible revenge, by that meanes murthring and empoysoning (as one did) a very honest woman? Such as know Italie will never wonder if for this subject I seeke for no examples elsewhere. For the said nation may in that point be termed regent of the world. They have commonly more faire women, and fewer foule than we; but in rare and excellent beauties I thinke we match them. The like I judge of their wits, of the vulgar sort they have evidently many more. Blockishness is without all comparison more rare amongst them: but for singular wits, and of the highest pitch, we are no whit behinde them. Were I to extend this comparison, I might (me thinks) say, touching valor, that on the other side, it is in regard of them popular and naturall amongst us: but in their hands one may sometimes finde it so compleate and vigorous, that it exceedeth all the most forcible examples we have of it. The mariages of that countrie are in this somewhat defective. Their custome doth generally impose so severe observances and slavish lawes upon wives, that the remotest acquaintance with a stranger is amongst them as capitall as the nearest. Which law causeth that all approaches prove necessarily substantiall; and seeing all commeth to one reckoning with them, they have an easie choise: and have they broken downe their hedges? Beleeve it, they will have fire: *Luxuria ipsis vinculis, sicut fera bestia, irritata deinde emissæ*: "Luxurie is like a wild beast, first made fiercer with tying, and then let loose." They must have the reynes given them a little.

*Vidi ego nuper equum contra sua frena tenacem
Ore reluctanti fulminis ire modo.*¹

I saw, spite of his bit, a resty colt,
Runne headstrong headlong like a thunder-bolt.

They allay the desire of company by giving it some liberty. It is a commendable custome with our nation that our children are entertained in noble houses there, as in a schoole of nobility to be trained and brought up as pages. And 'tis said to be a kinde of discourtesie to refuse it a gentleman. I have observed (for so many houses so many severall formes and orders) that such ladies as have gone about to give their waiting women the most austere rule have not had the best success. There is required more then ordinary moderation: a great part of their government must bee left to the conduct of their discretion: for, when all comes

to all, no discipline can bridle them in each point. True it is that she who escapeth safe and unpolluted from out the schoole of fredome, giveth more confidence of hirselfe than she who commeth sound out of the schoole of severity and restraint. Our forefathers framed their daughters countenances unto shamesfastnesse and feare (their inclinations and desires alwaies alike), we unto assurance. We understand not the matter. That belongeth to the Sarmatian wenches, who by their lawes may lie with no man, except with their owne hands they have before killed another man in warre. To me that have no right but by the eares, it sufficeth if they retaine me to be of their counsell, following the privilege of mine age. I then advise both them and us to embrace abstinence, but if this season bee too much against us, at least modestie and discretion. For as Aristippus (speaking to some young men who blushed to see him go into a bawdy house) said, "The fault was not in entering, but in coming out again." She that will not exempt her conscience, let hir exempt hir name; though the substance be not of worth, yet let the apparence hold still good. I love gradation and prolonging in the distribution of their favours. Plato sheweth that in all kindes of love, facility and readinesse is forbidden to defendants. 'Tis a trick of greedinesse which it behoveth them to cloake with their arte, so rashly and fond-hardily to yeeld themselves in grosse. In their distributions of favours, holding a regular and moderate course, they much better deceive our desires and conceale theirs. Let them ever be flying before us: I meane even those that intend to bee overtaken as the Scythians are wont, though they seeme to runne away, they beate us more, and sooner put us to rout. Verily according to the lawe which nature giveth them, it is not fit for them to will and desire: their part is to beare, to obey, and to consent. Therefore hath nature bestowed a perpetuall capacity; on us a seld and uncertaine ability. They have alwayes their houre, that they may ever be ready to let us enter. And whereas she hath willed our appetites should make apparent shew and declaration, she caused theirs to be concealed and inward: and hath furnished them with parts unfit for ostentation, and onely for defence. Such pranks as this we must leave to the Amazonian liberty. Alexander the Great, marching through Hircania, Thalestria, Queen of the Amazones, came to meet him with three hundred ladies of her sex, all well mounted and completely armed, having left the residue of a great armie, that followed her, beyond the neigh-

¹ OVID. *Am.* l. iii. *Eleg.* iv. 13.

bouring mountains. And thus aloud, that all might heare, she bespake him : That the farre-resounding fame of his victories and matchless valour had brought hir thither to see him, and to offer him hir meanes and forces for the advancing and furthering of his enterprises. And finding him so faire, so young and strong, she, who was perfectly accomplished in all his qualities, advised him to lye with her, that so there might be borne of the most valiant woman in the world, and only valiant man then living, some great and rare creature for posterity. Alexander thanked hir for the rest, but to take leasure for hir last demands accomplishment, he staide thirteene daies in that place, during which he revelled with as much glee, and feasted with as great jollity, as possibly could be devised, in honour and favour of so couragious a princess. Wee are well-nigh in all things parcall and corrupted judges of their action, as no doubt they are of ours. I allow of truth as well when it hurts me as when it helps me. It is a foule disorder, that so often urgeth them unto change, and hinders them from setting their affection on any one subject : as wee see in this Goddesse, to whom they impute so many changes and severall friends. But withall it is against the nature of love not to be violent, and against the condition of violence to be constant. And those who wonder at it exclaime against it, and in women search for the causes of this infirmity, as incredible and unnaturall : why see they not how often, without any amazement and exclaimeing, themselves are possessed and infected with it ? I might happily seeme more strange to find any constant stay in 'hem. It is not a passion meereley corporeall. If no end be found in coveteousnesse, nor limit in ambition, assure your selfe there is nor end nor limit in litchery. It yet continueth after satiety : nor can any man prescribe it or end or constant satisfaction. It ever goeth on beyond its possession, beyond its bounds. And if constancy be peradventure in some sort more pardonable in them then in us, they may readily alleage against us our ready inclination unto daily variety and new ware ; and secondly alleage without us, that they buy a pigge in a poake. Ione Queene of Naples caused Andreosse her first husband to be strangled and hang'd out of the barres of his window, with a corde of silke and golde woven with her owne hands ; because in bed business she found neither his members nor endeavours answerable the hope shee had conceived of him, by viewing his stature, beauty, youth, and disposition, by which she had formerly beene surprised and abused. That action

hath in it more violence then passion ; so that on their part at least necessity is ever provided for : on our behalfe it may happen otherwise. Therefore Plato by his lawes did very wisely establish, that before marriages, the better to decide its opportunity, competent judges might be appointed to take view of young men which pretended the same, all naked : and of maidens but to the waist : in making triall of us, they happily find us not worthy their choise :

*Experta latus, nudidoque smillima loro
Inguina, nec lassæ sive coacta manu
Deserit imbelles thalamos.¹*

It is not sufficient that will keepe a lively course : weakenesse and incapacity may lawfully breake wedlock :

*Et querendum aliunde foret nervosius illud
Quod posset conam solvere virginem.²*

Why not, and according to measure, an amorous intelligence, more licentious and more active ?

Si blando nequeat superesse labori.³

If it cannot outlast, labor with pleasure past.

But is it not great impudency to bring our imperfections and weakenesse, in place where we desire to please, and leave good report and commendation behind us ? for the little I now stand in need of,

———— ad unum

Mollis opus.

Unable to hold out, one onely busie bout,

I would not importune any one whom I am to reverence.

———— *fuge suspicari,*

*Cuius undenum trepidavit ætas
Claudere lustrum.⁴*

Him of suspicion cleare,
Whom age hath brought well neare
To five and fifty yeare.

Nature should have beene pleased to have made this age miserable, without making it also ridiculous. I hate to see one for an inch of wretched vigor, which enflames him but thrice a week, take-on and swagger as fiercely as if he hath some great and lawfull dayes-worke in his belly : a right blast or puffe of winde : and admire his itching, so quick and nimble, all in a moment to be lubberly squat and benumbed. This appetite should only belong to the blossom of a prime youth. Trust not unto it, though you see it second that indefatigable, full, constant and swelling heate, that is in you : for

¹ MART. l. vii. *Epig.* lviii. 3.

² CATUL. *Eleg.* iii. 27.

³ VIRG. *Geor.* l. iii. 127.

⁴ HOR. *Car.* l. ii. *Od.* iv. 22.

truly it will leave you at the best, and when you shall most stand in neede of it. Send it rather to some tender, irresolute and ignorant girle, which yet trembleth for feare of the rod, and that will blush at it,

*Indum sanguineo veluti violaveris ostro,
Si quis ebur, vel mista rubent ubi lilia, multa
Alba rosa.*¹

As if the Indian ivory one should taint
With bloody scarlet-graine, or lillies paint,
White intermixt with red with roses enter-spread.

Who can stay untill the next morrow, and not die for shame, the disdaine of those love sparkling eyes, privie to his faintnesse, dastardise and impertinencie :

Et taciti fecere tamen convitia cultus :

The face though silent, yet silent upbraydes it :
he never felt the sweet contentment, and the sense-mooving earnestnes, to have beaten and tarnished them by the vigorous exercise of an officious and active night. When I have perceived any of them weary of me, I have not presently accused her lightnes : but made question whether I had not more reason to quarrell with nature, for handling me so unlawfully and uncivilly,

*Si non longa xatis, si non bene mentula crassa :
Nimirum sapient videntque parvam
Mentronce quoque mentulum illibenter,*²

and to my exceeding hurt. Each of my pieces are equally mine, one as another : and no other doth more properly make me a man then this. My whole pourtraiture I universally owe unto the world. The wisdom and reach of my lesson is all in truth, in liberty, in essence : disdaining in the catalogue of my true duties, these easie, faint, ordinary and provinciall rules. All naturall : constant and generall ; whereof civility and ceremonie are daughters, but bastards. We shall easily have the vices of apparence, when we shall have had those of essence. When we have done with these, we run upon others, if we finde need of running. For there is danger that we devise new offices, to excuse our negligence toward naturall offices, and to confound them. That it is so, we see that in places where faults are bewitchings, bewitchings are but faults. That among nations, where lawes of seemliness are more rare and slacke, the primitive lawes of common reason are better observed : the innumerable multitude of so manifold duties, stifling, languishing and dispersing our care. The applying of our selves unto sleight matters, withdraweth us from such as be just. Oh how

easie and plausible a course do these superficial men undertake, in respect of ours. These are but shadowes under which we shroud, and wherewith we pay one another. But we pay not, but rather heape debt on debt, unto that great and dreadful judge, who tucks up our clouts and rags from about our privie parts, and is not squeamish to view all over, even to our most inward and secret deformities : a beneficiall decencie of our maidenly bashfulness, could it debar him of this tainted discovery. To conclude, he that could recover or unbesot man, from so scrupulous and verball a superstition, should not much prejudice the world. Our life consisteth partly in folly and partly in wisdom. He that writes of it but reverently and regularly, omits the better moitie of it. I excuse me not unto my selfe, and if I did, I would rather excuse my excuses then any fault else of mine : I excuse my selfe of certaine humors, which in number I hold stronger then those which are on my side : in consideration of which I will say thus much more (for I desire to please all men, though it be a hard matter : *Esse unum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum ac sermonum et voluntatum varietatem* : "That one man should be applicable to so great variety of manners, speeches and dispositions") that they are not to blame me, for what I cause authorities received and approved of many ages, to utter : and that it is not reason, they should for want of ryme deny me the dispensation ; which ever some of our churchmen usurpe and enjoy in this season, whereof behold here two, and of the most pert and cocket amongst them :

*Kimula dispeream, ne monogramma tua est.
T'n vit d'amy la contente et bien traite.*

How many others more ? I love modestie ; nor is it from judgement that I have made choise of this kinde of scandalous speech : 'tis nature hath chosen the same for me : I commend it no more then all forme contrary unto received custome : onely I excuse it : and by circumstances as well generall as particular, would qualifie the imputation. Well, let us proceed. Whence commeth also the usurpation of soveraigne auctoritie, which you assume unto your selves, over those that favour you to their cost and prejudice,

*Si furtiva dedit nigra munnuscula nocte,*³

If she have giv'n by night,
The stolne gift of delight,

that you should immediately invest withall the interest, the coldnes, and a wedlock

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. xii. 67.

² OVID. *Amor.* l. i. *Æl.* vii. 21.

³ LUS. *Priap. Penul.* i. *ib.* viii. 4.

¹ CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 145.

authority? It is a free bargain, why do you not undertake it on those termes you would have them to keepe? There is no prescription upon voluntarie things. It is against forme, yet it is true that I have in my time managed this match (so farre as the nature of it would allow) with as much conscience as any other whatsoever, and not without some colour of justice: and have given them no further testimony of mine affection then I sincerely felt: and have lively displease unto them the declination, vigor and birth of the same; with the fits and deferring of it: a man cannot alwayes keepe an even pace, nor ever go to it alike. I have bin so sparing to promise, that (as I thinke) I have paid more then either I promised or was due. They have found mee faithfull, even to the service of their inconstancy: I say an inconstancy avowed, and sometimes multiplied. I never broke with them, as long as I had any hold, were it but by a threds-end: and whatsoever occasion they have given me by their fickleness, I never fell off unto contempt and hatred: for such familiarities, though I attaine them on most shamefull conditions, yet do they bind me unto some constant good-will. I have sometime given them a taste of choller and indiscreet impatience, upon occasions of their wiles, sleights, close-conveyances, controversies and contestations betweene us; for, by complexion, I am subject to hastie and rash motions, which often empeach my traffick, and marre my bargaines, though but meane and of small worth. Have they desired to essay the liberty of my judgement, I never dissembled to give them fatherly counsell and biting advise, and shewed myselfe ready to scratch them where they itched. If I have given them cause to complaine of me, it hath bin most for finding a love in me, in respect of our moderne fashion, foolishly conscientious. I have religiously kept my word in things that I might easily have bin dispensed with. They then yeelded sometimes with reputation, and under conditions, which they would easily suffer to bee infringed by the conqueror. I have more then once made pleasure in hir greatest efforts strike saile unto the interest of their honor: and where reason urged me armed them against me, so that they guided themselves more safely and severely by my prescriptions, if they once freely yeelded unto them, then they could have done by their owne. I have as much as I could endeavoured to take on my selfe the charge and hazard of our appointments, thereby to discharge them from all imputation; and ever contrived our meetings in most hard, strange and unsuspected manner,

to be the lesse mistrusted, and (in my seeming) the more accessible. They are opened, especially in those parts where they suppose themselves most concealed. Things lest feared are lest defended and observed. You may more securely dare what no man thinks you would dare, which by difficulty becometh easie. Never had man his appropches more impertinently genitale. This way to love is more according to discipline. But how ridiculous unto our people, and of how small effect, who better knows then I? yet will I not repent me of it: I have no more to lose by the matter:

— me tabula sacer
Votiva paries, indicat uvida,
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.¹

By tales of the voves which I did owe
Fastened thereto the sacred wall doth shew;
I have hung up my garments water-wet,
Unto that God whose power on seas is great.

It is now high time to speake plainly of it. But even as to another, I would perhaps say: My friend thou dostest, the love of thy times hath small affinity with faith and honesty:

— hac si tu postules
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,
Quàm si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias.²

If this you would by reason certaine make,
You do no more then if the paines you take
To be starke mad, and yet to thinke it reason fit.
And yet if I were to beginne anew, it should bee by the very same path and progresse, how fruitlesse soever it might proove unto me, insufficiency and sottishnesse are commendable in a discommendable action. As much as I separate my selfe from their humour in that, so much I approach unto mine owne. Moreover, I did never suffer my selfe to be wholly given over to that sport; I therewith pleased, but forgot not my selfe. I ever kept that little understanding and discretion which nature hath bestowed on me, for their service and mine; some motion towards it, but no dotage. My conscience also was engaged therein, even unto incontinency and excesse, but never unto ingratitude, treason, malice, or cruelty. I bought not the pleasure of this vice at all rates, and was content with this owne and simple cost. *Nullum intra se vitium est.*³ "There is no vice contained in it selfe." I hate almost alike a crouching and dull lasinesse and a toilesome and thorny working. The one pincheth, the other dulleth mee. I love wounds as much as bruises, and blood wipes

¹ HOR. *Car.* l. i. *Od.* v. 13.

² TER. *Eunuc.* act. i. sc. 1.

³ SEN. *Epist.* c. 7.

as well as dry-blowes. I had in the practice of this solace, when I was fitter for it, an even moderation between these two extremities. Love is a vigilant, lively, and blithe agitation: I was neither troubled nor tormented with it; but heated and distempered by it. There wee must make a stay; it is only hurtfull unto fooles. A young man demanded of the Philosopher Panetius, whether it would beseme a wise man to be in love; let wise men alone (quoth he) but for thee and me that are not so, it were best not to engage our selves into so stirring and violent a humour, which makes us slaves to others and contemptible unto our selves. He said true, for we ought not to entrust a matter so dangerous unto a minde that hath not wherewith to sustaine the approaches of it, nor effectually to quaille the speech of Agessilaus, that wisdome and love cannot live together. It is a vaine occupation ('tis true), unseemely, shamefull and lawlesse: but using it in this manner, I esteeme it wholesome and fit to rouse a dull spirit and a heavy body: and as a physitian experienced, I would prescribe the same unto a man of my complexion and forme, as soone as any other receipt, to keepe him awake and in strength, when he is well in yeares; and delay him from the gripings of old age. As long as we are but in the suburbs of it, and that our pulse yet beateth.

*Dum nona cavities, dum prima et recta senectus,
Dum superest Lachesi quod torquent, et pedibus*

*me
Porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.*¹

While hoarie haire is new, and ould-age
fresh and straight,

While Lachesis hath yet to spin, while I my
waight

Bear on my fecte, and stand, without staffe
in my hand.

We had need to bee solicited and tickled, by some biting agitation, as this is. See but what youth, vigour and jollity it restored unto wise Anacreon. And Socrates, when hee was elder then I am, speaking of an amorous object: leaning (saies hee) shoulder to shoulder, and approaching my head unto hers, as we re both together looking upon a booke, I felt, in truth, a sudden tingling or prickling in my shoulder, like the biting of some beast, which more then five daies after tickled mee, whereby a continuall itching glided into my heart. But a casuall touch, and that but in a shoulder, to enflame, to distemper and to distract a minde, enfeebled, tamed and cooled through age; and of all humane mindes the most reformed. And why not I pray? Socrates

was but a man, and would neither be nor seeme to bee other. Philosophie contends not against naturall delights, so that due measure beejoynd therewith; and alloweth the moderation, not the shunning of them. The efforts of her resistance are employed against strange and bastard and lawlesse ones. She saith that the bodies appetites ought not to be increased by the minde; and wittily adviseth us, that we should not excite our hunger by satiety; not to stuffe, instead of filling our bellies: to avoide all jovissance that may bring us to want: and shunne all meat and drink which may make us hungry or thirstie. As in the service of love, shee appoints us to take an object that only may satisfie the bodies neede without once moving the mind, which is not there to have any doing, but only to follow and simply to assist the body. But have I not reason to thinke that these precepts, which (in mine opinion are elsewhere somewhat rigorous) have reference unto a body which doth this office; and that a dejected one, as a weakned stomach, may be excused if he cherish and sustaine the same by ure, and by the entercourse of fantazie, to restore it the desires, the delights and blithnesse, which of it selfe it hath lost. May we not say that there is nothing in us, during this earthly prison, simply corporall, or purely spirituall? and that injuriously we dismember a living man? that there is reason we should carrie our selves in the use of pleasure, at least as favourably as we do in the pangs of griefe? For example, it was vehemence, even unto perfection, in the soules of saints, by repentance. The body had naturally a part therein, by the right of their combination, and yet might have but little share in the cause: and were not contented that it should simply follow and assist the afflicted soule: they have tormented the body it selfe with convenient and sharpe punishments; to the end that one with the other, the body and the soule might a vie plunge man into sorrow so much the more saving, by how much the more smarting. In like case, in corporal pleasures, is it not injustice to quaille and coole the minde, and say, it must thereunto be entrained, as unto a forced bond or servile necessity? She should rather hatch and cherish them, and offer and invite it selfe unto them; the charge of swaying rightly belonging to her. Even as in my conceit, it is her part, in her proper delights, to inspire and infuse into the body all sense or feeling which his condition may beare, and endeavour that they may be both sweet and healthy for him. For, as they say, 'tis good reason, that the body follow

¹ Juv. Sat. iii. 26.

not his appetites to the mindes prejudice or damage. But why is it not likewise reason that the minde should not follow hers to the bodies danger and hurt? I have no other passion that keeps mee in breath. What avarice, ambition, quarels, sutes in law, or other contentions worke and effect in others who as my selfe have no assigned vocation or certaine leisure, love would performe more commodiously: it would restore me the vigilancy, sobriety, grace and care of my person; and assure my countenance against the wrinkled frowns of age (those deformed and wretched frownes) which else would blemish and deface the same; it would reduce me to serious, to sound and wise studies, whereby I might procure more love, and purchase more estimation: it would purge my minde from despaire of it selfe, and of its use, acquainting the same againe with it selfe: it would divert me from thousands of irksome tedious thoughts, and melancholy carking cares, wherewith the doting idlenesse and crazed condition of our age doth charge and comber us: it would restore and heat, though but in a dreame, the blood which nature forsaketh: it would uphold the drooping chinne, and somewhat strengthen or lengthen the shrunken sinewes, decayed vigour, and dulled lives-blithenesse of silly wretched man, who gallops apace to his ruine. But I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to attaine to such a commodity: through weaknesse and long experience, our taste is growne more tender, more choice and more exquisite. We challenge most when we bring least; we are most desirous to choose when we least deserve to be accepted: and knowing our selves to bee such, we are lesse hardy and more distrustfull: nothing can assure us to be beloved, seeing our condition and their quality. I am ashamed to be in the companie of this greene, blooming and boyling youth;

*Cuius in indomito constantior inguine nervus,
Quam nova collibus arbor inhæret:*¹

Why should we present our wretchednesse amid this their jollity?

*Possint ut iuvenes visere servidi
Multo non sine risu,
Dilapsam in cineres facem;*²

That hot young men may go and see,
Not without sport and merry glee,
Their fire-brands turn'd to ashes be.

They have both strength and reason on their side; let us give them place: we have no longer holde fast. This bloome of

budding beauty loves not to be handled by such nummed and so clomsie hands, nor would it be dealt with by meanes purely materiall or ordinary stuffe. For, as that ancient philosopher answered one that mocked him because hee could not obtaine the favour of a yongling, whom he suingly pursued: "My friend," quoth he, "the hooke bites not at such fresh cheese." It is a commerce needing relation and mutuall correspondency: other pleasures that we receive may be requited by recompences of different nature; but this cannot be repaid but with the very same kinde of coyne. Verily, the pleasure I do others in this sport doth more sweetly tickle my imagination then that is done unto me. Now if no generous minde can receive pleasure where he returneth none, it is a base minde that would have all duty and delights to feed with conference those under whose charge he remaineth. There is no beauty, nor favour, nor familiarity so exquisite, which a gallant minde should desire at this rate. Now, if women can do us no good but in pittie, I had much rather not to live at all then to live by almes. I would I had the priviledge to demande of them, in the same stile I have heard some beg in Italy: *Fate bene per voi*: "Do some good for your selfe;" or after the manner that Cyrus exhorted his souldiers: "Whosoever loveth mee, let him follow mee." Consort your selfe, will some say to me, with those of your owne condition; whom the company of like fortune will yeeld of more easie access. Oh sottish and wallowish composition!

--- *nolo*

*Barbam vellere mortuo leoni.*¹

I will not pull (though not a fearde),
When he is dead, a Lion's beard.

Xenophon useth for an objection and accusation against Menon, that in his love he dealt with fading objects. I take more sensuall pleasure by onely viewing the mutuall, even-proportioned and delicate commixture of two yong beauties; or onely to consider the same in mine imagination, then if my selfe should be second in a lumpish, sad and disproportioned conjunction. I resigne such distasted and fantasticall appetites unto the Emperour Galba, who meddled with none but cast, worne, hard old flesh; and to that poore slave,

*O ego dii faciant talem te cernere possim,
Caraque mutatis oscula ferre comis,
Amplectique meis corpus non pingue lacertis.*²

¹ HOR. *Epod.* xii. 19.

² HOR. *Car.* l. iv. *Od.* xiii. 26.

¹ MART. l. x. *Epig.* xc. 9.

² OVID. *Pont.* l. i. *Eleg.* v. 49.

Gods graunt I may beholde thee in such case,
And kisse thy chang'd locks with my dearest
grace,
And with mine armes thy limmes not fat em-
brace.

And amongst blemishing deformities, I
deeme artificiall and forced beautie to bee
of the chiefest. Emonez, a young lad of
Chios, supposing by gorgeous attires to
purchase the beauty which nature denied
him, came to the philosopher Arcesilaus, and
asked of him whether a wise man could be
in love or no. "Yes, marrie," quoth he,
"so it were not with a painted and sophisti-
cate beauty, as thine is." The fowlenesse of
an old knowne woman is, in my seeming,
not so aged or so ill-favoured as one that is
painted and sleeke. Shall I boldly speake
it, and not have my throate cut for my
labour? Love is not properly nor naturally
in season but in the age next unto infancy.

*Quam si puellarum insereres choro,
Mire sagaces falleret hospites,
Discrimen obscurum solutis
Crinibus, ambiguoque vultu.*¹

Whom if you should in crue of wenches place,
With haire loose-hanging, and ambiguous face,
Strangely the undiscern'd distinction might
Deceive a thousand strangers of sharpe sight.

No more is perfect beauty. For, whereas
Homer extends it untill such time as the
chinne begins to bud, Plato himselfe hath
noted the same for very rare, and the cause
for which the sophister Dion termed youthe
budding hayres, Aristogitons and Harmodij
is notoriously knowne. In manhoode I finde
it already to bee somewhat out of date,
much more in old age.

*Importunus enim transulat aridas
Quercus.*²

Importune love doth over flie
The oaks with withered old-age drie.

And Margaret, Queen of Navarre, lengthens
much (like a woman) the privilege of
women: ordaining thirty yeares to be the
season for them to change the title of faire
into good. The shorter possession we allow
it over our lives the better for us. Behold
its behaviour. It is a princock boy, who,
in his school, knows not how far one pro-
ceeds against all order: study, exercise,
custome and practise, are paths to insuffi-
ciency: the novices beare all the sway.
Amor ordinem nescit: "Love knowes or
keeps no order." Surely its course hath
more garbe when it is commixt with un-
advisednes and trouble: faults and contrary
successes give it edge and grace: so it be

eager and hungry, it little importeth whether
it bee prudent. Observe but how he stag-
gers, stumbleth and fooleth; you fetter and
shackle him when you guide him by arte and
discretion, and you force his sacred liberty
when you submit him to those bearded,
grim, and tough hard hands. Moreover, I
often heare them display this intelligence as
absolutely spirituall, disdaining to draw into
consideration the interest which all the
senses have in the same. All serveth to the
purpose. But I may say that I have often
seen some of us excuse the weaknesse of
their minds in favour of their corporall
beauties; but I never saw them yet, that in
behalf of the mindes-beauties, how sound
and ripe soever they were, would afford an
helping hand unto a body that never so
little falleth into declination. Why doth
not some one of them long to produce that
noble Socraticall brood; or breed that pre-
cious gem between the body and the mind,
purchasing with the price of her thighes a
philosophicall and spirituall breed and in-
telligence, which is the highest rate she can
possibly value them at? Plato appointeth
in his laws that he who performeth a notable
and worthy exploit in warre, during the
time of that expedition, should not be de-
nied a kisse or refused any other amorous
favour of whomsoever he shall please to de-
sire it, without respect either of his ill-
favourednes, deformity, or age. What he
deemeth so just and allowable in commen-
dation of some other military valour may
not the same be thought as lawfull in com-
mendation of some other worth? and why
is not some one of them possessed with the
humor to preoccupate on hir companions
the glory of this chaste love? chaste I may
well say:

— nam si quando ad praelia ventum est,
Ut quondam stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis
In cassum furit.³

If once it come to handy-gripes; as great,
But forcelesse fire in stubble; so his heate
Rageth amaine, but all in vaine.

Vices smothered in ones thought are not
the worst. To conclude this notable com-
mentarie, escaped from me by a flux of
babbling, a flux sometimes as violent as hurt-
full,

*Ut missum sponsi furtivo munere malum,
Procurrit casto virginis in gremio:
Quod misera oblita molli sub veste locatum,
Dum adventu matris prosiliit, excutitur,
Atque illud prono præceps agitur decursu,
Huic manat tristi conscius ore ruber.*³

¹ HOR. CÆR. l. ii. Od. v. 12.

² Id. l. iv. Od. xiii. q.

¹ VIRG. GEOR. l. iii. 98.

² CATUL. Eleg. i. 19.

As when some fruit by stealth sent from hir friend,
 From chaste lap of a virgin doth descend,
 Which by hir, under hir soft aprone plast,
 Starting at mothers comming thence is cast :
 And trilling downe in haste doth headlong
 go,
 A guilty blush in hir sad face doth flo.

I say that both male and female are cast in one same mould; instruction and custome excepted, there is no great difference betwene them. Plato calleth them both indifferently to the society of all studies, exercises, charges and functions of warre and peace in his Commonwealth. And the philosopher Antisthenes took away all distinction betwene their vertue and ours. It is much more easie to accuse the one sexe then to excuse the other. It is that which some say proverbially: Ill may the kiln call the oven burnt taile.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Coaches.

IT is easie to verifie, that excellent authors, writing of causes, do not only make use of those which they imagine true, but eftsometimes of such as themselves beleeve not; always provided they have some invention and beautie. They speake sufficiently truly and profitably, if they speake ingeniously. We cannot assure our selves of the chiefe cause: we huddle up a many together, to see whether by chance it shall be found in that number:

Namque unam dicere causam.

*Non satis est, verum plures, unde una tamen sit.*¹

Enough it is not one cause to devise,
 But more, whereof that one may yet arise.

Will you demand of me whence this custome riseth, to besse and say God helpe to those that sneeze? We produce three sortes of winde: that issuing from belowe is too undecent; that from the mouth implieth some reproach of gourmandise; the third is sneezing: and because it commeth from the head, and is without imputation, we thus kindly entertaine it: smile not at this subtilty, it is (as some say) Aristotles. Me seemeth to have read in Plutarch (who of all the authors I know hath best coimixt arte with nature, and coupled judgement with learning), where he yeeldeth a reason why those which travell by sea do sometimes feele such qualmes and risings of the stomack, saying, that it proceedeth of a

kinde of feare: having found out some reason by which he prooveth that feare may cause such an effect. My selfe, who am much subject unto it, know well that this cause doth nothing concerne me. And I know it, not by argument, but by necessary experience, without alleaging what some have tolde me. that the like doth often happen unto beasts, namely, unto swine, when they are farthest from apprehending any danger: and what an acquaintance of mine hath assured me of himselfe, and who is greatly subject unto it, that twice or thrice in a tempestous storme, being surprised with exceeding feare, all manner of desire or inclination to vomit had left him. As to that ancient good follow; *Peius vexabar quam ut periculum mihi succurreret*: "I was worse vexed then that danger could helpe me." I never apprehended feare upon the water, nor any where else (yet have I often had just cause offered me, if death it selfe may give it) which either might trouble or astony me. It proceedeth sometimes as well from want of judgement as from lacke of courage. All the dangers I have had have beene when mine eyes were wide open, and my sight cleare, sound and perfect. For even to feare, courage is required. It hath sometimes steadied me, in respect of others, to direct and keepe my flight in order, that so it might be, if not without feare, at least without dismay and astonishment. Indeed, it was moved, but not amazed nor distracted. Undaunted mindes march further, and represent flight, not onely temperate, settled and sound, but also fierce and bold. Report we that which Alcibiades relateth of Socrates his companion in armes. I found (saith he) after the rout and discomfiture of our armie, both him and Lachez in the last ranke of those that ranne away, and with all safety and leasure considered him, for I was mounted upon an excellent good horse, and he on foote, and so had we combated all day. I noticed first, how in respect of Lachez, he shewed both discreet judgement and undaunted resolution: then I observed the undismaide bravery of his march, nothing different from his ordinary pace: his looke orderly and constant, duly observing and heedily judging what ever passed round about him: sometimes viewing the one, and sometimes looking on the other both friends and enemies, with so composed a manner, that he seemed to encourage the one and menace the other, signifying, that whosoever should attempt his life must purchase the same or his blood at a high-valued rate; and thus they both saved themselves, for men do not willingly grapple with these, but fol-

¹ LUCR. l. vi. 700.

low such as shew or feare or dismay. Lo here the testimony of that renowned capitaine, who teacheth us what wee daily finde by experience, that there is nothing doth sooner cast us into dangers then an inconsiderate greedinesse to avoide them. *Quo timoris minus est, eo minus ferme periculi est*: "The lesse feare there is, most commonly the lesse danger there is." Our people is to blame to say such a one feareth death, when it would signifie that he thinkes on it and doth foresee the same. Foresight dothequally belong as well to that which concerneth us in good as touch us in evill. To consider and judge danger is in some sort not to be daunted at it. I doe not find my selfe sufficiently strong to withstand the blow and violence of this passion of feare, or of any other impetuosity; were I once therewith vanquished and deterred, I could never safely recover my selfe. He that should make my minde forgoe her footing could never bring her unto her place againe. She doth over lively sound and over deeply search into her selfe, and therefore never suffers the wound which pierced the same to be thoroughly cured and consolidated. It hath beene happy for me that no infirmity could ever yet displace her. I oppose and present my selfe in the best ward I have against all charges and assaults that beset mee. Thus the first that should beare me away would make me unrecoverable. I encounter not two which way soever spoile should enter my hold, there am I open and remedilessly drowned. Epicurus saith that a wise man can never passe from one state to its contrary. I have some opinion answering his sentence, that he who hath once beene a very foole shall at no time proove verie wise. God sends my cold answerable to my cloths, and passions answering the meanes I have to indure them. Nature having discovered mee on one side, hath covered mee on the other. Having disarmed me of strength, she hath armed me with insensibility, and a regular or soft apprehension. I cannot long endure (and lesse could in my youth) to ride either in coach or litter, or to go in a boat; and both in the city and country I hate all manner of riding but a horse-back; and can lesse endure a litter then a coach, and by the same reason more easily a rough agitation upon the water, whence commonly proceedeth feare, then the soft stirring a man shall feelee in calme weather. By the same easie gentle motion which the oares give, conveying the boat under us, I wot not how I feelee both my head intoxicated and my stomacke distempered, as I cannot likewise abide a shaking stoole under me. Whenas either the saile, or the gliding

course of the water doth equally carry us away, or that we are but towed, that gently gliding and even agitation doth no whit distemper or hurt me. It is an interrupted and broken motion that offends mee, and more when it is languishing. I am not able to display its forme. Physicians have taught mee to bind and gird my selfe with a napkin or swath round about the lower part of my belly as a remedy for this accident, which as yet I have not tride, beeing accustomed to wrestle and withstand such defects as are in mee, and tame them by my selfe. Were my memory sufficiently informed of them, I would not thinke my time lost heere to set down the infinite variety which histories present unto us of the use of coaches in the service of warre; divers according to the nations, and different according to the ages, to my seeming of great effect and necessity. So that it is wondrously strange how we have lost all true knowledge of them; I will onely aleadge this, that even lately in our fathers time, the Hungarians did very availefully bring them into fashion, and profitably set them a work against the Turks; every one of them containing a targattier and a muskettier, with a certaine number of harquebuses or calivers, ready charged, and so ranged that they might make good use of them, and all over covered with a pavesado after the manner of a galliotte. They made the front of their battaile with three thousand such coaches, and after the cannon had playd, caused them to discharge and shoote off a volie of small shott upon their enemies before they should know or feelee what the rest of the forces could doe, which was no small advancement; or if not this, they mainly drove those coaches amide the thickest of their enemies squadrons, with purpose to breake, disrouse, and make waie through them. Besides the benefit and helpe they might make of them in any suspicious or dangerous place, to flanke their troupes marching from place to place; or in hast to encomasse, to embarricado, to cover or fortifie any lodgement or quarter. In my time, a gentleman of quality in one of our frontiers, unwealdy and so burly of body that hee could finde no horse able to beare his waight, and having a quarrell or deadly feud in hand, was wont to travaile up and down in a coach made after this fashion, and found much ease and good in it. But leave we these warlike coaches, as if their nullity were not sufficiently knowne by better tokens; the last kings of our first race were wont to travell in chariots drawne by foure oxen. Mark Antonie was the first

that caused himselfe, accompanied with a minstrell harlot, to be drawne by Lyons fitted to a coach. So did Heliogabalus after him, naming himselfe Cybele, the mother of the Gods; and also by tigers, counterfeiting God Bacchus; who sometimes would also bee drawne in a coach by two staggess, and another time by foure mastive dogs; and by foure naked wenches, causing himselfe to bee drawne by them in pompe and state, hee being all naked. The emperor Firmus made his coach to bee drawne by estriges of exceeding greatnesse, so that hee rather seemed to flye then to roule on wheeles. The strangenesse of these inventions doth bring this other thing unto my fantasie, that it is a kinde of pusillanimity in monarkes, and a testimony that they doe not sufficiently know what they are when they labour to shew their worth, and endeavour to appeare unto the world by excessive and intolerable expences. A thing which in a strange country might somewhat bee excused, but amongst his native subjects, where hee swayeth all in all, hee draweth from his dignity the extreamest degree of honour that hee may possibly attaine unto. As for a gentleman in his owne private house to apparel himselfe richly and curiously, I deeme it a matter vaine and superfluous; his house, his household, his traine, and his kitchin doe sufficiently answer for him. The counsell which Isocrates giue to his King (in my conceite) seemeth to carry some reason, when hee willett him to be richly-stored and stately adorned with moveables and household stuffe, forsomuch as it is an expence of continuance, and which descendeth even to his posterity or heires; and to avoyde all magnificences which presently vanish both from custome and memory. I loved when I was a yonger brother to set my selfe forth and be gaye in cloathes, though I wanted other necessities, and it became mee well. There are some on whose backes their rich robes weepe, or as wee say their rich cloathes are lyned with heavy debts. We have divers strange tales of our ancient kings frugallitie about their owne persons, and in their gifts: great and farre renowned kings both in credit, in valour, and in fortune. Demosthenes mainly combates the law of his citie, who assigned their publike money to be employed about the stately setting forth of their playes and feasts. He willett that their magnificence should bee seene in the quantity of tall ships well manned and appointed, and armies well furnished. And they have reason to accuse Theophrastus, who in his booke of riches established a contrarie opinion, and upholdeth such a

quality of expences to be the true fruit of wealth and plenty. They are pleasures (saith Aristotle) that onely touch the vulgar and basest communalty, which as soone as a man is satisfied with them, vanish out of minde; and whereof no man of sound judgement or gravity can make any esteame. The employment of it, as more profitable, just and durable, would seeme more royall, worthy and commendable, about ports, havens, fortifications and walles; in sumptuous buildings, in churches, hospitals, colledges, mending of highwayes and streetes, and such like monuments; in which things Pope Gregory the thirteenth shall leave aye-lasting and commendable memory unto his name; and wherein our Queene Catherine should witnes unto succeeding ages her naturall liberality and exceeding bounty, if her meanes were answerable to her affection. Fortune hath much spighted mee to hinder the structure and breake-off the finishing of our new-bridge in our great city, and before my death to deprive mee of all hope to see the great necessity of it set forward againe. Moreover, it appeareth unto subjects, spectators of these triumphs, that they have a show made them of their owne riches, and that they are feasted at their proper charges; for the people doe easily presume of their kings as wee doe of our servants, that they should take care plementously to provide us of whatsoever wee stand in neede of, but that on their behalfe they should no way lay hands on it. And therefore the Emperor Galba, sitting at supper, having taken pleasure to heare a musician play and sing before him, sent for his casket, out of which he tooke a handful of crowns and put them into his hand, with these wordes: "Take this, not as a gift of the publike money, but of my owne private store." So is it, that it often commeth to passe, that the common people have reason to grudge, and that their eyes are fedde with that which should feede their belly. Liberality itselfe, in a soveraigne hand, is not in her owne luster: private men have more right, and may challenge more interest in her. For, taking the matter exactly as it is, a King hath nothing that is properly his owne; hee oweth even himselfe to others. Authority is not given in favour of the authorising, but rather in favour of the authorised. A superiour is never created for his owne profit, but rather for the benefit of the inferiour; and a physitian is instituted for the sicke, not for himselfe. All magistracie, even as each arte, rejecteth her end out of her selfe. *Nulla ars in se versatur*: "No arte is all in it selfe. Wherefore the governours and overseers

of princes' childhood or minority, who so earnestly endeavor to imprint this vertue of bounty and liberality in them, and teach them not to refuse anything, and esteeme nothing so well employed as what they shall give (an instruction which in my dayes I have seene in great credit) either they preferre and respect more their owne profit than their masters, or else they understand not aright to whom they speake. It is too easie a matter to imprint liberality in him that hath wherewith plementously to satisfie what he desireth at other men's charges. And his estimation being directed not according to the measure of the present, but according to the quality of his meanes that exerciseth the same, it cometh to prove vaine in so puissant hands. They are found to bee prodigall before they be liberrall. Therefore it is but of small commendation, in respect of other royall vertues; and the onely (as said of tyrant Dionysius) that agreed and squared well with tyrannie it selfe. I would rather teach him the verse of the ancient labourer:

Τῇ χειρὶ δὲ σπείρειν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄλφ τῷ θυλακῷ.¹

Not whole sackes, but by the hand
A man should sow his seed i' the land.

That whosoever will reape any commodity by it must sow with his hand, and not powre out of a sacke; that corne must be discreetly scattered, and not lavishly dispersed; and that being to give, or, to say better, to pay and restore to such a multitude of people, according as they have deserved, he ought to be a loyall, faithfull, and advised distributer thereof. If the liberality of a prince be without heedy discretion and measure, I would rather have him covetous and sparing. Princely vertue seemeth to consist most in justice; and of all parts of justice that doth best and most belong to kings which accompanieth liberality; for they have it particularly reserved to their charge; whereas all other justice they happily exercise the same by the intermission of others. Immoderate bounty is a weake meane to acquire them good will: for it rejecteth more people than it obtaineth: *Quo in plures usus sis, minus in multos uti possis. Quid autem est stultius, quam, quod libenter facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis?*² "The more you have used it to many, the lesse may you use it to many more; and what is more fond than what you willingly would doe, to provide you can no longer doe it?" And if it be employed without respect of merit, it

shameth him that receiveth the same, and is received without grace. Some tyrants have been sacrificed to the people's hatred by the very hands of those whom they had rashly preferred and wrongfully advanced: such kinde of men, meaning to assure the possession of goods unlawfully and indirectly gotten, if they shew to hold in contempt and hatred him from whom they held them, and in that combine themselves unto the vulgar judgement and common opinion. The subjects of a prince rashly excessive in his gifts become impudently excessive in begging: they adhere, not unto reason, but unto example. Verily we have often just cause to blush for our impudency. We are over-paid according to justice, when the recompence equaleth our service; for doe we not owe a kinde of naturall duty to our princes? If he beare our charge, he doth overmuch; it sufficeth if hee assist it: the over-plus is called a benefit which cannot be exacted; for the very name of liberality implyeth liberty. After our fashion we have never done; what is received is no more reckoned of: onely future liberality is loved: wherefore the more a prince doth exhaust himselfe in giving, the more friends he impoverisheth. How should he satisfie intemperate desires which increase according as they are replenished? Whoso hath his minde on taking, hath it no more on what he hath taken. Covetousnesse hath nothing so proper as to be ungratefull. The example of Cyrus shal not ill fit this place, for the behoofe of our kings of these daies, as a touch-stone, to know whether their gifts be wel or ill employed; and make them perceive how much more happily that emperour did wound and oppress them than they doe. Whereby they are afterward forced to exact and borrow of their unknowne subjects, and rather of such as they have wronged and aggrieved than of those they have enriched and done good unto; and receive no aids, where any thing is gratitude, except the name. Cressus upbraided him with his lavish bounty, and calculated what his treasure would amount unto if he were more sparing and close handed. A desire surprised him to justify his liberality, and dispatching letters over all parts of his dominions to such great men of his estate whom hee had particularly advanced, intreated every one to assist him with as much money as they could for an urgent necessitie of his, and presently to send it him by declaration; when all these count bookes or notes were brought him, each of his friends supposing that it sufficed not to offer him no more than they had received of his bounteous liberality, but

¹ PLUT. *de Athen. Eras.* chil. iii. cent. i. ad. 32.

² CIC. *Off.* l. i.

adding much of their owne unto it, it was found that the said summe amounted unto much more than the niggardly sparing of Croesus. Whereupon Cyrus said: "I am no lesse greedy of riches than other princes, but I am rather a better husband of them. You see with what small venture I have purchased the unvaluable treasure of so many friends, and how much more faithfull treasures they are to mee than mercenary men would be, without obligation and without affection; and my exchequer or treasury better placed than in paltry coffers; by which I draw upon me the hate, the envy and the contempt of other princes." The ancient emperours were wont to draw an excuse, for the superfluity of their sports and publike shewes, for so much as their authority did in some sort depend (at least in apparence) from the will of the Romane people; which from all ages are accustomed to be flattered by such kinde of spectacles and excesse.

But they were particular ones who had bred this custome to gratifie their concitizens and fellowes; especially by their purse, by such profusion and magnificence. It was cleane altered when the masters and chiefe rulers came once to imitate the same. *Pecuniarum translatio à justis dominis ad alienos non debet liberalis videri.*¹ "The passing of money from right owners to strangers should not seeme liberality." Philip, because his sonne endeavoured by gifts to purchase the good will of the Macedonians, by a letter seemed to be displeased, and chid him in this manner: "What, wouldst thou have thy subjects to account thee for their purse-bearer, and not repute thee for their king? Wilt thou frequent and practise them? Then doe it with the benefits of thy vertue, not with those of thy coffers." Yet was it a goodly thing to cause a great quantity of great trees, all branchie and greene, to bee far brought and planted in plots yeelding nothing but dry gravell, representing a wilde shady forrest, divided in due seemely proportion; and the first day to put into the same a thousand estriges, a thousand staggas, a thousand wilde boares, and a thousand buckes, yeelding them over to bee hunted and killed by the common people: the next morrow in the presence of all the assembly to cause a hundred great lions, a hundred leopards, and three hundred huge beares to be baited and tugged in pieces: and for the third day, in bloody manner and good earnest, to make three hundred couple of gladiators or fencers to combate and

murder one another, as did the Emperour Probus. It was also a goodly shew to see those huge amphitheatres all enchased with rich marble, on the outside curiously wrought with curious statues, and all the inner side glittering with precious and rare embellishments:

Balteus en gemmis, en illita porticus auro.

A belt beset with gemmes behold,
Behold a walke bedaw'd with gold.

All the sides round about that great void, replenished and invironed from the ground unto the very top with three or foure score ranks of steps and seates, likewise all of marble covered with faire cushions:

--- exeat, inquit,

*Si pudor est, et de pulcrino surgat equestri,
Cujus res legi non sufficit.*¹

If shame there be, let him be gone, he cries,
And from his knightly cushion let him rise,
Whose substance to the law doth not suffice.

Where might conveniently bee placed an hundred thousand men, and all sit at ease. And the plaine ground-woke of it, where sports were to be acted, first by art to cause the same to open and chap in sunder with gaps and cranishes representing hollow cavernes, which vomited out the beasts appointed for the spectacle; that ended, immediately to overflow it all with a maine deepe sea, fraught with store of sea-monsters and other strange fishes, all over-laid with goodly tall ships, ready rigd and appointed to represent a sea-fight; and thirdly, suddenly to make it smooth and drie againe for the combate of gladiators; and fourthly, being forthwith cleansed, to strew it over with vermillion and storax, instead of gravell, for the erecting of a solemne banket for all that infinite number of people: the last act of one onely day.

--- quoties nos descenditis arenam

*Vidimus in partes, riptaque voragine terre
Emersisse feras, et iisdem saepe latebris
Aurea cum croceo creuerunt arbuta libro.
Nec solum nobis silvestria cernere monstra
Contigit; equoreos ego cum certantibus ursis.
Spectani vitulos, et equorum nomine dignum,
Sed deforme pecus.*

How oft have we beheld wild beasts appeare
From broken gulfs of earth, upon some parte
Of sande that did not sinke? how often there
And thence did golden boughs o'er-saffron'd
starte?

Nor onely saw we monsters of the wood,
But I have seene sea-calves whom beares
withstood
And such a kinde of beast as might be named
A horse, but in most foule proportion framed.

They have sometimes caused an high

¹ Cic. Off. l. 1.

¹ JUVEN. Sat. iii. 153.

steepy mountaine to arise in the midst of the sayd amphitheaters, all over-spread with fruitfull and flourishing trees of all sortes, on the top whereof gushed out streames of water as from out the source of a purling spring. Other times they have produced therein a great tall ship floating up and downe, which of it selfe opened and split asunder, and after it had disgorged from out its bulke four or five hundred wild beasts to bee baited, it closed and vanished away of it selfe, without any visible helpe. Sometimes from out the bottom of it they caused streakes and purlings of sweete water to spoute, up bubbling to the highest top of the frame, and gently watering, sprinkling and refreshing that infinite multitude. To keepe and cover themselves from the violence of the wether, they caused that huge compasse to be all over-spread, sometimes with purple sailes, all curiously wrought with the needle, sometimes of silke and of some other colour in the twinkling of an eye, as they pleased they displaid and spread or drew and pulled them in againe.

*Quamvis non modico caleant spectacula sole
Vela reducuntur cum venit Hermogenes.*

Though fervent sunne make't hotte to see a play,
When linnen thieves come, sailes are kept away.

The nets likewise, which they used to put before the people to save them from harm and violence of the baited beasts, were woven with golde.

*— auro quoque torta resurgunt
Retia.*

Nets with gold enterlaced,
Their shewes with glittering graced.

If any thing bee excusable in such lavish excesse, it is where the invention and strangeness breedeth admiration, and not the costlie charge. Even in those vanities, wee may plainly perceive how fertile and happy those former ages were of other manner of wittes then ours are. It hapneth of this kinde of fertilitie as of all other productions of nature. We may not say what nature employed then the utmost of his power. We goe not, but rather creepe and stagger here and there: we goe our pace. I imagine our knowledge to bee weake in all senses: wee neither discern far forward, nor see much backward. It embraceth little and liveth not long: it is short both in extension of time and in amplexes of matter or invention.

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte.*¹

Before great Agamemnon and the rest
Many liv'd valiant, yet are all suppress'd,
Unmoan'd, unknowne, in darke obliivions nest.

*Et supra bellum Trojanum et funera Troia,
Multi alias alij quoque res cecinerunt poeta.*²

Beside the Trojan warre, Troyes funerall night,
Of other things did other poets write.

And Solons narration concerning what he had learned of the Egyptian priests of their states, long-life and manner how to learne and preserve strange or forraigne histories, in mine opinion is not a testimony to bee refused in this consideration. *Si interminatam in omnes partes magnitudinem regionum videremus, et temporum in quam se iniciis animus et intendens, ita late longeque peregrinatur, ut nullam oram ullimi videat in qua possit insistere: In hac immensitate infinita vis innumerabilium appareret formarum.*³ "If we behold an unlimited greatnesse on all sides both of regions and times, whereupon the mind casting it selfe and intente doth travell farre and neare, so as it sees no bounds of what is last, whereon it may insist; in this infinite immensity there would appeare a multitude of innumerable formes." If whatsoever hath come unto us by report of what is past where true and knowne of any body, it would be lesse then nothing, in respect of that which is unknowne. And even of this image of the world, which whilst we live therein, glideth and passeth away, how wretched, weake and how short is the knowledge of the most curious? Not onely of the particular events which fortune often maketh exemplar and of consequence; but of the state of mighty common-wealths, large monarchies and renowned nations, there escapeth our knowledge a hundred times more then commeth unto our notice. We keepe a coile and wonder at the miraculous invention of our artillerie, and amazed at the rare devise of printing; whenas unknown to us, other men, and an other end of the world name China, knew and had perfect use of both a thousand yeares before. If we sawe as much of this vaste world as wee see but a least part of it, it is very likely we should perceive a perpetuall multiplicity and over-rouling vicissitude of formes. Therein is nothing singular and nothing rare, if regard bee had unto nature, or to say better, if relation bee had unto our knowledge; which is a weake foundation of our rules, and which doth commonly present us a right-false image of things. How vainely do we nowadayes conclude the declination and decrepitude of the world,

¹ HOR. Car. l. iv. Od. ix. 25.

² LUCR. l. v. 316.

³ CIC. Nat. Deo. l.

by the fond arguments wee drawe from our owne weaknesse, drooping and inclination :

Janque adeo affecta est ætas, effetaque tellus :¹
And now both age and land
So sicke affected stand.

And as vainly did another conclude its birth and youth by the vigour he perceiveth in the wits of his time, abounding in novelties an invention of divers arts :

*Verùm ut opinor, habet novitatem summa,
recensque
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit :
Quare etiam quædam nunc artes expoliuntur,
Nunc etiam auferunt, nunc addita navis...
sunt
Multa.²*

But all this world is new, as I suppose,
Worlds nature fresh, nor lately it arose :
Whereby some arts refined are in fashion,
And many things now to our navigation
Are added, daily growne to augmentation.

Our world hath of late discovered another (and who can warrant us whether it be the last of his brethren, since both the Dæmons, the Sibylles, and all we have hitherto been ignorant of this ?) no lesse-large, fully-peopled, all-things-yeelding, and mighty in strength than ours ; nevertheless so new and infantine, that he is yet to learne his A B C. It is not yet full fifty yeeres that he knew neither letters, nor waight, nor measures, nor apparell, nor corne, nor vines ; but was all naked, simply pure, in Natures lappe, and lived but with such meanes and food as his mother-nurse afforded him. If wee conclude aright of our end, and the foresaid poet of the infancie of his age, this late-world shall but come to light when ours shall fall into darknesse. The whole Universe shall fall into a palsey or convulsion of sinnowes : one member shall be maimed or shrunkn, another nimble and in good plight. I feare that by our contagion we shall directly have furthered his declination and hastened his ruine ; and that we shall too dearly have sold him our opinions, our new-fangles and our arts. It was an unpolluted, harmelesse, infant world ; yet have we not whipped and submitted the same into our discipline, or schooled him by the advantage of our valour or naturall forces ; nor have wee instructed him by our justice and integrity, nor subdued by our magnanimity. Most of their answers, and a number of the negotiations we have had with them, witness that they were nothing short of us, nor beholding to us for any excellency of naturall wit or perspicuitie concerning pertinency. The wonderfull, or as I may call

it, amazement-breeding magnificence of the never-like seene cities of Cusco and Mexico, and amongst infinite such like things, the admirable garden of that king, where all the trees, the fruits, the herbes and plants, according to the order and greatnesse they have in a garden, were most artificially framed in gold ; as also in his cabinet ; all the living creatures that his countrey or his seas produced, were cast in gold ; and the exquisite beauty of their workes, in precious stones, in feathers, in cotton and in painting, shew that they yeelded as little unto us in cunning and industrie. But concerning unfained devotion, awefull observance of lawes, unspotted integrity, bounteous liberality, due loyalty and free liberty, it hath greatly availed us that we had not so much as they : by which advantage they have lost, cast-away, sold, undone and betrayed themselves.

Touching hardinesse and undaunted courage, and as for matchlesse constancie, unmooved assurednesse, and undismayed resolution against paine, smarting, famine and death it selfe, I will not feare to oppose the examples which I may easily finde amongst them, to the most famous ancient examples we may with all our industrie discover in all the annales and memories of our known old world. For as for those which have subdued them, let them lay aside the wiles, the policies and stratagems which they have employed to cozen, to cunny-catch, and to circumvent them ; and the just astonishment which those nations might justly conceive, by seeing so unexpected an arrivall of bearded men, divers in language, in habite, in religion, in behaviour, in forme, in countenance, and from a part of the world so distant, and where they never heard any habitation was : mounted upon great and unknown monsters, against those who had had never so much as seene any horse, and lesse any beast whatsoever apt to beare, or taught to carry either man or burden ; covered with a shining and hard skinne, and armed with slicing-keene weapons and glittering armour : against them, who for the wonder of the glistening of a looking-glasse or of a plaine knife would have changed or given inestimable riches in gold, precious stones and pearles ; and who had neither the skill nor the matter wherewith at any leisure they could have pierced our Steele : to which you may adde the flashing-fire and thundering roare of shotte and harquebuses ; able to quell and daunt even Cæsar himselfe, had he bene so sodainly surprised and as little experienced as they were ; and thus to come unto and assault silly-naked people, saving where the invention of weaving of

¹ Lucr. l. ii. 1130.

² Id. l. v. 330.

cotton cloath was knowne and used ; for the most altogether unarmed, except some bowes, stones, staves and wooden bucklers ; unsuspecting poore people, surprised under colour of amity and well-meaning faith overtaken by the curiosity to see strange and unknowne things : I say, take this disparity from the conquerors, and you deprive them of all the occasion and cause of so many unexpected victories. When I consider that sterne-untamed obstinacy and undanted vehemence wherewith so many thousands of men, of women and children, do so infinite times present themselves unto inevitable dangers, for the defence of their Gods and liberty. This generous obstinacy to endure all extremities, all difficulties and death, more easily and willingly, then basely to yeelde unto their domination, of whom they have so abominably bene abused : some of them choosing rather to starve with hunger and fasting, being taken, then to accept food at their enemies handes, so basely victorious : I perceive, that whosoever had undertaken them man to man, without ods of armes, of experience or of number, should have had as dangerous a warre, or perhaps more, as any we see amongst us.

Why did not so glorious a conquest happen under Alexander, or during the time of the ancient Greekes and Romanes ? or why befell not so great a change and alteration of empires and people under such hands as would gently have polished, reformed and incivilized what in them they deemed to be barbarous and rude ? or would have nourished and fostered those good seedes which nature had there brought forth ? adding not onely to the manuring of their grounds and ornaments of their cities such artes as we had, and that no further then had beene necessary for them, but therewithall joyning unto the originall vertues of the country those of the ancient Grecians and Romanes ? What reputation and what reformation would all that farre spredding world have found, if the examples, demeanors and policies wherewith we first presented them had called and allured those uncorrupted nations to the admiration and imitation of vertue, and had established betweene them and us brotherly society and mutuall correspondency ? How easie a matter had it bene profitably to reforme and christianly to instruct minds yet so pure and new, so willing to bee taught, being for the most part endowed with so docile, so apt and so yeelding naturall beginnings ? Whereas, contrarywise, we have made use of their ignorance and inexperience, to drawe them more easily unto treason. fraude.

luxurie, avarice and all manner of inhumanity and cruelty, by the example of our life and patterne of our customes. Who ever raised the service of marchandize and benefit of traffick to so high a rate ? So many goodly citties ransacked and razed ; so many nations destroyed and made desolate ; so infinite millions of harmlesse people of all sexes, states and ages, massacred, ravaged and put to the sword ; and the richest, the fairest and the best part of the world topsitruvied, ruined and defaced for the traffick of pearles and pepper. Oh mechanically victories ! oh base conquest ! Never did greedy revenge, publik wrongs or generall enmities, so moodily enrage and so passionately incense men against men, unto so horrible hostilities, bloody dissipation, and miserable calamities.

Certaine Spaniards, coasting alongst the sea in search of mines, fortun'd to land in a very fertile, pleasant and well-peopled country, unto the inhabitants whereof they declared their intent and shewed their accustomed perswasions ; saying, that they were quiet and well-meaning men, coming from farre-countries, being sent from the King of Castile, the greatest King of the habitable earth, unto whom the Pope, representing God on earth, had given the principality of all the Indies ; that if they would become tributaries to him, they should bee most kingly used and courteously entreated. They required of them victualles for their nourishment, and some gold for the behoofe of certaine physcally experiments. Moreover, they declared unto them the beleiving in one onely God and the truth of our religion, which they perswaded them to embrace, adding thereto some minatorie threats. Whose answer was this : That happily they might be quiet and well meaning, but their countenance showed them to be otherwise : as concerning their king, since he seemed to beg, he shewed to be poore and needy ; and for the Pope, who had made that distribution, he expressed himselfe a man loving dissention, in going about to give unto a third man a thing which was not his owne, so to make it questionable and litigious amongst the ancient possessors of it. As for victualles, they should have part of their store ; and for gold, they had but little, and that it was a thing they made very small account of, as meere unprofitable for the service of their life ; whereas all their care was but how to passe it happily and pleasantly, and therefore, what quantity soever they should finde, that onely excepted which was employed about the service of their Gods, they might boldly take it. As touching one onely God, the discourse of him had

very well pleased them ; but they would by no means change their religion under which they had for so long time lived so happily ; and that they were not accustomed to take any counsell, but of their friends and acquaintance. As concerning their menaces, it was a signe of want of judgement to threaten those whose nature, condition, power and meanes was to them unknowne. And therefore they should with all speed hasten to avoid their dominions (forsomuch as they were not wont to admit or take in good part the kindnesses and remonstrances of armed people, namely, of strangers) otherwise they would deal with them as they had done with such others, shewing them the heads of certaine men sticking upon stakes about their citie, which had lately bene executed. Loe here an example of the stammering of this infancy.

But so it is, neither in this nor in infinite other places, where the Spaniards found not the merchandise they sought for, neither made stay or attempted any violence, whatsoever other commodity the place yielded : witness my canibales. Of two the most mighty and glorious monarkes of that world, and peradventure of all our Western parts, kings over so many kings, the last they deposed and overcame ; he of Peru, having by them been taken in a battell, and set at so excessive a ransom that it exceedeth all belief, and that truly paide : and by his conversation having given them apparant signes of a free, liberrall, undaunted, and constant courage, and declared to be of a pure, noble, and well composed understanding ; a humour possessed the conquerors, after they had most insolently exacted from him a million three hundred five and twenty thousand, and five hundred weights of golde, besides the silver and other precious things, which amounted to no lesse a summe (so that their horses were all shod of massive gold), to discover (what disloyalty or treachery soever it might cost them) what the remainder of this kings treasure might be, and without controlment enjoy whatever he might have hidden or concealed from them. Which to compass, they forged a false accusation and prooffe against him, that hee practised to raise his provinces, and intended to induce his subjects to some insurrection, so to procure his liberty. Whereupon, by the very judgement of those who had complotted this forgery and treason against him, hee was condemned to be publicly hanged and strangled ; having first made him to redeeme the torment of being burned alive by the baptisme which at the instant of his execution in charity they bestowed upon

him ; a horrible and the like never heard of accident, which nevertheless he undismayedly endured with an unmoved manner and truly-royall gravity, without ever contradicting himselfe either in countenance or speech. And then, somewhat to mitigate and circumvent those silly unsuspecting people, amazed and astonished at so strange a spectacle, they counterfeited a great mourning and lamentation for his death, and appointed his funerall to bee solemnly and sumptuously celebrated.

The other, King of Mexico, having a long time manfully defended his besieged city, and in the tedious siege shewed whatever pinching-sufferance and resolute perseverance can effect, if ever any courageous prince or warre-like people shewed the same ; and his disastrous successe having delivered him alive into his enemies hands, upon conditions to bee used as becomed a king : who during the time of his imprisonment did never make the least shew of any thing unworthy that glorious title. After which victory, the Spaniards, not finding that quantitie of gold they had promised themselves, when they had ransacked and ranged all corners, they by meanes of the cruellest tortures and horriblest torments they could possibly devise, beganne to wrest and draw some more from such prisoners as they had in keeping. But unable to profit any thing that way, finding stronger hearts than their torments, they in the end fell to such moody outrages, that, contrary to all law of nations and against their solemn vows and promises, they condemned the king himselfe and one of the chiefest princes of his court, to the racke, one in presence of another : the prince, environed round with hot burning coales, being overcome with the exceeding torment, at last in most piteous sort turning his dreary eyes toward his master, as if hee asked mercy of him for that hee could endure no longer ; the king, fixing rigorously and fiercely his lookes upon him, seeming to upbraid him with his remissnesse and pusillanimity, with a sterne and settled voyce uttered these words unto him : "What, supposest thou I am in a cold bath, am I at more ease than thou art?" Whereat the silly wretch immediately fainted under the torture, and yeelded up the ghost. The king, half rosted, was carried away : not so much for pitty (for what ruth could ever enter to barbarous mindes, who upon the furnished information of some odde piece or vessell of golde they intended to get, would broyle a man before their eyes, and not a man onely, but a king, so great in fortune and so renowned in desert ?), but forasmuch

as his unmatched constancy did more and more make their inhumane cruelty ashamed, they afterwards hanged him, because he had courageously attempted by armes to deliver himself out of so long captivity and miserable subjection; where he ended his wretched life, worthy an high-minded and never-danted prince. At another time, in one same fire, they caused to be burned all alive foure hundred common men and threescore principall lords of a province, whom by the fortune of warre they had taken prisoners. These narrations we have out of their owne bookes, for they do not onely avouch, but vauntingly publish them. May it bee they doe it for a testimony of their justice or zeale toward their religion? Verily they are wayes over-different and enemies to so sacred an ende. Had they proposed unto themselves to enlarge and propagate our religion, they would have considered that it is not amplified by possession of lands, but of men; and would have bene satisfied with such slaughters as the necessity of warre bringeth, without indifferently adding thereunto so bloody a butchery as upon savage beasts, and so universall as fire or sword could ever attaine unto; having purposely preserved no more than so many miserable bond-slaves, as they deemed might suffice for the digging, working and service of their mines: so that divers of their chieftains have bene executed to death, even in the places they had conquered, by the appointment of the Kings of Castile, justly offended at the seld-seene horror of their barbarous demeanours, and well nigh all disesteemed contemned and hated. God hath meritoriously permitted that many of their great pillages and ill gotten goods have either bene swallowed up by the revenging seas in transporting them, or consumed by the intestine warres and civill broiles wherewith themselves have devoured one another; and the greatest part of them have been over-whelmed and buried in the bowels of the earth, in the very places they found them, without any fruit of their victory. Touching the objection which some make, that the receipt, namely in the hands of so thrifty, wary and wise a prince, doth so little answer the fore-conceived hope which was given unto his predecessors, and the said former abundance of riches, they met withall at the first discovery of this new-found world (for although they bring home great quantity of gold and silver, we perceive the same to be nothing, in respect of what might be expected thence), it may be answered, that the use of money was there altogether unknowne; and consequently that all their

gold was gathered together, serving to no other purpose than for shew, state and ornament, as a moovable reserved from father to sonne by many puissant kings, who exhausted all their mines to collect so huge a heape of vessels or statues for the ornament of their temples, and embellishing of their pallaces; whereas all our gold is employed in commerce and trafficke betwene man and man. Wee mince and alter it into a thousand formes; wee spend, wee scatter and disperse the same to severall uses. Suppose our kings should thus gather and heape up all the gold they might for many ages hoard up together, and keepe it close and untouched. Those of the kingdome of Mexico were somewhat more encivilized, and better artists, than other nations of that world. And as wee doe, so judged they, that this universe was neare his end, and tooke the desolation wee brought amongst them as an infallible signe of it. They beleevied the state of the world to bee divided into five ages, as in the life of five succeeding sunnes, whereof foure had already ended their course or time; and the same which now shined upon them was the first and last. The first perished together with all other creatures, by an universall inundation of waters. The second by the fall of the heavens upon us, which stifled and overwhelmed every living thing: in which age they affirme the giants to have bene, and shewed the Spaniards certaine bones of them, according to whose proportion the stature of men came to bee of the height of twenty handfuls. The third was consumed by a violent fire, which burned and destroyed all. The fourth by a whirling emotion of the ayre and windes, which with the violent fury of it selfe removed and overthrew divers high mountaines: saying that men dyed not of it, but were transformed into monkeys. (Oh what impressions doth not the weaknesse of man's belief admit?) After the consummation of this fourth sunne, the world continued five and twenty yeares in perpetuall darkenesse, in the fifteenth of which one man and one woman were created, who renewed the race of mankind. Ten yeares after, upon a certaine day, the sunne appeared as newly created, from which day beginneth ever since the calculation of their yeares. On the third day of whose creation, died their ancient gods, their new ones have day by day bene borne since. In what manner this last sunne shall perish, my author could not learne of them. But their number of this fourth change doth jumpe and meeete with that great conjunction of the starres which eight hundred and

odde yeares since, according to the astrologians' supposition, produced divers great alterations and strange novelties in the world. Concerning the proud pomp and glorious magnificence by occasion of which I am fallen into this discourse, nor Greece, nor Rome, nor Egypt, can (bee it in profit, or difficultie or nobility) equall or compare sundrie and divers of their workes. The cawcy or highway which is yet to bee seene in Peru, erected by the kings of that countrie, stretching from the city of Quito unto that of Cusco (containing three hundred leagues in length), straight, even, and fine, and twentie paces in breadth curiously paved, rayseed on both sides with goodly high masonrie walles, all along which, on the inner side, there are two continuall running streames, pleasantly beset with beauteous trees, which they call Moly. In framing of which, where they mette any mountaines or rockes, they have cut, raised and levelled them, and filled all hollow places with lime and stone. At the ende of every dayes journey, as stations, there are built stately great pallaces, plenteously stored with all manner of good victuals, apparrell and armes, as well for daylie way-faring men as for such armies that might happen to passe that way. In the estimation of which worke I have especially considered the difficultie, which in that place is particularly to bee remembered. For they built with no stones that were lesse than ten foote square: they had no other meanes to cary or transport them then by meere strength of armes to draw and dragge the carriage they needed: they had not so much as the arte to make scaffolds, nor knew other devise then to raise so much earth or rubbish against their building according as the worke riseth, and afterward to take it away againe. But returne we to our coaches. In steade of them and of all other carrying beastes, they caused themselves to be carryed by men, and upon their shoulders. This last king of Peru, the same day hee was taken, was thus carried upon rafters or beames of massive golde, sitting in a faire chaire of state, likewise all of golde, in the middle of his battaile. Looke how many of his porters as were slaine to make him fall (for all their endeavour was to take him alive) so many others, and as it were avye, tooke and underwent presently the place of the dead: so that they could never be brought down or made to falle, what slaughter soever was made of those kinde of people, untill such time as a horseman furiously ranne to take him by some part of his body, and so pulled him to the ground.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Incommoditie of Greatnesse.

SINCE we cannot attaine unto it, let us revenge our selves with railing against it: yet is it not absolute railing to finde fault with any thing? There are defects found in all things, how faire soever in show and desirable they be. It hath generally this evident advantage, that whenever it pleaseth it will decline, and hath well-nigh the choice of one and other condition. For a man doth not fall from all heights; divers there are whence a man may descend without falling. Verily, me seemeth that we value it at too high a rate, and prize over-deare the resolution of those whom we have either seene or heard to have contemned, or of their owne motion rejected the same. Her essence is not so evidently commodious but a man may refuse it without wonder. Indeed I finde the labour very hard in suffering of evils; but in the contentment of a meane measure of fortune and shunning of greatnesse, therein I see no great difficultie. In my conceit it is a vertue whereunto my selfe, who am but a simple ninny, might easily attaine, and without great contention. What shall they doe who would also bring into consideration the glory which accompanieth this refusal, wherein may fall more ambition then even in the desire and absolute enjoying of greatnesse? For so much as ambition is never better directed according to it selfe then by a straying and unfrequented path, I sharpen my courage toward patience, and weaken the same against desire. I have as much to wish for as another, and leave my wishes as much liberty and indiscretion; but yet it never came into my minde to wish for empire, for royalty, or eminency of high and commanding fortunes. I aime not that way: I love my selfe too well. When I thinke to grow, it is but meanly, with a forced and coward advancement, fit for me; yea in resolution, in wisdome, in health, in beauty, and also in riches. But this credite, this aspiring reputation, this overswaying authority, suppresseth my imagination. And cleane opposite to some other, I should peradventure love my selfe better to be the second or third man in Perigot then the first in Paris; at least, without faining, I had rather be the third man in Paris then the first in charge. I will neither contend with an usher of a doore, as a silly unknown man; nor with gaping and adoration make a lane through the throng as I passe. I am enured to a meane calling; mediocrity best

fitteth me, as well by my fortune as by mine owne humor. And I have shewed by the conduct of my life and course of my enterprises, that I have rather sought to avoid then otherwise to embrace beyond the degree of fortune that at my birth it pleased God to call me unto. Each naturall constitution is equally just and easie. My minde is so dull and slowe that I measure not good fortune according to her height, but rather according to her facility. And if my hart be not great enough, it is ratably free and open, and who biddeth me boldly to publish my weaknesse. Should any will me, on the one part, to conferre and consider the life of L. Thurius Balbus, a worthy gallant man, wise, faire, goodly, healthy, of good understanding, richly plenteous in all manner of commodities and pleasures, leading a quiet easefull life, altogether his owne, with a minde armed and well prepared against death, superstition, griefes, cares and other encombrances of humane necessity; dying in his old age in an honourable battell, with his weapons in his hand, for the defence of his countrie; and on the other side the life of M. Regulus, so high and great, as all men know, together with his admirable and glorious end: the one unmentioned and without dignity, the other exemplaire and wonderfull renowned: truly I would say what Cicero saith of it, had I the gift of well-speaking as hee had. But if I were to sute them unto mine, I would also say that the former is as much agreeing to my quality, and to the desire I endeavour to conforme my quality unto, as the second is farre beyond it. That to this I cannot attaine but by veneration; and to the other I would willingly attaine by custome. But returne we to our temporall greatnesse, whence we have digressed. I am distasted of all maistry, both active and passive. Otanes, one of the seven that by right might challenge the crowne or pretend the kingdome of Persia, resolved upon such a resolution as I should easily have done the like, which was, that he utterly renounced all manner of claime he might in any sort pretend unto that crowne to his fellow competitors, were it either by election or chance: alwayes provided that both himselfe and all his might live in that empire free from all subjections and exempted from all manner of commandement, except that of the ancient lawes; and might both challenge all liberty and enjoy all immunities that should not prejudice them: being as impacient to command as to be commanded. The sharpest and most difficile profession of the world is (in mine opinion) worthily to act and play the king. I excuse

more of their faults then commonly other men doe; and that in consideration of the downe-bearing waight of their immense charge, which much astonisheth me, it is a very hard task to keep a due measure in so unmeasurable a power. Yet is it, that even with those that are of a lesse excellent nature it is a singular incitation to vertue to be seated in such a place where you shall doe no maner of good that is not registred and recorded, and where the least wel-doing extendeth to so many persons, and where your sufficiency (as that of preachers) is principally directed to the people; weake and partiall judge, easily to be beguiled, and easie to be pleased. There are but few things of which we may give a sincere judgement; for there be very few wherein in some sort or other we are not particularly interested. Superiority and inferiority, maistry and subjection, are joyntly tied unto a naturall kinde of envy and contestation; they must perpetually enter-spoile one another. I beleieve neither the one nor the other concerning hir companions rights: let us suffer reason to speake of it, which is inflexible and impassible, when or how we shall make an end. I was not long since reading of two Scottish bookes striving upon this subject. The popular makes the king to be of worse condition then a carter; and he that extollet monarchy placeth him both in power and sovereignty many steps above the Gods. Now the incommody of greatnesse, which here I have undertaken to note and speake of (upon some occasion lately befallne mee), is this: There is peradventure nothing more pleasing to the commerce of men then the essayes which we through jealousy of honour or valour make one against another, be it in the exercise of the body or minde: wherein soveraigne greatnesse hath no true or essentiall part. Verily, it hath often seemed unto me, that through over-much respect Princes are therein used disdainefully and treated injuriously; for the thing whereat (in my youth) I was infinitely offended was, that those which were trained and schooled with mee, should forbear to doe it in good earnest, because they found me unworthy to bee withstood or to resist their endeavours. It is that we dayly see to happen unto them; every man finding himselfe unworthy to force himselfe against them. If one perceive them never so little affected to have the victory, there is none but will strive to yeeld it them, and that will not rather wrong his glory then offend theirs: no man employeth more diligence then needs he must to serve their honour. What share have princes in the thron,

where all are for them? Mee thinks I see those Paladines of former ages presenting themselves in joustes, tiltings and combats, with bodies and armes enchanted. Brisson running against Alexander, counterfeited his course; Alexander chid him for it; but he should have caused him to be whipt. For this consideration was Carneades wont to say, that "princes children learnt nothing aright but to manage and ride horses; forsomuch as in all other exercises every man yeeldeth and giveth them the victory; but a horse, who is neyther a flatterer nor a courtier, will as soone throw the child of a king as the son of a base porter." Homer hath beene forced to consent that Venus (so sweet a saint and delicate a goddess) should be hurt at the siege of Troy, thereby to ascribe courage and hardnesse unto her, qualities never seene in those that are exempted from danger. The Gods themselves are fained to be angry, to feare, to be jealous, to grieve, to shew passion, and be subject to mortall sense, thereby to honour them with the vertues which the poets and philosophers invent amongst us: nay, they are supposed to runne away, and to have a feeling of all our imperfections. Who doth not participate both hazard and difficulties, cannot justly pretend interest in the honor, or challenge share in the pleasure that followeth dangerous actions or hazardous attempts. It is pittie a man should be so powerfull, that all things must yeeld and give place unto him. Such as are in so high eminency of greatnesse, their fortune rejects society and conversation too farre from them: she placeth them in over remote and uncouth places. This easefull life and plausible facility to bring all under, and subject mens mindes, is an enemy to all manner of pleasure. It is a kinde of sliding, and not a going: it is to sleepe and not to live. Conceive man accompanied with omnipotency, you overwhelme him: he must in begging manner crave some impeachment and resistance of you. His being and his good is in want and indigence. Their good qualities are dead and lost, for they are not heard but by comparison, and they are excluded: they have little knowledge of true praise, being beaten with so continuall and uniforme an approbation. Have they to doe with the simplest of their subjects? They have no meane to take advantage of, him if he but say it is because he is my king, he supposeth to have sufficiently expressed, and you must understand that in so saying he hath lent a helping hand to overthrow himselfe. This quality suppresseth and consumeth all other true and essentiall qualities: they are even

drowned in the royalty which gives them no leave to make the offices of their charge to prevaile, except in such actions as directly concerne and stead the same. To be a king is a matter of that consequence, that onely by it he is so. That strange glimmering and eye-dazzling light which round about environeth, overcasteth and hideth from us: our weake sight is thereby beclouded and dissipated, as being filled and obscured by that greater and further-spreading brightness. The Senate allotted the honour and prize of eloquence unto Tiberius; he refused it, supposing that if it had beene true, he could not be sensible of so limited and partiall judgement. As we yeeld princes all advantages of honour, so we authorize their defects and sooth-up their vices; not onely by approbation, but also by imitation. All Alexanders followers bare their heads sidelings, as he did. And such as flattered Dionysius in his owne presence did run and jostle one another, and either stumbled at or overthrew what ever stood before their feete, to inferre that they were as short-sighted or spur-blinde as he was. Naturall imperfections have sometimes served for commendation and favour. Nay, I have seene deafnesse affected, and because the maister hated his wife, Plutarch hath seen courtiers to sue a divorce of theirs, whom they loved very well. And which is more, paillardise and all maner of dissolution hath thereby beene held in credit, as also disloyalty, blasphemy, cruelty, heresie, superstition, irreligion, wantonnesse, and worse, if worse may be. Yea, by an example more dangerous then that of Mithridates, his flatterers, who for so much as their master pretended to have skill in physick and aspired to the honour of a good physitian, came to him to have their members incized and cauterized. For these others suffer to have their soules cauterized; a much more precious and nobler part then the body. But to end where I began. Adrian the Emperor, debating with Favorinus the Philosopher about the interpretation of some word, Favorinus did soone yeeld the victory unto him, his friends finding fault with him for it: "You but jest, my masters" (quoth he); "would you not have him to be much wiser than I, who hath the absolute command over thirty legions?" Augustus writ some verses against Asinius Pollio, which Pollio hearing, he said, "I will hold my peace; for it is no wisdome to contend in writing with him who may proscribe." And they had reason; for Dionysius, because he could not equall Philoxenus in poesie, nor match Plato in discourse, con-

demned the one to the stone-quarries, and sent the other to bee sold as a slave in the isle of *Ægina*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Art of Conferring.

IT is a custome of our law to condemne some for the warning of others. To condemne them because they have misdome were folly, as saith Plato. For what is once done can never be undone: but they are condemned to the end that they should not offend againe, or that others may avoide the example of their offence. "He who is hanged is not corrected, but others by him." Even so doe I. My errors are sometimes naturall, incorrigible, and remedillesse. But whereas honest men profit the commonwealth in causing themselves to be imitated, I shall happily benefit the same in making my selfe to be evitated.

*Nonne vides Albi ut malè vivat filius, utque
Barrus inops? magnum documentum, ne
patriam rem
Perdere quis velit.*¹

Doe you not see how that mans sonne lives
badly,

That man's a beggar by his spending madly?
A lesson great, that none take joy
His patrimony to destroy.

By publishing and-accusing my imperfections, some man may peradventure learne to feare them. The parts I most esteeme in my selfe, reape more honor by accusing then by commending my selfe. And that's the cause I more often fall into them againe and rest upon them. But when all the cardes be told, a man never speaks of him selfe without losse. A mans own condemnations are ever increased: praises ever decreased. There may be some of my complexion, who am better instructed by contrariety then by similitude; and more by escaping then by following. Cato senior had a speciaall regard to this kind of discipline when he said that wise men have more to learne of fooles then fooles of wise men. And that ancient player on the Lyra, whom Pausanias reporteth to have bene accustomed to compell his schollers sometimes to goe heare a bad player, who dwelt right over-against him, where they might learne to hate his discords and false measures. The horror of cruelty draws me neerer unto clemency

then any patterne of clemency can possibly win me. A cunning rider or skilfull horseman doth not so properly teach me to sit well on horsebacke, as doth one of our lawyers, or a Venetian by seeing him ride. And an ill manner of speech doth better reforme mine then any well polished forme of speaking. The sottish countenance of another doth daily advertize and forewarne me; that which pricketh, toucheth, and rouzeth better, then that which delighteth. These times are fit to reforme us backward, more by dissenting then by consenting; more by difference then by accord. Being but little instructed by good examples, I make use of bad; the lesson of which is ordinary. I have endeavoured, nay I have laboured, to yeeld my selfe as pleasing and affable as I saw others peevish and froward; as constant, as I saw others variable; as gentle and milde, as I perceived others intractable and wild; and as good and honest, as I discerned others wicked and dishonest. But I proposed certaine invincible measures unto my selfe. The most fruitfull and naturall exercise of our spirit is, in my selfe-pleasing conceit, conference. The use thereof I finde to be more delightful then any other action of our life: and that's the reason why, if I were now forced to choose (being in the minde I now am in), I would rather yeeld to lose my sight then forego my hearing or my speech. The Athenians and also the Romans did ever hold this exercise in high honor and reputation, namely, in their academies. And at this day the Italians do yet keepe a kinde of forme and trace of it, to their great profit, as may apparently be discerned by comparing their wits unto ours. The study and plodding on bookes is a languishing and weake kinde of motion, and which heateth or earnesteth nothing; whereas conference doth both learne, teach and exercise at once. If I conferre with a stubborne wit and encounter a sturdy wrestler, he toucheth me to the quicke, hits me on the flanks, and pricks me both on the left and right side; his imaginations vanquish and confound mine. Jealousie, glory and contention drive, cast and raise me above my selfe. And an unison or consent is a quality altogether tedious and wearisome in conference. But as our minde is fortified by the communication of regular and vigorous spirits, it cannot well be expressed how much it loseth and is bastardized by the continuall commerce and frequentation we have with base, weake and dull spirits. No contagion spread its selfe further then that I knew by long

¹ *Hon. Ser. l. i. sect. iv. 109.*

experience what an ell of it is worth. I love to contest and discourse, but not with many, and only for my selfe. For to serve as a spectacle unto great men, and by way of contention for one to make a glorious shew of his ready wit and running tongue, I deem it a profession farre unfitting a man of honor. Sottishness is an ill quality, but not to be able to endure it, and so fret and vex at it, as it hapneth to me, is another kinde of imperfection which in opportunity is not much behind sottishness; and that's it I will now accuse in my selfe. I doe with greaty liberty and facility enter into conference and disputation; forso much as opinion findes but a hard soile to enter and take any deepe roote in me. No propositions amaze me, no conceit woundeth me, what contrariety soever they have to mine. There is no fantasie so frivolous or humor so extravagant, that in mine opinion is not sortable to the production of humane wit. Wee others, who debarre our judgement of the right to make conclusions, regard but negligently the diverse opinions: and if we lend it not our judgement, we easily afford it ours. Where onescale of the ballance is altogether empty, I let the other waver to and fro, under an old wives dreames. And me seemeth I may well be excused if I rather except an odde number than an even: Thursday in respect of Friday, if I had rather make a twelfth or fourteenth at a table, then a thirteenth; if when I am travelling I would rather see a hare coasting then crossing my way; and rather reach my left then my right foote to be shod. All such fond conceits, now in credit about us, deserve at least to be listned unto. As for me, they onely bare away inanity, and surely they do so. Vulgar and casuall opinions are yet of some waight, which in nature are something else then nothing. And who wadeth not so far into them to avoid the vice of superstition, falleth happily into the blame of wilfulness. The contradictions then of judgements doe neither offend nor move, but awaken and exercise me. We commonly shunne correction, whereas we should rather seeke and present our selves unto it, chiefly when it cometh by the way of conference, and not of regency. At every opposition we consider not whether it be just, but be it right or wrong, how we may avoid it; instead of reaching our armes, we stretch forth our claws unto it. I should endure to be rudely handled and checked by my friends, though they should call me foole, coxe-combe, or say I raved. I love a man that doth stoutly express himselfe amongst honest and worthy men, and whose words

answer his thoughts. We should fortifie and harden our hearing against the tenderness of the ceremonious sound of words. I love a friendly society and a virile and constant familiarity; an amitie which in the earnestness and vigor of its commerce flattereth it selfe: as love in bitings and bloody scratchings. It is not sufficiently generous or vigorous, except it be contentious and quarrelous; if she be civilized and a skilfull artist; if it feare a shooke or free encounter, and have hir starting holes or forced byways *Neque enim disputari sine reprehensione potest*: "Disputation cannot be held without reprehension." When I am impugned or contraried, then is mine attention and not mine anger stirred up: I advance my selfe towards him that doth gainesay and instruct me. The cause of truth ought to be the common cause both to one and another. What can he answer? The passion of choller hath already wounded his judgement: trouble, before reason hath seized upon it. It were both profitable and necessary that the determining of our disputations might be decided by way of wagers, and that there were a materiall marke of our losses; that we might better remember and make more account of it, and that my boy might say unto me: "Sir, if you call to mind your contestation, your ignorance, and your selfe-wilfulness, at severall times, cost you a hundred crownes the last year?" I feast, I cherish and I embrace truth, where and in whom soever I find it, and willingly and merily yeeld my selfe unto her, as soon as I see but her approach, though it be afarre-off, I lay downe my weapon and yeeld my selfe vanquished. And alwayes provided one persist not or proceede therein, with an over-imperious stiffnesse or commanding surlinesse, I am well pleased to be reprooved. And I often accommodate my selfe unto my accusers more by reason of civility then by occasion of amendment: loving by the facility of yeelding to gratifie and foster their libertie, to teach or advertize me. It is notwithstanding no easie matter to draw men of my times unto it. They have not the courage to correct, because they want the heart to endure correction; and ever speak with dissimulation in presence one of another. I take so great a pleasure to be judged and knowne, that it is indifferent to me in whether of the two formes I be so. Mine owne imagination does so often contradict and condemne it selfe, that if another do it, all is one unto me; especially seeing I give his reprehension no other authority then I list. But I shall breake a straw or fall at ods with him,

that keeps himself so aloft; as I know some that will fret and chafe if their opinions be not believed, and who take it as an injury, yea and fall out with their best friends, if they will not follow it. And that Socrates, ever smiling, made a collection of such contradictions as were opposed to his discourse, one might say his force was cause of it, and that the advantage being assuredly to fall on his side, he tooke them a subject of a new victory; nevertheless we see on the contrary that nothing doth so nicely yeeld our sense unto it as the opinion of pre-eminence and disdain of the adversary. And that by reason it rather befits the weakest to accept of opposition in good part, which restores and repaire him. Verily I seeke more the conversation of such as curbe me, then of those that feare me. It is an unsavoury and hurtful pleasure to have to doe with men who admire and give us place. Antisthenes commanded his children never to be beholding unto or thanke any that should commend them. I feel: my selfe more lusty and cranke for the victory I gaine over my selfe, when in the heate or fury of the combate I perceive to bend and fall under the power of my adversaries reason, then I am pleased with the victory I obtain of him by his weakness. To conclude, I receive all blowes and allow all attaints given directly, how weake soever; but am impatient at such as are stricken at random and without order. I care but little for the matter, and with me opinions are all one, and the victory of the subject in a manner indifferent. I shall quietly contest a whole day, if the conduct of the controversie be followed with order and decorum. It is not force nor subtilty that I so much require, as forme and order, daily scene in the alterations of shepheards, or contentions of shop-prentise boyes; but never amongst us. If they part or give one another over, it is with incivillitie; and so doe we. But their wrangling, their brawling and impatience, cannot make them to foregoe or forget their theme.

Their discourse holds on his course. If they prevent one another, if they stay not for, at least they understand one another. A man doth ever answere sufficiently well for me if he answere what I say. But when the disputation is confounded and orderlesse, I quit the matter and betake me to the forme, with spight and indiscretion; and embrace a kinde of debating, testy, headlong, malicious and imperious, whereat I afterward blush. It is impossible to treat quietly and dispute orderly with a foole. My judgement is not onely corrupted under the

hand of so imperious a master, but my conscience also. Our disputations ought to be forbidden and punished, as other verball crimes. What vice raise they not, and heape up together, being ever swayed and commanded by choller? First we enter into enmity with the reasons, and then with the men. We learne not to dispute, except it be to contradict; and every man contradicting and being contradicted, it commonly followeth that the fruit of disputing is to loose and to disanull the truth. So Plato in his Commonwealth forbiddeth foolish, unapt and base-minded spirits to undertake that exercise. To what purpose goe you about to quest or enquire that which is with him who hath neither good pace nor proceeding of worth? No man wrongs the subject when he quits the same for want of meanes to treat or manage it. I meane not a scholasticall and artist meane, but intend a naturall meane, and of a sound understanding. What will the end be? One goeth eastward and another westward; they loose the principle, and stray it in the throng of incidents. At the end of an houres wrangling they wot not what they seeke for: one is high, another low, and another wide. Some take hold of a word, some of a similitude. Some forget what was objected against them, so much are they engaged in the pursuit, and thinke to follow themselves, and not you. Some finding themselves weake-backt, feare all, refuse all, and at the very entrance mingle the subject and confound the purpose; or in the heate of the disputation, mutine to hold their peace altogether; through a spightfull ignorance, affecting a proud kinde of contempt, or a foolish modesty avoyding of contention. Provided that one strike and hit, he careth not how open he lye. Another compteth his words, and weigheth them for reasons; another employeth nothing but the advantage of his voyce and winde. Here one concludeth against himselfe; here another wearyeth you with idle prefaces and frivolous digressions. Another armeth himselfe afore hand with injuries, and seeks after a Dutch quarrell, to rid himselfe of the society and shake off the conference of a spirit that presseth and overbeareth him. This last hath no insight at all in reason, but still beleagreth you with the dialecticall or logical close of his clause, and ties you to the rule of his arte or forme of his skill. Now who doth not enter into distrust of sciences, and is not in doubt, whether in any necessity of life he may reape solid fruit of them, if he consider the use we have of them? *Nihil sanantibus literis*; "Since learning doth not cure." Who hath learnt

any wit or understanding in logique? Where are her faire promises? *Nec ad melius vivendum, nec ad commodius differendum*: "Neither to live better or to dispute fitter." Shall a man heare more babbling or confusion in the tittle-tattle of fishwives or scolding sluts, then in the publike disputations of men of this profession? I had rather my child should learne to speake in a tavern then in the schooles of well-speaking Art. Take you a maister of arts, and conferre with him, why doth hee not make us perceive his artificiall excellency, and by the admiration of his reasons-constancy, or with the beauty of his quaint order and grace of his method, ravish silly women, and beare ignorant men as we are? Why doth he not sway, winde and perswade us as hee list? Why should one so advantageous in matter and conduct entermixe injuries, indiscretion and chollericke rage with his sense? Let him pull off his two-faced hooide, his gowne and his Latine, let him not fill our eares with meereley beleevd Aristotle, you will discover and take him for one of us, and worse if may be. Methinks this implication and entangling of speech, wherewith they doe so much importune us, may fitly be compared unto jurglers play of fast and loose; their nimblenesse combats and forceth our senses, but it nothing shaketh our believe: take away their juggling, what they doe is but base, common and slight. Though they be more witty and nimble-spirited, they are not the lesse foolish, simple and unapt. I love wit, and honour wisdom as much as them that have it. And beeing rightly used, it is the noblest, the most forcible, yea and richest purchase men can make. But in such (of which kinde the number is infinit) that upon it establish their fundamentall sufficiency and worth: that from their wit refer themselves to their memory, *sub aliena umbra latentes* ("reposing them under another mans protection"), and can do nothing but by the booke (if I may be bold to say so) I hate the same a little more then sottishnes. In my country and in my dayes learning and bookishnes doth much mend purses, but minds nothing at all. If it chance to finde them empty, light and dry, it filleth, it overburthens and swelleth them—a raw and indigested masse; if thinne, it doth easily purifie, clarifie, extenuate and subtilize them even unto exinanition or evacuation. It is a thing of a quality very neare indifferent: a most profitable accessory or ornament unto a wel borne mind, but pernicious and hurtfully damageable unto any other; or rather a thing of most precious use, that will not basely be gotten nor vilely possessed: in

some hands a royall sceptre, in other some a rude mattocke. But let us proceed. What greater or more glorious victory can you expect, then teach your enemy that hee cannot withstand you? When you gaine the advantage of your proposition, it is Truth that winneth; when you get the advantage of the order and conduct, it is you that winne. I am of opinion that both in Plato and in Xenophon, Socrates disputeth more in favour of the disputers then in grace of the disputation; and more to instruct Euthydemus and Protagoras with the knowledge of the impertinency of their art. He takes hold of the first matter, as he who hath a more profitable end, then to cleare it; that is, to cleare the spirits he undertaketh to manage and to exercise. Agitation, stirring and hunting, is properly belonging to our subject or drift; we are not excusable to conduct the same ill and impertinently, but to misse the game and faile in taking, that's another matter. For wee are borne to quest and seeke after trueth; to possesse it belongs to a greater power. It is not (as Democritus said) hidden in the deepes of abisse; but rather elevated in infinite height of divine knowledge. The world is but a schoole of inquisition. The master is not who shall put in, but who shall runne the fairest courses. As well may hee play the foole that speaketh truely as hee that speaketh falsely; for wee are upon the manner and not upon the matter of speaking. My humour is, to have as great a regard to the forme as to the substance; as much respect to the advocat as to the cause; as Alcibiades appointed we should do. And I daily annuse my selfe to read in authors, without care of their learning; therein seeking their manner, not their subject. Even as I pursue the communication of some famous wit, not that he should teach me, but that I may know him; and knowing him (if he deserve it) I may imitate him. Every one may speake truely, but to speake orderly, methodically, wisely and sufficiently, few can doe it. So falsehood proceeding of ignorance doth not offend mee; ineptnesse and trifling doth. I have broken off divers bargaines, that would have bene very commodious unto me, by the impertinency of their contestation, with whom I did bargain. I am not moved once a yeare, with the faults or oversights of those over whom I have power: but touching the point of the sottishnesse and foolishnes of their allegations, excuses, and defences, rude and brutish, we are every day ready to goe by the cares. They neither understand what is said nor wherefore, and even so they answer; a thing able to make

one despaire. I feele not my head to shooke hard but by being hit with another. And I rather enter into composition with my peoples vices, then with their rashnesse, importunity and foolishnesse. Let them doe lesse, provided they be capable to doe. You live in hope to enflame their will. But of a blocke there is nothing to be hope for, nor any thing of worth to bee enjoyed. Now, what if I take things otherwise then they are? So it may bee; and therefore I accuse my impatience. And first I hold that it is equally vicious in him who is in the right as in him that is in the wrong; for it is ever a kinde of tyrannicall sharpenesse not to be able to endure a forme different from his; and verily, since there is not a greater fondnesse, a more constant gullishnesse, or more heteroclitie insipidity then for one to move or vex himselfe at the fondnesse, at the gullishnesse, or insipidity of the world: for it principally formalizeth and moveth us against our selves: and that philosopher of former ages should never have wanted occasion to weepe so long as he had considered himselfe. Miso, one of the seven sages (a man of a Timonian disposition and Democraticall humour) being demanded whereat he laughed alone, he answered, because I laugh alone; how many follies doe I speake and answer every day, according to my selfe; and then how much more frequent according to others? And if I bite mine owne lips at them, what ought others to doe? In fine, wee must live with the quicke, and let the water runne under the bridge, without any care, or at least without alteration to us. In good sooth, why meet we sometimes with crooked, deformed, and in body misshapen men, without falling into rage and discontent, and cannot endure to light upon a froward, skittish, and ill-ranged spirit, without falling into anger and vexation? This vicious austerity is rather in the judge then in the fault. Let us ever have that saying of Plato in our mouthe: What I find unwholsome, is it not to be unhealthy my selfe? Am not I in fault my selfe? May not mine owne advertisement be retorted against my selfe? Oh wise and divine restraint, that curbeth the most universall and common error of men. Not onely the reproches wee doe one to another, but our reasons, our arguments and matter controverted, are ordinarily retortable unto us; and we pinch our selves up in our owne armes. Whereof antiquity hath left me divers grave examples. It was ingeniously spoken and fit to the purpose by him that first devised the same:

*Stercus cuique suum bene olet.*¹

¹ ERAS. *Chil.* iii. cent. iv. ad. 2.

Ev'ry man's ordure well
To his owne sense doth smell.

Our eyes see nothing backward. A hundred times a day we mocke our selves upon our neighbours subject, and detest some defects in others that are much more apparent in us; yea, and admire them with a strange impudency and unheedinesse. Even yesterday I chanced to see a man of reasonable understanding, who no lesse pleasantly then justly flouted at anothers fond fashion, and yet upon every silly occasion doth nothing but molest all men with the impertinent bedrowle and register of his pedigrees, genealogies and alliances, more then halfe false and wrested in (for it is the manner of such people commonly to undertake such foolish discourses, whose qualities are more doubtfull and lesse sure); who if he had impartially considered and looked upon himselfe, should doubtlesse have found himselfe no lesse intemperate, indiscreet, and tedious, in publishing and extolling the prerogative of his wife's pedigree and descent. Oh importunate presumption, wherewith the wife seeth her selfe armed by the hands of her own husband. If he understand Latin, a man should say to him,

*Age, si hæc non insauit satis sua sponte,
instiga.*¹

Goe too, if of her owne accord before,
She were not mad enough, provoke her more.

I say not that none should accuse except hee bee spotlesse in himselfe; for then none might accuse: no not spotlesse in the same kinde of fault. But my meaning is, that our judgement charging and blaming another, of whom there is then question, spareth us nothing of an inward and severe jurisdiction. It is an office of charity, that he who cannot remove a vice from himselfe, should nevertheless endeavour to remove it from others, where it may have a lesse hurtfull and froward seed. Nor doe I deeme it a fit answer for him that warneth me of my fault, to say the same is likewise in him. But what of that? Well-meaning warning is alwayes true and profitable. Had we a good and sound nose, our owne ordure should be more unsavory unto our selves, forasmuch as it is our owne. And Socrates is of opinion that he who should find himselfe, and his son, and a stranger guilty of any violence or injury, ought first begin by himselfe, and present himselfe to the sentence and condemnation of the law, and for his owne discharge and acquittal implore the assistance of the executioner's hand: secondly, for his son, and lastly, for the

¹ TER. *And.* act. iv. sc. 2.

stranger. If this precept take his tune somewhat too high, it should at least be first presented to the punishment of one's owne conscience. Our senses are our proper and first judges, who distinguish not things, but by externall accidents; and no marvell, if in all parts of the service belonging to our society there is so perpetuall and universall commixture of ceremonies and superficiall apparances; so that the best and most effectuall part of policies consists in that. It is man with whom we have alwayes to doe, whose condition is marvellously corporall. Let those who in these latter dayes have so earnestly laboured to frame and establish unto us an exercise of religion and service of God, so contemplative and immateriall, wonder nothing at all if some be found who thinke it would have escaped and moulted away betweene their fingers, if it had not held and continued amongst us, as a marke, a title, and instrument of division and faction, more then by it selfe. As in conference, the gravity, the gowne, and the fortune of him that speaketh, doth often adde and winne credit unto vaine, trifling, and absurd discourses. It is not to be presumed that one of these gowne-clarkes or quoifed serjants, so followed and so re-doubted, have not some sufficiency within him more then popular: and that a man so sullen, so grim, and so disdainfull, to whom so many commissions, charges, and authorities are given, be not more sufficient and worthy then another who saluteth and vailleth to him so farre-off, and whom no man employeth. Not onely the words, but the powtings of such people are considered and registred, every one applying himselfe to give them some notable and solide interpretation. If they stoop to common conference, and that a man affoord or shew them other then reverence and approbation, they overthrow you with the authority of their experience: they have read, they have heard, seene, and done goodly things, you are cleane overwhelmed with examples. I would faine tell them that the fruit of a chirurgeon's experience is not the story of his practices, or the remembrance that hee hath cured foure who had the plague, and healed as many that had the goute, except hee know and have the wit, from his use and experience, to draw a methode how to frame his judgements, and by his skill and practise make us perceave hee is become wiser in his art. As in a concert of instruments, one heares not severally a lute, a vyol, a flute, or a paire of virginalles, but a perfect-full harmony: the assembly and fruit of all those instruments in one. If their travells and charges have amended them, it is in the production

of their understanding to make it appeare. It sufficeth not to number the experiments; they ought to bee well poised and orderly sorted: and to extract the reasons and conclusions they containe, they should be well digested and thorowly distilled. There were never so many historians. It is ever good and profitable to heare them; for out of the magazine of their memory they store us with divers good instructions and commendable documents. Verily a chiefe part, for the assistance of our life. But now-a-dayes wee seeke not after that, but rather whether the collectors and reporters of them be praiseworthy and directing themselves. I hate al manner of tyranny, both verball and effectuall. I willingly hand and oppose my selfe against these vaine and frivolous circumstances, which by the senses delude our judgement; and holding my selfe aloofe from these extraordinary greatneses, have found that for the most part they are but men as others be:

*rus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
tuna.¹*

For common sense is seldome found
In fortunes that so much abound.

They are, peradventure, esteemed and discerned lesse then they bee, forsomuch as they undertake more, and so shew themselves, they answer not the charge they have taken. There must necessarily be more vigour and strength in the bearer then in the burden. He who is not growne to his full strength, leaves you to guesse whether he have any left him beyond that, or have beene tried to the utmost of his power. He who fainteth under his burden bewrayeth his measure and the weaknesse of his shoulders. That's the reason why amongst the wiser sort there are so many foolish and unapt minds seene, and more then of others. They might happily have beene made good husbands, thriving merchants, and plodding artificers. Their naturall vigour was cut out to this proportion. Learning is a matter of great consequence: they faint under it. To enstall and distribute so rich and so powerfull a matter, and availfully to employ the same, their wit hath neither sufficient vigour, nor conduct enough to manage it. It hath no prevailing vertue but in a strong nature, and they are very rare; and such as are but weake (saith Socrates) corrupt and spoilingly deface the dignity of philosophy in handling the same. She seemeth faulty and unprofitable, being ill placed and unorderly disposed. Loe how they spoyle and entangle themselves.

¹ Juv. Sat. viii. 13.

*Humani qualis simulator simius oris,
Quem puer arridens, pretioso stamine serum
Velavit, nudasque nates ac terga reliquit,
Ludibrium mensis.¹*

Such counterfeits as apes are of mans face,
Whom children sporting at, feately incase
In costly coates, but leave his backside bare
For men to laugh at, when they feasting are.

To those likewise who sway and command
and have the world in their owne hands,
'tis not sufficient to have a common understanding, and to be able to doe what we can effect. They are farre beneath us, if they be not much above us. As they promise more, so owe they more. And therefore silence is in them, not only a countenance of respect and gravitie, but often of thrift and profit. Megabysus going to visite Apelles in his work-house, stood still a good while without speaking one word, and then began to discourse of his workes. Of whom he received this rude and nipping checke: "So long as thou holdest thy peace by reason of thy garish clothes, goodly chaines and stately pompe, thou seemest to be some worthy gallant; but now thou hast spoken, there is not the simplest boy of my shop but scorneth and contemns thee." That great state of his, those rich habiliments and goodly traine, did not permit him to be ignorant with a popular ignorance, and to speak impertinently of painting. He should have kept mute and concealed his externall and presuming sufficiency. Unto how many fond and shallow minds hath in my dayes a sullen, cold, and silent countenance served as a title of wisdom and capacity? Dignities, charges and places are necessarily given more by fortune then by merit; and they are often to blame that for it lay the blame on kings. Contrariwise it is a wonder that, being so untoward, they should therein have so good lucke: *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos*: "Chiefe vertue it is knowne, in kings to know their owne." For Nature hath not given them so perfect a sight that it might extend it selfe and overlooke so many people, to discerne their pre-excellency; and enter their breasts where lodgeth the knowledge of our will and better worth. It is by conjectures, and as it were groping they must try us; by our race, alliances, dependencies, riches, learning, and the peoples voice: all over weak arguments. He that could devise a meane how men might be judged by law, chosen by reason and advanced by desert, should establish a perfect forme of a common-wealth. Yea but hee hath brought that

great businesse unto a good passe. It is to say something, but not to say sufficiently. For this sentence is justly received: that counsels ought not to be judged by the events. The Carthaginians were wont to punish the ill counsels of their capitaines, although corrected by some fortunate successe. And the Roman people hath often refused triumphes to famous, successful and most profitable victories, forsomuch as the Generals conduct answered not his good fortune. It is commonly perceived by the world's actions that fortune, to teach us how farre hir power extendeth unto all things, and who taketh pleasure to abate our presumption, having not bin able to make silly men wise, she hath made them fortunate in envy of vertue; and commonly gives hir selfe to favour executions, when as their complot and devise is meely hers. Whence we dayly see that the simplest amongst us compass divers great and important affaires, both publike and private. And as Sirannez, the Persian prince, answered those who seemed to wonder how his negotiations succeeded so ill, his discourses being so wise, that he was onely master of his discourses, but fortune mistress of his affaires success. These may answer the like; but with a contrary bias. Most things of the world are made by themselves.

Fata viam inveniunt.¹

Fates finde and know which way to goe.

The issue doth often authorize a simple conduct. Our interposition is in a manner nothing els but an experience, and more commonly a consideration of use and example then of reason. And as one amazed at the greatnesse of some businesse, I have sometimes understood by those who had achieved them, both their motives and addresses: wherein I have found but vulgar advices: and the most vulgar and used are peradventure the surest and most commodious for the practice, if not for the shew. And what if the plainest reasons are the best seated, the meanest, basest and most beaten, are best applied unto affaires? To maintaine the authority of our kings counsell it is not requisite that profane persons should be partakers of it, and looke further into it then from the first barre. To uphold its reputation, it should be revered upon credit, and at full. My consultation doth somewhat roughly hew the matter, and by its first shew, lightly consider the same: the maine and chiefe point of the worke I am wont to resigne to heaven.

¹ CLAUD. *Entrep.* l. i. 303.

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. iii. 356.

Permitte divis catena.¹
How all the rest shall goe,
Give leave to Gods to know.

Good and bad fortune are in my conceit two soveraigne powers. 'Tis fully to thinke that humane wisdom may act the full part of fortune; and vaine is his enterprise that presumeth to embrace both causes and consequences, and lead the progresse of his fact by the hand. And above all, vainest in military deliberations. There was never more circumspection and military wisdom then is sometimes seene amongst us: may it be that man feareth to lose himselfe by the way, reserving himselfe to the catastrophe of that play? I say, moreover, that even our wisdom and consultation for the most part followeth the conduct of hazard. My will and my discourse is sometimes mooved by one ayre and sometimes by another; and there be many of these motions that are governed without me. My reason hath dayly impulsions and casual agitations:

*Vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
Nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
Concipiunt.²*

The shewes of mindes are chang'd, and breasts
conceave
At one time motions which anon they leave,
And others take againe,
As winds drive clouds amaine.

Let but a man looke who are the mightiest in cities and who thrive best in their business: he shall commonly find they are the silliest and poorest in wit. It hath hapned to simple women, to weake children, and to mad men, to command great states, as well as the most sufficient princes. And the gullish or shallow-pated (saith Thucydides) doe more ordinarily come unto them then the wisest and subtillest. We ascribe their good fortunes effects unto their prudence.

*ut quisque fortuna utitur,
Ita præcillit: atque exinde sapere illum omnes
dicimus.³*

As men their fortune use, so they excell,
And so we say, they are wise and doe well.

Wherefore I say well that howsoever events are but weake testimonies of our worth and capacity. I was now upon this point that we need but looke upon a man advanced to dignity; had we but three daies before knowne him to bee of little or no worth at all: an image of greatnesse and an idea of sufficiency doth insensibly glide and creepe into our opinions; and wee perswade ourselves that increasing in state and credit and

followers, hee is also increased in merit. We judge of him, not according to his worth, but after the maner of casting-counters, according to the prerogative of his ranke. But let fortune turne her wheele, let him againe decline and come down amongst the vulgar multitude; every one with admiration enquireth of the cause and how he was raised so high. Good Lord, is that he? will some say. What, knew he no more? had he no other skill when he was so aloft? Are Princes pleased with so little? Now in good sooth we were in very good hands, will others say. It is a thing my selfe have often seene in mydaies. Yea the very maske of greatnesse or habit of majesty represented in tragedies doth in some sort touch and beguile us. The thing I adore in kings is the throng of their adorators. All inclination and submission is due unto them, except the mindes. My reason is not framed to bend or stoope: my knees are. Melanthius, being demanded what he thought of Dionysius his tragedy, answered, I have not seene it, so much was it overclouded with language. So should they say that judge of great mens discourses: I have not understood his discourse, so was it overdarkened with gravity, with greatnes, and with majesty. Antisthenes one day perswaded the Athenians to command that their asses should as well be employed about the manuring of grounds as were their horses; who answered him that the asse was not borne for such service: that's all one (quoth he), there needs but your allowance for it: for the most ignorant and incapable man you employ about the directing of your warres leave not to become out of hand most worthy onely because you employ them. Whereupon depends the custome of so many men, who canonize the king, whom they have made amongst them, and are not contented to honour him, unlesse they also adore him. Those of Mexico, after the ceremonies of his consecration are finished, dare no more looke him in the face; but as if by his royalty they had deified him, they afterward deeme him to bee a god: amongst the oathes, they make him sweare to maintaine their religion, to keepe their lawes, to defend their liberties, to be valiant, just and debonaire; he is also sworne to make the sun march in his accustomed light; in time of need to cause the clouds showre downe their waters; to enforce rivers to runne in their right wonted chanel; and compel the earth to produce all necessary things for his people. I differ from this common fashion, and more distrust sufficiency, when I see it accompanied with the greatnes of fortune, and applauded

¹ HOR. l. i. Od. ix. 9.

² VIRG. Geo. l. iv. 20.

³ PLAU. Psc. act. v. sc. 4.

by popular commendation. Wee should heedfully marke of what consequence it is for a man to speake in due time, to choose fit opportunity, to breake or change his discourse with a magistrate authority; to defend himselfe from others oppositions, by a nod or moving of the head, by a smile, a shrug, or a silence, before an assembly trembling with reverence and respect. A man of monstrous fortune, chancing to shoote his boulte, and give his opinion upon a frivolous subject, which but jestingly was tossed to and fro at his table, began ever thus: He cannot choose but be a lyer, or an ignorant asse, that will say otherwise then, &c. Follow this philosophical point, out commeth a dagger, and there is some mischiefe. Loe here another advertisement, from whence I reape good use; which is, that in disputations and conferences all good seeming words ought not presently to be allowed and accepted. Most men are rich of a strange sufficiency. Some may chance to speake a notable saying, to give a good answer, to use a witty sentence, and to propound it, without knowing the force of it. That a man holdeth not all he borroweth may peradventure be verified in my selfe. A man should not alwayes yeeld, what truth or goodnes soever it seemeth to containe. A man must either combat the same in good earnest, or draw back, under colour of not understanding the matter: to try on all parts, how it is placed in its author. It may fortune that we shut ourselves up and further the stroake, beyond its bearing. I have sometimes in necessity and throng of the combat employed some reviradoes or turnings, which beyond my intent have proved false offers. I but gave them by tale, and they were received by weight. Even as when I contend with a vigorous man, I please my selfe to anticipate his conclusions; I ease him the labour to interpret himselfe; I endeavour to prevent his imperfect and yet budding imagination; the order and pertinency of his understanding forwarneth and menaceth a farre off. Of these others I do cleane contrary; a man must understand or presuppose nothing but by them. If they judge in generall termes: This is good, that's naught: and that they jump right, see whether it be fortune that jumpeth for them. Let them a little circumscribe and restraine their sentence wherefore it is, and which way it is. These universall judgements I see so ordinarily say nothing at all. They are men that salute a whole multitude in throng and troupe. Such as have true knowledge of the same, salute and marke it by name and particularly. But it is a

hazardous enterprise. Whence I have oftener and daily seene to happen that wits weakly grounded, intending to shew themselves ingenious by observing in the reading of some work the point of beauty, stay their admiration with so bad a choice, that in lieu of teaching us the authors excellency, they shew us their owne ignorance. This maner of exclamation is safe: Loe this is very excellent: Surely this is very good; having heard a whole page of Virgil. And that's the shift whereby the subtilt save themselves. But to undertake to follow him by shrugs and crinches, and with an expresse selected judgement to goe about to marke which way a good author surmounteth himselfe; pondring his words, his phrases, his inventions, and his severall vertues one after another: Away, goe by: It is not for you. *Videndum est non modo, quid quisque loquatur, sed etiam quid quisque sentiat, atque etiam qua de causa quisque sentiat*: "Man must take heed not onely what he speakes, but what he thinkes, and also why he thinkes." I dayly heare fooles utter unfoolish words. Speake they any good thing; let us understand whence they know it, how farre they understand and whereby they hold it. Wee helpe them to employ this fine word and this goodly reason, which they possesse not, and have but in keeping; they have happily produced the same by chance and at random, our selves bring it in credit and esteeme with them. You lend them your hand: what to doe? to konne you no thanks, and thereby become more simple and more foolish. Doe not second them: let them goe on: they will handle this matter as men afraid to bewray themselves, they dare neither change her seate or light, nor enter into it. Shake it never so little, it escapeth them; quit the same how strong and goodly soever it be. They are handsome weapons, but ill hasted. How often have I seene the experience of it! Now if you come to expound and confirme them, they take hold of you, and presently steal the advantage of your interpretation from you. It was that which I was about to say: It was just my conceit; if I have not so exprest it, it is but for want of speech. Handy-dandy, what is this? Malice it selfe must be employed to correct this fierce rudenesse. Hegesias his position, that a man must neither hate nor accuse, but instruct, hath some reason else where. But here it is injustice to assist, and inhumanity to raise him up againe, that hath nothing to doe with it, and is thereby of lesser worth. I love to have them entangle and bemire themselves more then they are, and if it be

possible to wade too deepe into the gulphe of error, that in the end they may recall and advise themselves. Sottishnesse and distraction of the senses is no disease curable by a trick of advertismēt. And we may fitly say of this reparation, as Cyrus answered one who urged him to exhort his army in the nicke when the battell should begin: "That men are not made warlike and courageous in the field by an excellent oration, no more then one becommeth a ready cunning musitian by hearing a good song." They are prentisages that must be learned aforehand, by long and constant institution. This care we owe to ours, and this assiduity of correction and instruction; but to preach to him that first passeth by, or sway the ignorance or fondnesse of him we meete next, is a custome I cannot well away with. I seldome use it, even in such discourses as are made to me; and I rather quit all, then come to these far-fetcht and magistrall instructions. My humour is no more proper to speake then to write, namely for beginners. But in things commonly spoken, or amongst others, how false and absurd soever I judge them, I never crosse or gibe them, neither by word nor signe. Further, nothing doth more spight me in sottishnesse then that it pleaseth it selfe more then any reason may justly bee satisfied. It is ill lucke that wisdom forbids you to please and trust your selfe, and sends you alwayes away discontented and fearfull; whereas wilfulnesse and rashnesse fill their guests with gratulation and assurance. It is for the simplest and least able to looke at other men over their shoulders, ever returning from the combat full of glory and gladnesse. And most often also, this outrecuidance of speech and cheerfulness of countenance giveth them the victory over the by-standers, who are commonly weake, and incapable to judge aright and discern true advantage. Obstina- cy and earnestnesse in opinion is the surest tryall of folly and selfe conceit. Is there any thing so assured, so resolute, so disdainfull, so contemplative, so serious and so grave, as the asse? May we not commix with the title of conference and communication the sharpe and interrupted discourses which mirth and familiarity introduceth amongst friends, pleasantly dallying and wittily jesting one with another? An exercise to which my naturall blithnesse makes me very apt. And if it be not so wire-drawne and serious as this other exercise I now speake of, yet is it no lesse sharpe or ingenious, no lesse profitable, as it seemed to Lycurgus. For my regard I bring more liberty then wit unto it, and have therein

more lucke then invention; but I am perfect in sufferance; for I endure the revenge, not onely sharpe but also indiscreete, without any alteration. And to any assault given me, if I have not perfectly or stoutly wherewith to worke mine owne amends, I amuse not my selfe to follow that ward or point, with a tedious and selfe-willed contestation, inclining to pertinacy: I let it passe, and hanging downe mine eares, remit my selfe to a better houre to right my selfe. He is not a marchant that ever gaineth. Most men change both voice and countenance, where might faileth them; and by an importunate rage, instead of avenging themselves, they accuse their weaknesse and therewith bewray their impatience. In this jollity we now and then harpe upon some secret strings of our imperfections, which settled or considerate we cannot touch without offence, and we profitably enterdvertize our selves of our defects. There are other handy-sports indiscreete, fond and sharpe, just after the French manner, which I hate mortally; I have a tender and sensible skinne. I have in my daies scene two Princes of our royall blood brought to their graves for it. It is an ill seeming thing for men in jest to hitte, or in sport to strike one another. In other matters, when I shall judge of any body, I demand of him how farre or how much he is contented with himselfe; how farre his speech or his worke pleaseth him. I will avoyd these goodly excuses, I did it but in jest:

Ablatum mediis opus est incudibus istud,¹

This worke away was brought,
Halfe-hammered, halfe-wrought.

I was not an houre there: I have not seene him since. Now I say, let us then leave these parts; give me one that may represent you whole and entire, by which it may please you to be measured by another. And then, what finde you fairest in your owne worke? Is it that or this part? The grace or the matter, the invention, the judgement, or the learning? For I ordinarily perceive that a man misseth as much in judging of his owne worke as of another's; not onely by the affection he therein employeth, but because he hath not sufficiencie to know, nor skill to distinguish it. The worke of its owne power and fortune may second the workman, and transport him beyond his invention and knowledge. As for me, I judge not the worth of another's worke more obscurely then of mine owne; and place my essayes sometime lowe, sometimes high, very unconstantly and doubtfully. There are

¹ OVID. *Trist.* l. i, *Eleg.* vi. 29.

divers bookes profitable by reason of their subjects, of which the author reapeth no commendations at all; and good bookes, as also good workes, which make the workman ashamed. I shall write the manner of our bankers and the fashion of our garments, and I shall write it with an ill grace: I shall publish the edicts of my time, and the letters of princes that publicly passe from hand to hand: I shall make an abridgement of a good booke (and every abridgement of a good booke is a foole abridged), which booke shall come to be lost, and such like things. Posterity shall reape singular profit by such compositions; but I, what honour except by my good fortune? Many famous bookes are of this condition.

When I read Philip de Commines (now divers yeares since), a right excellent author, I noted this speech in him as a saying not vulgar: That a man should carefully take heed how he do his master so great or much service, that he thereby be hindered from finding his due recompence for it. I should have commended the invention, but not him. After that I found it in Tacitus: *Beneficia eo usque lata sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse, ubi multum antevenero pro gratia odium redditur*.¹ "Benefits are so long welcome, as wee thinke they may be requited, but when they much exceede all power of recompence, hate is returned for thanks and good will." And Seneca very stoutly: *Nam qui putat esse turpe non reddere, non vult esse cui reddat*: "For he that thinks it a shame not to requite, could wish he were not whom he should requite." Q. Cicero with a looser byas: *Qui se non putat satisfacere, amicus esse nullo modo potest*.² "He that thinks he doth not satisfie, can by no meanes be a friend." The subject according as it is may make a man be judged learned, wise, and memorable; but to judge in him the parts most his owne and best worthy, together with the force and beautie of his minde, 'tis very requisite we know first what is his owne, and what not; and in what is not his owne, what we are beholding to him for, in consideration of his choise, disposition, ornament, and language he hath thereunto furnished. What if he have borrowed the matter and empaired the forme? as many times it commeth to passe. Wee others that have little practice with bookes are troubled with this, that when wee meet with any rare or quaint invention in a new poet, or forcible argument in a preacher, we dare not yet commend them until we have taken

instruction of some wise man, whether that part be their owne or another bodies, and until then I ever stand upon mine owne guard. I come lately from reading over (and that without any intermission) the story of Tacitus (a matter not usuall with me; it is now twenty yeares, I never spent one whole houre together upon a booke), and I have now done it at the instant request of a gentleman whom France holdeth in high esteeme, as well for his owne worth and valour as for a constant forme of sufficiency and goodnes apparently scene in divers brethren of his. I know no author that in a publike register entermixeth so many considerations of manners and particular inclinations. And I deeme cleane contrary to what hee thinketh; who being especially to follow the lives of the Emperours of his time, so divers and extreme in all manner of forme, so many notable and great actions, which namely their cruelty produced in their subjects, he had a more powerfull and attractive matter to discourse and relate, then if hee had beene to speake or treat of battels and universall agitations. So that I often find him barren, slightlie running-over those glorious deaths, as if he feared to attediate and molest us with their multitude and continuance. This forme of historie is much more profitable: publicke innovations depend more on the conduct of fortune; private on ours. * It is rather a judgement then a deduction of an history: therein are more precepts then narrations. It is not a booke to reade, but a volume to study and to learne; it is so fraught with sentences, that right or wrong they are huddled up. It is a seminary of morall and a magazine of polittique discourses, for the provision and ornament of those that possesse some place in the managing of the world. He ever pleadeth with solid and forcible reasons, after a sharpe and witty fashion; following the affected and laboured stile of his age. They so much loved to raise and puffe themselves up, that where they found neither sharpnesse nor subtilty in things, they would borrow it of wordes. He draweth somewhat neare to Seneca's writing. I deeme Tacitus more sinnowy, Seneca more sharpe. His service is more proper to a crazed troubled state, as is ours at this present; you would often say, he pourtrayeth and toucheth us to the quicke. Such as doubt of his faith doe manifestly accuse themselves to hate him for somewhat else. His opinions be sound, and inclining to the better side of the Romane affaires. I am neverthesse something greeved that he hath more bitterly judged of Pompey then honest men's opinions, who lived and conversed with him, doe well allow off: to have

¹ CORN. TACIT. *Anal.* l. iv.

² SEN. *Epist.* lxxxii.

esteemed him altogether equall to Marius and Silla, saying that he was more close and secret. His intention and canvassing for the government of affaires hath not bene exempted from ambition nor cleared from revenge; and his owne friends have feared that had he gotten the victory, it would have transported him beyond the limits of reason, but not unto an unbridled and raging measure. There is nothing in his life that hath threatned us with so manifest a cruelty and expresse tyranny. Yet must not the suspicion be counterpoised to the evidence: so doe not I beleieve him.

That his narrations are naturall and right might happily be argued by this, that they doe not alwaies exactly apply themselves to the conclusions of his judgement, which hee pursueth according to the course he hath taken, often beyond the matter he sheweth us, which he hath dained to stoop unto with one onely glance. He needeth to excuse to have approved the religion of his times according to the laws which commanded him, and bene ignorant of the true and perfect worship of God, that's his ill fortune, not his defect. I have principally considered his judgement, whereof I am not everywhere thoroughly resolved. As namely these words contayned in the letter, which Tiberius, being sicke and aged, sent to the Senate: What shall I write to you my masters, or how shall I write to you, or what shall I not write to you in these times? May the gods and goddesses loose me worse then I dayly feeble myselfe to perish, if I can tell. I cannot perceive why he should so certainly apply them unto a stinging remorse, tormenting the conscience of Tiberius; at least when my selfe was in the same plight, I saw it not. That hath likewise seemed somewhat demisse and base unto me, that having said how he exercised a certaine honourable magistracy in Rome, he goeth about to excuse himselfe that it is not for ostentation he spake it. This one trick, namely in a minde of his quality, seemeth but base and coarse unto me; for not to be speake roundly of himselfe, accuseth some want of courage. A constant, resolute, and high judgement, and which judgeth soundly and surely, every hand while useth his owne examples, as well as of any strange thing, and witnesseth as freely of himselfe as of a third person: a man must overgoe these populare reasons of civility in favour of ruth and liberty. I dare not onely speake of my selfe, but speake alone of my selfe. I tragle when I write of any other matter, and transgresse from my subject. I doe not so directly love my selfe, and am so tied and committed to my selfe as that I cannot dis-

tinguish and consider my selfe apart, as a neighbour, as a tree; it is an equall error either not to see how farre a man's worth stretcheth, or to say more of it then one seeth good cause. We owe more love to God then to our selves, and know him lesse, and yet we talk our fill of him. In his writings relate any thing of his conditions, he was a notable man, upright and courageous, not with a superstitious vertue, but philosophicall and generous: he may be found over-hardy in his testimonies. As where he holdeth that a souldier carrying a burden of wood, his hands were so stiffly benumbed with cold that they sticke to his wood, and remained so fast unto it, that as dead flesh they were divided from his armes. In such cases I am wont to yeeld unto the authority of so great testimonies. Where he also saith that Vespasian, by the favour of the God Serapis, healed in the citie of Alexandria a blinde woman with the rubbing and anointing her eyes with fasting spittle, and some other miracles, which I remember not well now, he doth it by the example and devoure of all good historians. They keepe a register of important events; among publike accidents are also popular reports and vulgar opinions. It is their part to relate common conceits, but not to sway them. This part belongeth to divines and philosophers, directors of consciences. Therefore, that companion of his, and as great a man as hee, said most wisely: *Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: Nam nec affirmare sustineo de quibus dubito nec subducere que accepi*: "I write out more then I beleieve; for neither can I bide to affirm what I doubt of, nor to withdrawe what I have heard. And that other: *Hac neque affirmare neque refellere operæ pretium est: famæ rerum standum est*: "It is not worth the talke, or to avouch, or to refute these things wee must stand to report." And writing in an age wherein the beleife of prodiges began to decline, he saith he would notwithstanding not omit to insert in his Annals and give footing to a thing received and allowed of so many honest men, and with so great reverence by antiquity. It is very well said that they yeelde us the history, more according as they receive then according as they esteeme it. I, who am king of the matter I treat of, and am not to give account of it to any creature living, doe nevertheless not altogether beleieve myselfe for it. I often hazard upon certaine outslips of my minde for which I distrust my selfe; and certaine verball wille-begulies, whereat I shake mine eares; but I let them runne at hab or nab, I see some honour them selves

with such like things : 'Tis not for me alone to judge of them. I present my selfe standing and lying, before and behinde, on the right and left side, and in all by naturall motions. Spirits alike in force are not ever alike in application and taste. Loe here what my memory doth ingroesse, and yet very uncertainly present unto me of it. In breefe, all judgments are weake, demisse and imperfect.

CHAPTER IX.

Of Vanitie.

THERE is peradventure no vanity more manifest then so vainely to write of it. What Divinity hath so divinely expressed thereof unto us, ought of all men of understanding to be diligently and continually meditated upon. Who seeth not that I have entred so large a field, and undertaken so high a pitch, wherein so long as there is either inke or paper in the world, I may uncessantly wander and fly without encombrance? I can keepe no register of my life by my actions : fortune placeth them too lowe : I would them of my fantasies. Yet have I seen a gentleman who never communicated his life but by the operations of his belly ; you might have seene in his house, set out for a show, a row of basins for seven or eight dayes. It was all his study, it was all his talke : all other discourses were unsavory to him. These are somewhat more civile, the excrements of an ould spirit, sometimes hard, sometimes laxative ; but ever indigested. And when shall I come unto an end of representing a continuall agitation or uncessant alteration of my thoughts, what subject soever they happen upon ; since Diomedes filled six thousand bookes only with the subject of grammar? What is idle babbling like to produce, since the faltring and liberty of the tongue hath stuff the world with so horrible a multitude of volumes? So many words onely for words. Oh Pythagoras, why didst not thou conjure this tempest? One Galba, of former ages, being accused for living idlie, answered that "all men ought to give an account of their actions, but not of their abiding." He was deceived ; for justice hath also knowledge and animadversion over such as gather stubble (as the common saying is) or looke about for grape-seed. But there should be some correction appointed by the lawes against foolish and unprofitable writers, as there is against vagabonds and loiterers ; so

should both my selfe and a hundred others of our people be banished. It is no mockerie : scribbling seemeth to be a symptome or passion of an irregular and licentious age. When writ we ever so much as we have done since our intestine troubles, or when filled the Romans so many volumes as in the times of their ruine? Besides that, the refining of wits in a commonwealth doth seldome make them the wiser : this idle working proceedeth of this, that all men doe over slowly give themselves to the office of their function, and are easily withdrawne from it. The corruption of the times we live in is wrought by the particular contribution of every one of us : some conferre treason unto it, some injustice, other some irreligion, tyranny, avarice and cruelty, according as they are more or lesse powerful ; the weaker sort, whereof I am one, imparte foolishnesse, vanity and idleness unto it. It seemeth to bee the season of vaine things when the damageable presse us. In a time where to doe evil is common, to doe nothing profitable is in a manner commendable. One thing comforts me, that I shall be of the last that shall be attached ; whilst they shall provide for the worse sort and the most hurtfull, I shall have leasure to amend my selfe ; for mee thinkes it would bee against reason busily to insist and pursue petty inconveniences, when great ones infect us. And the physician Philotinus, to one that offered his finger to dresse, by whose face, looke and breath he apparently perceived that he had an impostume in his loonges : " My friend (quoth he), it is now no fit time to busie your selfe about your nayles." Yet concerning this purpose, I saw not many yeares since a friend of mine, whose name and memory (for divers respects) I hold in singular account, who in the midst of our troublous mischiefs, when no more then at this time neither lawe, nor justice, nor magistrate was executed or did his office, published certaine silly reformations concerning the excesse of apparell, gluttony and dyet, and abuses committed among petty-fogging lawiers. They be amusing wherewith a people in a desperate taking is fed, that so men may say they are not cleane forgotten. Even so doe these others, who mainly apply themselves to forbid certaine manners of speach, dances and vaine sports, unto a people wholly given over to all licentiousnesse and execrable vices. It is then no convenient time for a man to wash and nettife himselfe when he is assailed by a violent fever. It onely belongs to Spartans to tricke, to comb and wash themselves at what time they are ready to cast themselves

into some extreame hazard of life. As for me, I am subject to this ill custome, that if but a pump fit not handsomly upon my foot, I shall also neglect my shirt and my cloake; for I disdain to correct my selfe by halves when I am in bad estate, I flesh my selfe on evill and abandon my selfe through despaire, and run to downefall, and (as the saying is) cast the haft after the hatchet. I grow obstinate in empaire; and esteeme my selfe no more worthy of my care, eyther all well or all evill. It is a favour to me that the desolation of our state doth sutablely meet with the desolation of my age: I rather endure that my evils should thereby be surcharged then if my goods had thereby beene troubled. The words I utter against misfortune are words of spite. My courage, instead of yeelding, doth grow more obstinate; and contrary to others, I finde my selfe more given to devotion in prosperous then adverse fortune; according to Xenophon's rule, if not according to his reason. And I rather looke on heaven with a chearefull eye, to thanke it, then to begge any thing. I am more carefull to encrease my health when it smiles upon me, then to recover it when I have lost it. Prosperities are to me as discipline and instruction, as adversities and crosses are to others. As if good fortune were incompatible with a good conscience, men never become honest but by adverse and crosse chances. Good fortune is to me a singular motive unto moderation, and forcible spurre unto modesty. Prayers winne me, menaces reject me, favours relent me, feare imperverseth me. Amongst humane conditions this one is very common, that we are rather pleased with strange things then with our owne; we love changes, affect alterations, and like innovations.

*Ipsa dies ideo nos grato perluit haustu,
Quod permutatis Hora recurrit equis.*

Times therefore us refresh with welcome ayre,
Because their houres on chang'd horse doe
repayre.

And my share is therein. Such as follow he other extremity, onely to bee well pleased with and in themselves, and selfe-concitedly to over-esteeme what they possesse above others, and acknowledge no forme ayrrer then that they see, if they be not more advised then we, they are indeed more happy. I envie not their wisdom, but I judge their good fortune. This greedy humour of new and unquenchable desire of unknowne things doth much increase and flourish in me a desire to travell; but divers ther circumstances conferre unto it. I am well pleased to neglect and shake off the

government of mine owne household. It is some pleasure to command, were it but a mole-hill, and a delight to be obaied; but it is a pleasure over uniforme and languishing, besides that it is ever necessarily intermixed with troublous cares and hart-wearing thoughts. Sometimes the indigence and oppression of your owne people, sometimes the contentions and quarels of your neighbours, and othertimes their insulting and usurpation over you, doth vexe, doth trouble and afflict you:

*Aut verberata grandine vinea,
Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sydera, nunc hyemes iniquas.¹*

Or vineyards beate and wet with haile and raine,

Or grounds defrauding hope, while trees
complane,

Sometime of waters, sometime of those starres
That scorch the fields, sometime of winters
warres.

And that God will hardly once in halfe a yeere send you a season that shall thoroughly please your bayly and content your receiver; and that if it be good for your vines, it be not hurtfull for your meddowes.

*Aut nimis torret feruoribus aetherius Sol,
Aut subiti perimunt imbres, gelidaeque pruina
Flabraque ventorum violento turbine vexant.²*

Or with excessive heate heavens sunne doth
toast,
Or sodaine stormes do kill, and chilling frost,
Or violent whirlwind blasts doe vexe the
coast.

As that new and well-shapen shoe of that man of former ages, which hurts and wrings your foote; and that a stranger knowes not what it costs you, and what you contribute to maintaine the show of that order which is seene in your housholde, and which per-adventure you purchase at too high a rate. It was very late before I betooke my selfe to husbandrie. Those whom nature caused to be borne before mee have long time ridde mee of that careful burthen: I had already taken another habite more sutable to my complexion. Neverthelesse by that I have observed therein, I finde it to be rather a troublesome then a hard occupation. Whosoever is capable of any other thing may easily discharge that. If I would seek to grow rich, that way would seeme over-lolag and tedious to mee: I would then have served our kings, a trade more beneficiall then all others, since I pretend but to get the reputation that as I have gotten nothing, so have I not wasted any thing; sutable to

¹ Hor. Car. l. iii. Od. i. 29,

² Lucr. l. v. 15.

the rest of my life ; as unfit to effect any good, as improper to worke any evill of consequence ; and that I onely seeke to weare out my life, I may (God bee thanked) doe it without any great attention : if the worst come to passe, before poverty assaile you, seeke by prevention to cut off your charges, and by husbanding your expences keepe aforehand with it ; that is it I trust unto, and hope to reforme my selfe before it come neare or enforce me to it. As for other matters, I have forestalled many degrees and established sundry wayes in my minde, to live and rubbe out with lesse then I have. I say to live with contentment. *Non estimatione census, verum victu atque cultu, terminatur pecuniæ modus*.¹ "The measure of money is lyमित not by the estimate of wealth or place, but by the manner of living and other furniture." My very neede doth not so precisely possesse my whole estate, but that without touching to the quick or empaireing the maine, fortune shall finde something to play upon or take hold of. My very presence, as ignorant and grim as it is, affordeth much helpe to my household affaires : I apply my selfe thereunto but somewhat dispihtfully, considering the manner of my house, which is, that severally to burne my candle at one end, the other is thereby nothing spared. Travels do not much hurt me, were it not for the charges, which are exceeding great and beyond my ability, having ever beene accustomed to journey not only with necessary, but also decent equipage ; and that is the reason I make but short journeys and travel not too often ; wherein I imploy but the scumme and what I can well spare, temporising and differing according as it commeth more or lesse. I will not have the pleasure of my wandring to corrupt the delight of my retiring. Contrarywise, my intent is that they nourish and favour one another. Fortune hath steadied me in this, that since my chiefest profession in this life was to live delicately and quietly, and rather negligently then seriously, it hath deprived me of need to hoard up riches to provide for the multitude of my heires. For one, if that be not sufficient for him, wherewith I have lived so plenteously, at his owne perill be it. His indiscretion shall not deserve that I wish him more. And every man (according to the example of Phocion) provideth sufficiently for his children that provideth they be not unlike to him. I should by no means be of Crates his mind, or commend his proceeding. He left his money with a banquier upon this condition,

that if his children were fooles he should deliver it them ; but proving wise and able to shift for themselves, he should distribute the same amongst the greatest fooles. As if fooles, being least capable to make a shift without it, were more capable to use riches. So it is that the hurt proceeding from my absence doth not (in mine opinion) deserve, so long as I shall have means to beare it, I should refuse to accept the occasions that offer themselves to distract mee from this toyle some assistance. There is ever some pece out of square. Sometimes the businesse of one house, and other times the affaires of another, doe hurry you. You pry too neare into all things ; herein, as well as elsewhere, your perspicuity doth harme you. I steale from such occasions as may move me to anger, and remove from the knowledge of things that thrive not ; yet can I not so use the matter, but still I stumble (being at home) upon some inconvenience which displeaseth me. And slight knaveries that are most hidden from mee are those I am best acquainted with. Some there are which to avoyd a further mischief a man must helpe to conceale himselfe : vaine prickings (vaine sometimes), but yet ever prickings. The least and slightest hindrances are the sharpest ; and as the smallest letters hurt our eyes most, so the least affaires grieve us most : a multitude of slender evils offendeth more then the violence of one alone, how great soever. Even as ordinary thornes, being small and sharpe, pricke us more sharply and sans threatening, if on a sudden we hit upon them. I am no philosopher : evils oppresse me according as they waigh, and waigh according to their forme, as well as according to the matter, and often more. I have more insight in them then the vulgar sort ; and so have I more patience. To conclude, if they hurt me not, they lie heavey upon me. Life is a tender thing, and easie to be dis-tempered. Since I began to grow towards peevish age, and by consequence toward frowardnes, *nemo enim resistit sibi cum cepit impelli*.¹ "For no man staves himselfe when he is set on going." What evill fond cause hath brought me to it, I provoke the humour that way, which afterward by his owne motion is fostred and exasperated attracting and heaping up one matter upon another, to feede it selfe withall.

Stilllicidi casus lapidem cavat,

By often falling on,
Even water breakes a stone.

These ordinary distilling drops consum

¹ CŒC. Parag.

¹ SEN. Epist. i. 13 f.

and ulcerate me. Ordinary inconveniences are never light. They are continually and irreparable if they continually and inseparably arise from the members of husbandry. When I consider my affaires afarre off and in grosse, I finde, be it because I have no exact memory of them, that hitherto they have thrived beyond my reasons and expectation. Me thinks I draw more from them: then there is in them: their good successe betraieith me. But am I waded into the businesse? See I all these parcels march?

*Tum vero in curas animum deducimus omnes.*¹

Then we our minde divide
To cares on every side.

A thousand things therein give me cause to desire and feare. Wholly to forsake them is very easie unto me; without toying and vexation altogether to apply my selfe unto them is most hard. It is a pittypfull thing to be in a place where whatsoever you see doeth set you a worke and concerne you; and me thinkes I enjoy more blithly and taste more choicely the pleasures of a stranger house then of mine owne, and both my minde and taste runne more freely and purely on them. Diogenes answered according to my humor, when being demanded what kinde of wine he liked best, "Another man's," said he. My father delighted to build at Montaigne, where he was borne; and in al this policy of domestick affaires, I love to make use of his examples and rules, unto which I will as much as possibly I can tie my successors. Could I doe better for him, I would performe it. I glory his will is at this day practised by mee, and doth yet worke in me. God forbid I should ever suffer any image of life to perish under my hands, that I may yeeld unto so good and so kinde a father. If I have undertaken to finish any old peece of wall, or repaire any building either imperfect or decayed, it hath certainly bene because I had rather a respect to his intention then a regard to my contentment. And I blame my negligence or litheresse: that I have not continued to perfect the foundations he had laid, or beginnings he had left in his house; by so much the more because I am in great likelihood to be the last possessor of it, namely of my race, and set the last hand unto it. For concerning my particular application, neither the pleasure of building, which is said to be so bewitching, nor hunting, nor hawking, nor gardens, nor such other delights of a retired life, can much embusie or greatly amuse me. It

is a thing for which I hate my selfe, as of all other opinions that are incommodiou to me. I care not so much to have them: vigorous and learned as I labour to have them easie and commodious unto life. They are indeed sufficiently true and sound, if they be profitable and pleasing. Those who hearing mee relate mine owne insufficiencie in matters pertaining to husbandry or thrift, are still whispering in mine eares that it is but a kinde of disdaine, and that I neglect to know the implements or tooles belonging to husbandry or tillage, their seasons and orders; how my wines are made, how they graft, and understand or know the names and formes of herbes, of simples, of fruits, and what belongs to the dressing of meats wherewith I live and whereon I feede; the names and prices of such stufes I cloath my selfe withall, onely because I doe more seriously take to heart some higher knowledge; bring me in a manner to deaths doore. This is meere sottishnesse, and rather brutishnesse then glory: I would rather be a cunning horseman then a good logician.

*Quin tu aliquid saltem potius quorum indiget
usus,*

*Viminibus mollique paras detexere junco?*¹

Why rather with soft wings make you not speed,
To worke-up something whereof there is need?

Wee hinder our thoughts from the generall and maine point, and from the causes and universall conduct, which are very well directed without us, and omit our owne businesses, and Michael, who concernes us neerer then man. Now I most commonly stay at home, but I would please my selfe better there then any where else.

*Sit mea sedes utinam senex,
Sit modus lassio maris, et viarum,
... Militique.*²

Some repaire and rest to mine old age I crave
Journeying, sailing, with a weary warring,
O let an end have.

I wot not whether I shall come to an end of it. I would that in lieu of some other part of his succession, my father had resigned that passionate love and deare affection which in his aged yeeres he bare unto his household husbandry. He was very fortunate in conforming his desires unto his fortune, and knew how to be pleased with what he had. Politike philosophy may how it list accuse the basenesse and blame the sterilitie of my occupation, if, as he did, I may but once finde the taste of it. I am of this opinion, that the honorablest vocation

¹ VIRG. *ÆN.* l. v. 720.

¹ VIRG. *Buc. Egl.* ii. 71.

² HOR. *Car.* l. ii. *Od.* vi. 6.

is to serve the commonwealth, and be profitable to many. *Fructus enim ingenii et virtutis, omnisque præstantia, tum maximus accipitur, quum in proximum quemque confertur*:¹ "For then is most fruit reaped, both of our wit and virtue and all other excellencie, when it is bestowed upon our neighbours." As for me, I depart from it, partly for conscience sake (for whence I discern the waight concerning such vocations, I also discover the slender meanes I have to supply them withall; and Plato, a master workman in all politike government, omitted not to abstaine from them), partly for lithernesse. I am well pleased to enjoy the world without troubling or pressing my selfe with it; to live a life onely excusable, and which may neither bee burthensome to mee nor to any other. Never did man goe more plainly and carelesly to worke in the care and government of a third man, then I would had I a ground to worke upon. One of my wishes at this instant should be to finde a sonne in law that could handsomely allure and discreetly beguile my old yeeres, and lull them asleepe; into whose hands I might dispose and in all sovereignty resigne the conduct and managing of my goods, that he might dispose of them as I doe, and gaine upon them what I gaine; alwaies provided he would but carry a truly-thankfull and friendly minde. But what, we live in a world where the loyalty of our owne children is not known. Whosoever hath the charge of my purse when I travell hath it freely and without controll; as well might he deceive me in keeping of reckonings. And if he be not a divell, I bind him to deale well and honestly by my carelesse confidence. *Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, et alii jus peccandi suspicando fecerunt*; "Many have taught others to deceive while themselves feare to be deceived, and have given them just cause to offend by suspecting them unjustly." The most ordinary assurance I take of my people is a kinde of disacknowledgement or neglect; I never presume vices but after I have seene them; and trust more young men such as I imagine to be the least debauched and corrupted by ill examples. I had rather heare at two months end that I have spent four hundred crownes, then every night when I should goe to my quiet bed have mine eares eared and my minde vexed with three, five, or seven. Yet in this kinde of stealing have I had as little stolen from mee as any other; true it is, I lend a helping hand to igno-

rance. I wittingly entertaine a kinde of troubled and uncertaine knowledge of my money; untill it come to a certaine measure I am content to doubt of it. It is not amisse if you allow your boy or servant some small scope for his disloyalty and indiscretion. If in grosse we have sufficiently left to bring our matters to pass, this excesse of fortunes liberalitie, let us somewhat more suffer it to stand to her mercie, it is the gleaner's fee after all. I esteeme not so much my people's fidelity as I disesteeme their injurie. Oh base and absurd study, for a man to study his money, and please himselfe with handling and counting the same; for that's the way whereby covetousnesse maketh her approaches. Since eightene yeeres that I have had the full disposing of my goods in my owne hands, I could never yet be brought to overlooke neither titles nor bookes, no not so much as the principall affaires that should necessarily passe thorow my knowledge and care.

It is no philosophical contempt to neglect worldly and transitorie things: my taste is not so exquisitely nice, for I value them according to their worth at least; but truly it is an inexcusable slouthfulness and childish negligence. What would I not rather doe then reade a contract? And more willingly, as a slave to my businesse, with eake to over-look and care to survey a company of old dusty bookes, and plod upon musty writings? and which is worse, other men's, as so many doe daily for money? I have nothing so deare as care and paine; and I only endeavour to become carelesse and rechelesse. I had, in mine opinion, been fitter (if it might be) to live by others fortune, without bounden duty or bondage. And yet I wot not (the matter being thoroughly sifted) whether, according to my humour and fortune, what I must endure with my affaires, and pocket up at my servants and familiars hands, hath not more adjection, importunitie and sharpnesse, then the following of another man should have better borne then my selfe, and who should give me somewhat at mine ease. *Servitus obedientia est fracti animi et abjecti, arbitrio carentis suo*:¹ "Service is an obedience of an abject, broken heart, that cannot dispose of it selfe." Crates did worse, who voluntarily cast himselfe into libertie of povertie, only to ridd himselfe of the inconveniences, indignities and cares of his house; which I would not doe. I hate povertie as much as grieve; yet could I finde in my heart to change this manner of life with another lesse glorious and not so

troublesome. Being absent, I discharge my selfe of all such carefull thoughts, and should lesse feele the ruinous downefall of a towne, then, being present, the fall of a tile. Alone my minde is easily freed, but in company it indureth as much as a ploughmans. My horse uncub'd, his reins misplaced, or a stirrup or a strap hitting against my legge, will keepe me in checke a whole day long. I rouse my courage sufficiently against inconvenience; mines eyes I cannot.

Sensus d' superi sensus!

At home I am ever answerable for whatsoever is amisse. Few masters (I speake of meane condition, as mine is; whereof if any be, they are the more happie) can so fully rely upon a second, but still a good part of the burden shall lie upon them. That doth peradventure take something from my fashion, in entertaining of guests or new commers; and happily I have beene able to stay some more by my kitchin then by my behaviour or grace, as doe the peevish and fantastick; and I greatly diminish the pleasure I should take in my house by the visitations and meetings of my friends. No countenance is so foolish or so ill becomming a gentleman in his owne house, as to see him vexed or troubled about his household or domesticke affaires; to see him whisper one of his servants in the eare, and threaten another with his looke. It should insensibly glide on, and represent an ordinary course. And I utterly dislike that a man should entertaine his guest with either excusing or boasting of the entertainment he affordeth them. I love order and cleanness—

— *et cantharus et laux,
Ostendunt mihi me.*¹

My dish, my drinking canne,
Shew me what kinde of man—

well nigh as much as plentie. In mine owne house I exactly looke unto necessitie, little unto state, and lesse unto ornament. If your neighbours servant be fighting with his companion, if a dish be overthrowen, you but laugh at it, you sleepe quietly whilst Sir Such-a-one is busie casting up of accounts, and over-seeing his stocke with his steward, and all about your provision for to-morrow. I speake according to mine opinion, omitting not in generall to thinke how pleasing an amusement it is to certaine natures to see a quiet and prosperous household directed by a formall and guided by a regular order. But not intending to fasten

mine owne errors and inconveniences to the matter, nor to gaine-say Plato, who deemeth that the happiest occupation any man can follow is to apply himselfe to his owne private businesse without injustice. When I journey, I have nothing to care for but my selfe, and how my money is laid out, which is disposed with one onely precept. Over-many parts are required in hoarding and gathering of goods: I have no skill in it. In spending I have some knowledge, and how to give my expences day, which indeed is its principall use. But I attend it over-ambitiously, which makes it both unequal and deformed; and besides that immoderate in one and other usage. If it appeare and make a good show, if it serve the turne, I indiscreetly goe after it; and as indiscreetly restrain my selfe, if it shine or smile not upon mee. Whatsoever it bee, either art or nature, that imprints this condition of life into us, by relation to others, it doth us much more hurt then good. In going about to frame apparences according to the common opinion, wee defraud our selves of our owne profits. Wee care not so much what our state or how our being is in us, and in effect, as wee doe how and what it is, in the publike knowledge of others. Even the goods of the minde, and wisdom it selfe, seeme fruitlesse unto us, if onely enjoyed by us; except it be set forth to the open view and approbation of strangers. There are some whose gold runnes by streames in places under ground, and that imperceptible; others extend the same in plates and leaves. So that to some pence are worth crownes, to others the contrary: the world judging the employment and value according to the outward shew. All over-nice care and curious heed about riches hath a touch or a taste of avarice. Even their dispending and over-regular and artificial liberalities are not worth a warie heerd-taking, and countervails not a painefull diligence. Who so will make his expence even and just, makes it strict and forced; either close-keeping or employing of money are in themselves things indifferent, and admit no colour of good or evill but according to the application of our will. The other cause that drawes me to these journeyes or vagaries is the dissent or disparity in the present manners of our state. I could easily comfort my selfe with this corruption in regard of the publike

— *pejorasse secula ferri,
Temporibus, quorum scelere non invenit ipsa
Nomen, et a nullo posuit natura metallo.*²

¹ Hor. . . *Epist.* v. 23.

² Juv. *Sat.* xiii. 20

Times worse then times of iron, for whose
bad frame
And wickednesse even nature findes no name,
Nor hath from any metall set the same.

But not for mine owne : I am in particular
over-pressed by it. For round about where
I dwell we are, by the over-long licentious-
nesse of our intestine civill warres, almost
grown old, in so licentious and riotous a
forme of state—

Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas—

As where of good and bad,
There is no difference had—

that in good truth it were a wonder if it
should continue and maintaine it selfe.

*Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes
Convectare juvat prædas, et vivere rapto.*¹

They armed plow the land, and joy to drive,
And draw new booties, and on rapine live.

To conclude, I see by our example that the
societie of men doth hold and is sewed to-
gether, at what rate soever it be ; wherever
they be placed, in mooving and closing,
they are ranged and stowed together, as
uneven and rugged bodies, that orderlesse
are huddled in some close place, of them-
selves finde the way to be united and joynd
together one with another ; and many times
better then art could have disposed them.
King Philip assembled a rabble of the most
lewd, reprobate and incorrigible men he
could finde out, all which he placed in a
cittie which of purpose he had caused to be
built for them, of whom it bare the name.
I imagine that even of their vices they
erected a politike contexture amongst them-
selves, and a commodious and just societie.
I see not one action, or three, or a hundred,
but even divers manners, admitted and com-
monly used ; so extravagant (namely, in
disloyalty) and so barbarous in inhumanitie,
which in my conceit are the worst and most
execrable kinde of vices, that I have not the
heart so much as to conceive them without
horror. All which I in a manner admire
as much as I detest. The exercise of these
egregious villanies beareth a brand of vigour
and hardnesse of minde as much as of error
and irregular confusion. Necessitie com-
poseth and assembleth men together. This
casuall combining is afterward framed into
lawes ; for there have beene some as bar-
barously-savage as humane opinion could
possibly produce, which notwithstanding
have kept their bodies in as good health and
state, in long life, as those of Plato or Aris-
totle could doe. And to say true, all these

descriptions of policie, fained by art and
supposition, are found ridiculous and foolish
to bee put in practice. These great and
long-continuing altercations about the best
forme of societie and most commodious
rules to unite us together, are altercations
onely proper for the exercise of our wit ; as
in arts divers subjects are found that have
no essence but in agitation and disputing,
without which they have no life at all.
Such an idea of policie, or picture of govern-
ment, were to be established in a new world ;
but we take a world already made and
formed to certaine customes ; we engender
not the same as Pyrrha, nor beget it as
Cadmus. By what meanes soever we have
the privilege to re-erect and range the same
anew, we can very hardly wrest it from the
accustomed habit and fold it hath taken,
except we breake all. Solon being de-
manded whether hee had established the
best lawes he could for the Athenians,
answered : Yea of those they would have
received. With such a shift doth Varro
excuse himselfe, saying, that if he were
newly to beginne to write of religion, he
would plainly tell what his beleefe were of
it ; but being already received, he will
speake more of it according to custome
then to nature. Not to speake by opinion,
but consonant to truth, the most excellent
and best policie for any nation to observe
is that under which it hath maintained it
selfe. Its forme and essentiall commoditie
doth much depend of custome. We are
easily displeased with the present condition ;
yet doe I hold that to wish the government
of few in a popular estate, or in a monar-
chie another kinde of policie, it is a mani-
fest vice and meere follie.

*Ayme l'estat tel que tu le vois estre,
S'il est royaull, ayme la royauté,
S'il est de peu, ou bien communiauté,
Ayme l'aussi, car Dieu l'y a faict naistre.*¹

Love thou the state as thou seest it to be :
If it be regall, love the royall race ;
If of a few or common-weale, embrace
It as it is, borne there God pointed thee.

So was the good Lord of Pibrac wont to
speake of it, whom we have lately lost, a
man of so quaint and rare wit, of so sound
judgement, and of so milde and affable
behaviour ; the untimely losse of whom,
with that of the Lord of Foix, both fatally
happning to us at one time, are surely losses
of great consequence unto our crowne. I
wot not well, whether France, amongst all
the men it hath left, is able to afford us
two such other gentlemen as may, either in
sincerity and worth, or in sufficiencie and

¹ VIRG. *Geor.* l. i. 505.

² VIRG. *Æn.* l. ix. 613,

³ PIBRAC.

judgement for the counsell of our kings match these two Gascoynes. They were two mindes diversly faire, and verily, if we respect the corrupted age wherein we live, both rare and gloriously shining, every one in her forme. But alas! what destiny had placed them on the theater of this age, so dissonant and different in proportion from our deplorable corruption, and so farre from agreeing with our tumultuous stormes? Nothing doth so neerely touch and so much overlay an estate as innovation: onely change doth give forme to injustice and scope to tyranny. If some one peece be out of square, it may be underpropt: one may oppose himselfe against that which the alteration incident and corruption naturall to all things doth not too much elonge and draw us from our beginnings and grounded principles. But to undertake to re-erect and found againe so huge a masse, and change or remove the foundations of so vast a frame, belongeth onely to them who, instead of purging deface, and in lieu of cleansing scrape out; that will amend particular faults by a universall confusion and cure diseases by death: *Non tam commutandarum quam evertendarum rerum cupidi*: "Not so desirous to have things altered as overthrown." The world is fondly unapt to cure it selfe; so impatient with that which vexeth or grieveth it, that it only aimeth to ridd it selfe of it, never regarding at what rate. Wee see by a thousand examples that it doth ordinarily cure it selfe at its owne charges: to be freed from a present evill is no perfect cure, except there be a generall amendment of condition. The end of a skillfull chirurgeon is not to mortifie the bad flesh, it is but the beginning and addressing of his cure: he aimeth further, that is, to make the naturall to grow againe, and reduce the partie to his due being and quality. Who ever proposeth onely to remove what gnaweth him shall be to seeke, for good doeth not necessarily succeed evill: another, yea a worse evill may succeed it; as it hapned unto Cesars murderers, who brought the commonwealth to so distressfull a plunge that they repented themselves they ever medled with the same. The like hath since fortunated to divers, yea in our daies. The French that live in my times know very well what to speake of such matters. All violent changes and great alterations, disorder, distemper and shake a state very much. He that should rightly respect a sound recovery of absolute cure, and before all other things thorowly consult about it, might happily grow slacke in the businesse, and beware how he set his hand unto it. Pacuvius

Calavius corrected the vice of this manner of proceeding by a notable example. His fellow citizens had mutinied against their magistrates. He being a man of eminent authority in the cittie of Capua, found one day the meanes to shut up the Senate in the Guildhall or Pallace; then calling the people together in the market place, told them that the day was now come wherein with full and unresisted liberty they might take vengeance of the tyrants that had so long and so many wayes oppressed them, all which he had now at his mercy, alone and unarmed. His opinion was, that orderly by lots they should be drawne out one after another; which done they might particularly dispose of every one, and whatsoever should be decreed of them, should immediately be executed upon the place; provided they should therewithall presently advise and resolve to nominate and establish some honest and undetected man to supply the roome of the condemned, lest their cittie should remaine void of due officers. To which they granted, and heard no sooner the name of a Senatour read, but a loud exclamation of a generall discontent was raised against him; which Pacuvius perceiving, he requested silence, and thus bespake them: "My country-men, I see very well that man must be cut off, hee is a pernicious and wicked member; but let us have another sound good man in his place; and whom would you name for that purpose?" This unexpected speech bred a distracted silence, each one finding himselfe to seeke and much confounded in the choice. Yet one, who was the boldest impudent amongst them, nominated one whom he thought fittest; who was no sooner heard but a generall consent of voices, louder then the first, followed, all refusing him, as one taxed with a hundred imperfections, lawfull causes, and just objections, utterly to reject him. These contradicting humours growing more violent and hot, every one following his private grudge or affection, there ensued a farre greater confusion and hurly-burly in drawing of the second and third Senatour, and in naming and choosing their successors, about which they could never agree—as much disorder and more confusion about the election, as mutuall consent and agreement about the demission and displacing; about which tumultuous trouble, when they had long and to no end laboured and wearied themselves, they began some here, some there, to scatter and steal away from the assemblee, every one with this resolution in his minde, that the oldest and best known evill is ever more tolerable then a fresh and unexperienced

mischiefe. By seeing our selves piteously tossed in continuall agitation : for what have we not done ?

*Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet,
Fratrungue quid nos dura refugimus
Ætas ? quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus ? unde manus juvenis
Metu Deorum continui ? quibus
Pepercit aris !*

Alas for shame of wickednesse, and scarres,
Of brother-country-men in civill warres.
We of this hardened world, what doe we
shunne ?

What have we execrable left undone ?
To set their hand whereto hath youth not
dared

For feare of Gods ? what altars hath it
spared ?

I am not very sudden in resolving or concluding.

— *ipsa si velit salus,*

Servare prorsus non potest hanc familiam : 2

This familie if safetie would

Keepe safe, I doe not thinke it could.

Yet are we not peradventure come unto our last period. The preservation of states is a thing in all likelihood exceeding our understanding. A civill policie (as Plato saith) is a mighty and puissant matter, and of very hard and difficult dissolution ; it often endureth against mortall and intestine diseases, yea, against the injury of unjust laws, against tyrannie, against the ignorance and debordement of magistrates, and against the licentiousnesse and sedition of the people. In all our fortunes we compare our selves to that which is above us, and looke toward those that are better. Let us measure our selves by that which is beneath us ; there is no creature so miserably wretched but findes a thousand examples to comfort himselfe withall. It is our fault that we more willingly behold what is above us then willingly what is beneath us. And Solon said, that should a man heape up in one masse all evils together, there is none that would not rather chuse to carry back with him such evils as he alreadie hath, then come to a lawfull division with other men of that chaos of evils, and take his allotted share of them. Our common-wealth is much crazed and out of tune. Yet have divers others beene more dangerously sicke, and have not died. The gods play at handball with us, and toss us up and downe on all hands. *Enimvero dii nos homines quasi pilas habent : 3* "The gods perdie doe reckon and racket us men as their tennis-balles." The destinies have fatally ordained

the state of Rome for an exemplar patterne of what they can doe in this kinde. It containeth in it selfe all formes and fortunes that concerne a state, whatsoever order, trouble, good or bad fortune may in any sort effect in it. What man may justly despaire of his condition, seeing the agitations, troubles, alterations, turmoiles, and motions wherewith it was tossed to and fro, and which it endured ? If the extension of rule and far-spreading domination be the perfect health of a state, of which opinion I am not in any wise (and Isocrates doth greatly please me, who instructeth Nicocles not to envie those Princes who have large dominations, but such as can well maintaine and orderly preserve those that have beene hereditarily escheated unto them) that of Rome was never so sound as when it was most sicke and distempered. The worst of its forme was to it the most fortunate. A man can hardly distinguish or know the image of any policie under the first Emperors ; it was the most horrible and turbulent confusion that could be conceived, which notwithstanding it endured and therein continued, preserving, not a monarchie bounded in her limits, but so many nations, so different, so distant, so evil affected, so confusedly commanded, and so unjustly conquered.

— *nec gentibus ullis*

Commodat in populum terræ pelagique potentem,

Invidiam fortuna suam. 1

Fortune doth to no other nation lend
Envie, against that people force to bend,
Which both by land and sea their force
extend.

All that, shaketh doth not fall : the texture of so vast a frame holds by more then one naile. It holds by its antiquity, as olde buildings which age hath robbed of foundation, without loame or mortar, and neverthelesse live and subsist by their owne waight.

— *nec jam validis radicibus hærens
Pondere tuta suo est. 2*

Though now to no strong roote it stickes so fast
Yet is it safe by selfe-waight, and will last.

Moreover, he goes not cunningly to worke, that onely survayes the flankes and dykes ; to judge well of the strength of a place, he must heedily marke how and view which way it may be approached, and in what state the assailant stand. Few vessels sinke with their owne waight, and without some extraordinary violence. Cast we our eyes about us, and in a generall survay consider all the world ; all is tottering, all is out of

¹ HOR. *Car. l. i. Od. xcv. 33.*

² TERR. *Adel. act iv. sc. 7.*

³ PLAUT. *Capt. Prolog.*

¹ LUCR. *l. i. 82.*

² *Ib. l. 38.*

frame. Take a perfect view of all great states by in Christendome and where ever else we have knowledge of, and in all places you shall finde a most evident threatning of change and ruine :

*Et sua sunt illis incommoda, parque per omnes
Tempestas.*

Their discommodities they know :
One storme alike o'er all doth grow.

Astrologers may sport themselves with warning us, as they doe, of imminent alterations and succeeding revolutions ; their divinations are present and palpable ; wee need not prie into the heavens to finde them out. Wee are not only to draw comfort from this universall aggregation of evill and threats, but also some hope for the continuance of our state ; forsomuch as naturally nothing falleth where all things fall ; a generall disease is a particular health ; conformitie is a qualitie enemy to dissolution. As for me, I nothing despaire of it, and me thinks I already perceive some starting holes to save us by.

*Deus hac fortasse benigna
Reducet in sedem vice.*

It may be, God with gracious entercourse
Will re-establish these things in their course.

Who knows whether God hath determined it shall happen of them as of bodies that are purged, and by long grievous sicknesses brought to a beter and sounder state ; which thorowly purged diseases do afterward yeeld them a more entire and purely-perfect health then that they tooke from them ? That which grieveth me most is, that, counting the symptoms or effects of our evill, I see as many meere proceeding of nature, and such as the heavens send us, and which may properly be termed theirs, as of those that our owne surfeit, or excesse, or missediet, or humane indiscretion confer upon us. The very planets seeme orderly to declare unto us that we have continued long enough, yea and beyond our ordinary limits. This also grieves me, that the neerest evill threatning us is not a distemper or alteration in the whole and solide masse, but a dissipation and divulsion of it—the extreamest of our feares. And even in these fantastickall humors or dotings of mine, I feare the treason of my memory, least unwarily it have made me to register some things twice. I hate to correct and agnize my selfe, and can never endure but grudgingly to review and repolish what once hath escaped my pen. I heere set downe nothing that is new or lately found out. They are vulgar imaginations, and which peradventure having bene conceived a hundred times,

I feare to have already enrolled them. Repetition is ever tedious, were it in Homer ; but irkesome in things that have but one superficiall and transitorie shew. I — nothing pleased with inculcation or wrestling-in of matters, be it in profitable things, as in Seneca. And the maner of his Stoike schoole displeaseth me, which is, about every matter to repeat at large, and from the beginning to the end, such principles and presuppositions as serve in generall : and every hand while to re-allege anew the common arguments and universall reasons. My memorie doth daily grow worse and worse, and is of late much empairod :

*Pocula lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos,
Arante faucis traxerim.*

As though with drie lips I had drunke that up,
Which drawes oblivious sleepe in drowsie cup.

I shall henceforward be faine (for hitherto, thanks be to God, no capitall fault hath hapned), whereas others seeke time and occasion to premeditate what they have to say, that I avoid to prepare my selfe, for feare I should tie my selfe to some strict bond, on which I must depend. To be bound and tied doth somewhat distract me : namely, when I am wholly to rely and depend on so weake an instrument as is my memory. I never read this story, but I feele a certaine proper and naturall offence. Lyncestes being accused of a conspiracie against Alexander, the very same day that, according to custome, he was led forth in presence of all the armie to be heard in his owne defence, had in his minde a premeditated oration, which he had studiously learnt by rote, whereof, stammering and faltring, having uttered some words, and wrestling with his memory, and striving to run it over againe, he was sodainly charged by the souldiers that were about him, and slaine with pikes, as they who held him to be convicted. His amazement and silence served them as a confession ; for they supposed that having had so long leasure in prison to prepare himselfe, it was not, as they thought, his memory failed him, but his guilty conscience bridled so his tongue and deprived him of his wonted faculties. It was truly wel spoken. The very place, the company and expectation astonieth a man when he most aimeth at an ambition of well-speaking. What can a man doe when a meere oration shall bring his life into consequence ? As for mee, if I bee tied unto a prescript kinde of speaking, what bindes me to it doth also loose me from it, when I have committed and wholly assigned my selfe unto

my memory, I so strongly depend on the same that I overwhelm it : she faints under her owne burthen. So much as I refer my selfe unto her, so much am I divided from selfe, until I make tryall of my countenance. And I have sometimes beene in paine in concealing the bondage whereunto I was engaged : whereas my desaigne, in speaking, to represent a maine carelesnesse of accent and countenance, suddaine and unpremeditated, or casuall motions as rising of present occasions ; rather loving to say nothing of any worth, then make shew I came provided to speake well : a thing above all unseemely to men of my profession, and of over strict an obligation to one that cannot hold much. Preparation gives more to hope then it brings with it. A man doth often strip himselfe into his doublet, to leape shorter then he did in his gowne. *Nihil est his, qui placere volunt, tam adversarium, quam expectatio* : "There is none so great an enemy to them that would please as expectation." It is written of Curio the orator, that when he proposed the distribution of the parts of his oration into three or foure, or the number of his arguments and reasons, it was his ordinary custome either to forget some one, or adde one or two more unto it. I have ever shunned to fall into such an inconvenience, as one hating these selfe-promises and prescriptions, not onely for the distrust of my memory, but also because this forme drawes over neare unto an artiste. *Simpliciora militares decent* ; "Plaine wordes and manners become martialists." Sufficeth, I have now made a vow unto my selfe, no more to undertake the charge to speake in any place of respect ; for to speake in reading what one hath written, besides that it is most foolish and absurde, it is a matter of great disadvantage to such as by nature were interessed or might do any thing in the action. And wholly to rely or cast my selfe to the mercy of my present invention, much lesse : I have it by nature so dull and troubled, that it cannot in any wise supply me in suddaine and stead me in important necessities. May it please the gentle reader to suffer this one part of essay to run on, and this third straine or addition of the rest of my pictures peeces. I adde, but I correct not ; first because he who hath hypotheeked or engaged his labour to the world, I finde apparance that he hath no longer right in the same ; let him, if he be able, speake better elsewhere, and not corrupt the worke he hath already made sale off ; of such people a man should buy nothing but after they are dead : let them thoroughly thinke on it before they produce the same. Who

hastens them ? My booke is alwaies one, except that according as the printer goes about to renew it, that the buyers depart not altogether empty-handed ; I give my selfe law to adde thereto (as it is but uncoherent checky, or ill joined in laid worke) some supernumerall embleme. They are but over-weights, which disgrace not the first forme, but give some particular price unto every one of the succeeding, by an ambitious petty subtilty. Whence, notwithstanding, it may easily happen that some transposition of chronology is thereto commixt : my reports taking place according to their opportunity, and not ever according to their age. Secondly, forso much as in regard of my selfe I feare to loose by the exchange, my understanding doth not alwaies goe forward, it sometimes goes also backward : I in a manner distrust mine owne fantasies as much, though second or third, as I doe when they are the first, or present as past. We many times correct our selves as foolishly as we taxe others unadvisedly. I am growne aged by a number of yeares since my first publications, which were in a thousand five hundred and foure score. But I doubt whether I be increased one inch in wisdome. My selfe now and my selfe anon are indeede two ; but when better, in good sooth I cannot tell. It were a goodly thing to bee old if wee did onely march towards amendment. It is the motion of a drunkard, stumbling, reeling, giddie-brain'd, formeles, or of reedes, which the ayre doth casually wave to and fro what way it bloweth. Antiochus, in his youth, had stoutly and vehemently written in favor of the academy, but being olde he changed copy, and writ as violently against it : which of the two I should follow, should I not ever follow Antiochus ? Having once established a doubt, to attempt to confirme the certainty of humane opinions, were it not an establishing of a doubt, and not of the certainty ? and promise that had he had another age given him, with assurance to live, he should ever have beene in termes of new agitations, not so much better as other and different. Publike favor hath given me some more boldnes then I hoped for ; but the thing I feare most is to breed a glutting satiety : I would rather spur then bee weary, as a wise man of my time hath done. Commendation is ever pleasing, from whom, from whence, or wherefore soever it come : yet ought a man to be informed of the cause, if he will justly please and applaud himselfe therewith. Imperfections themselves have their meanes to be recommended. Vulgar and common estimation is little happy if it

come to encounter: and I am deceived, if in my dayes the worst compositions and absurdest bookes have not gained the credit of popular breath. I am much beholding to divers honest men, and I thanke them that vouchsafe to take my endeavours in good parte. There is no place where the defects of the fashion doe so much appear as in a matter that in it selfe hath nothing to recommend it. Good reader, blame not me, for those that passe here, either by the fantazie or unwarinesse of others; for every hand, each workman brings his owne unto them. I neither meddle with orthography (and would onely have them follow the ancient) nor with curious pointing: I have small experience in either. Where they altogether breake the fence, I little trouble my selfe therewith; for at least they discharge me. But where they will wrest in and substitute a false fence (as often they doe) and wyre draw me to their conceits, then they spoyle me. Nevertheless, when the sentence is not strong or sinnowy according to my meaning, an honest man may reject it to be mine. He that shall know how little laborious I am and how framed after mine owne fashion, will easily beleeve I would rather endite anew as many more other essayes, then subject my selfe to trace these over again, for this childish correction. I was saying erewhile that being plunged in the deepest mine of this new kinde of metall, I am not onely deprived of great familiarity with men of different custome from mine, and other opinions, by which they hold together by a knot, commanding all other knots; but am not also without some hazard, amongst those with whom all things are equally lawfull, most of which cannot now adayes empaire their market towarde our justice, whence the extreme degree of licentiousnesse proceedeth. Casting over all the particular circumstances that concerne mee, I finde no one man of ours to whome the inhibition of our lawes costeth any thing, eyther in gaine ceasing, or in losse appearing (as lawyers say), more then unto my selfe. And some there be that in chollericke heate and humorous fury will cracke and vaunt much, that will performe a great deale lesse then my selfe, if once we come to an equall ballance. As a house at all times freely open, much frequented, of great haunt and officious in entertaining all sorts of people (for I could never bee induced to make an implement of warre thereof; which I perceive much more willingly to bee sought-out and flocked unto where it is furthest from my neighbours) my house hath merited much popular affection; and it were a hard matter to

gourmandize my selfe upon mine owne dung-hill; and I repute it a wonderfull and exemplar strangenesse, that having undergone so many stormy-wrackes, so divers changes and tumultuous-neighbour agitations, it doth yet this day continue free, and (as I may say) an undefiled virgin from shedding of blood, spoile, or sacking. For, to say true, it was possible for a man of my disposition to escape from a constant and continuall forme, whatsoever it was. But the contrary invasions, hostile incursions, alterations and vicissitudes of fortune round about me, have hitherto more exasperated then mollified the humour of the country, and recharged me with dangers and invincible difficulties that I have escaped. But it grieveth me that it is rather by fortune, yea and by my discretion, then by justice; and it vexeth me to bee without the protection of the lawes and under any other safeguard then theirs. As things now stand I live more then halfe by the favour of others, which is a severe obligation. I would not be indebted for my safety neither to the goodnesse nor to the good will of our great men, which applaude themselves with my liberty and legalitie; nor to the facilitie of my predecessours or mine owne manner. For what if I were other than I am? If my demeanour, the libertie of my conversation, or happilie alliance, binde my neighbours, it is a cruelty that they should acquit themselves of it in suffering me to live, and that they may say, wee give him a free and undisturbed continuation of divine service in the chaple of his house, while all other churches round about are by us prophaned and deserted; and we freely allow and pardon him the fruition of his goods and use of his life, as hee maintaineth our wives, and in time of need keepeth our cattle. It is long since that in my house we have a share in Lycurgus the Athenians praise, who was the generall storer, depositary and guardian of his fellow-citizens goods and purses. I am now of opinion that a man must live by law and authoritie, and not by recompence or grace. How many gallant men have rather made choise to lose their life then be indebted for the same? I shunne to submit my selfe to any manner of obligation, but above all to which bindes me by duty of bonds of honour. I finde nothing so deare as what is given mee, and that because my will remaines engaged by a title of ingratitude; and I more willingly receive such offices as are to be sold: a thing easie to be beleeved, for these I give nothing but money, but for those I give my selfe. The bond that holdes me by the law of honestie seemeth to me much more

urgent and forcible then that of evill compulsion. I am more gently tyed by a notarie then by my selfe. Is it not reason that my conscience bee much more engaged to that wherein she hath simply and onely benee trusted? Els my faith oweth nothing, for she hath nothing lent her. Let one helpe himselfe with the confidence or assurance he hath taken from me. I would much rather breake the prison of a wall or of the lawes, then the bond of my word. I am nicely scrupulous in keeping of my promises, may almost superstitious, and in all subjects I commonly passe them uncertaine and conditionall. To such as are of no weighty consequence I adde force with the jealousie of my rule: she racks and chargeth me with her owne interest. Yea, in such enterprises as are altogether mine owne and free, if I speake the word or name the point, mee thinks I prescribe the same unto me; and that to give it to anothers knowledge, it is to preordaine it unto himselfe. Me seemes I absolutely promise when I speake. Thus I make but small bragge of my propositions. The condemnation I make of my selfe is more mooving, forcible and severe, then that of the judges, who onely take me by the countenance of common obligation; the constraint of my conscience is more rigorous and more strictly severe; I faintly follow those duties to which I should bee haled if I did not goe to them. *Hoc ipsum ita iustum est quod recte fit, si voluntarium.*¹ "This is so just, as it is well done, if it be voluntary." If the action have no glimpse of libertie, it hath neither grace nor honour.

*Quid me jus cogit, vix voluntate impetrent.*²

What law enforceth me to doe,
By will they can scarce winne me to.

Where necessitie drawes me, I love to relent my will. *Qua quicquid imperio cogitur, exigenti magis quam præstanti acceptum refertur.* "For whatsoever is enforced by command is more imputed to him that exacteth then in him that performeth." I know some that follow this aire even unto injustice. They will rather give then restore; sooner lend then pay; and more sparingly doe good to him to whom they are bound to doe it. I bend not that way, but am mainely against it. I love so much to disoblige and discharge my selfe, that I have sometimes esteemed as profit the ingratitude, the offences, and indignities I had received of those to whom, either by nature or accidents, I was by way of friendship somewhat beholding; taking the oc-

casion of their fault for a quittance and discharge of my debt. Although I continue to pay them the apparent offices with common reason, I notwithstanding finde some sparing in doing that by justice which I did by affection; and somewhat to ease my selfe with the attention and diligence of my inward will. *Est prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolentiae.*¹ "It is a wisemans part to keepe a hand as on the course, so on the career of his goodwill." Which where ever I apply my selfe, is in me too urgent and over pressing, at least for a man that by no meanes would be enthroned. Which husbandrie stands mee in stead of some comfort, about the imperfections of those that touch me. Indeed I am much displeased they should thereby be of lesse worth; but so it is that I also save something of my engagement and application towards them, I allow of him that loves his childe so much the lesse by how much more he is either deformedly crooked or scald-headed. And not onely when he is knavish or shrewd, but also being unluckie or ill borne (for God himselfe hath in that abated of his worth and naturall estimation) alwaies provided, that in such a cold and sleight affection hee beare him selfe with moderation and exact justice. In nice proximitie of blood doth nothing diminish, but rather aggravate defects. After all, according to the skill I have in the knowledge of benefits and thankfulness, which is a knowledge very subtil and of great use, I see no man more free and lesse indebted then hitherto I am my selfe. What ever I owe, the same I owe simply to common and naturall obligations. There is no man more absolutely quit and cleare else whence.

— *nec sunt mihi nota potentum*

Munera.

With gifts I am not much acquainted,
Of mighty men, and much lesse tainted.

Princes give mee sufficiently if they take nothing from me, and doe me much good if they doe me no hurt; it is all I require of them. Oh how much am I beholding to God, forso much as it hath pleased him that whatsoever I enjoy I have immediately received the same from his grace; that he hath particularly reserved all my debt unto himselfe. I most instantly beseech his sacred mercy that I may never owe any man so much as one essentiall God amerie. Oh thrise fortunate libertie, that hath brought me so farr. May it end successfully. I endeavour to have no manner of need of

¹ Cic. Off. l. i.

² TER. Ad. act iii. sc. 4.

¹ Cic. De Amic.

any man. *In me omnis spes est mihi*: "All my hope for all my helpes is my selfe." It is a thing that every man may effect in himselfe; but they more easily whom God hath protected and sheltered from naturall and urgent necessities. Indeed it is both lamentable and dangerous to depend of others. Our selves, which is the safest and most lawfull refuge, are not very sure under our selves. I have nothing that is mine owne but my selfe; yet is the possession thereof partly defective and borrowed. I manure my selfe, both in courage (which is the stronger) and also in fortune, that if all things else should forsake me, I might finde something wherewith to please and satisfie my selfe. Eleus Hippias did not onely store himselfe with learning, that in time of need hee might joyfully withdraw himselfe amongst the Muses, and be sequestred from all other company; not onely with the knowledge of philosophie to teach his minde to be contented with her, and when his chance should so dispose of him, manfully to passe over such incommodities as exteriorlie might come unto him; but, moreover, he was so curious in learning to dresse his meat, to notte his haire, to make his cloathes, breeches and shoes, that as much as could possibly be he might wholly relie and trust to himselfe, and be freed from all forraigne helpe. A man doth more freely and more blithely enjoy borrowed goods when it is not a bounden jovissance and constrained through neede, and that a man hath in his will the power and in his fortune the meanes to live without them. I know my selfe well. But it is very hard for me to imagine any liberalitie of another body so pure towards me, or suppose any hospitalitie so free, so hartie and genuine, as would not seeme affected, tyrannicall, disgraced and attended on by reproach, if so were that necessitie had forced and tied me unto it. As to give is an ambitious qualitie, and of prerogative, so is taking a qualitie of submission. Witnes the injurious and pickthankie refusall that Bajazeth made of the presents which Themir had sent him. And those which in the behalfe of Soliman the emperour were sent to the emperour of Calicut, did so vex him at the heart that he did not onely utterly reject and scornfully refuse them, saying that neither himselfe nor his predecessors before him were accustomed to take any thing, and that their office was rather to give; but beside she caused the ambassadors, to that end sent unto him, to be cast into a deepe dungeon. When Thetis (smith Aristotle) flattereth Jupiter, when the Lacedemonians flatter the Athenians, they doe not thereby intend

to put them in minde of the good they have done them, which is ever hatefull, but of the benefits they have received of them. Those I see familiarly to employ and make use of all men, to begge and borrow of all men, and engage themselves to all men, would doubtlesse never doe it, knew they as I doe, or tasted they as I have done, the sweet content of a pure and undepending libertie, and if therewithall (as a wise man ought) they did duly ponder what it is for a man to engage himselfe into such an obligation, or libertie depriving bond. It may happily be paid sometimes, but it can never be utterly dissolved. It is a cruell bondage to him that loveth thoroughly and by all meanes to have the free scope of his libertie. Such as are best and most acquainted with me know whether ever they saw any man living lesse solliciting, lesse craving, lesse importuning or lesse begging then I am, or that lesse employeth or chargeth others, which if I be, and that beyond all moderne example, it is no great wonder, sithence so many parts of my humours or manners contribute thereunto. As a naturall kind of stubbornnesse, an impatience to be denied, a contraction of my desires and desseignes, and an insufficiencie or untowardnesse in all manner of affaires; but above all, my most favoured qualities, lethall sloathfulness, and a genuine liberty, by all which meanes I have framed an habite mortally to hate, to be beholding to any creature els, or to depend of other then unto and of my selfe. True it is, that before I employ the beneficence or liberality of an other, in any light or waightly occasion, small or urgent neede soever, I doe to the utmost power employ all that ever I am able to avoid and forbear it. My friends doe strangelic importune and molest me, when they sollicite and urge me to entreate a third man. And I deeme it a matter of no lesse charge and imputation to disingage him that is indebted unto me, by making use of him, then to engage my selfe unto him: that oweth me nothing. Both which conditions being removed, let them not looke for any combersome, negotious and carefull matter at my hands (for I have denounced open warre unto all manner of carke and care): I am commodiously easie and ready in times of any bodies necessitie, and I have also more avoyded to receive, then sought to give, which (as Aristotle saith) is also more facile. My fortune hath afforded me small meanes to benefit others, and that little she hath bestowed on me, the same hath she also meanely and indifferently placed. Had shee made mee to be so borne that I might have kept some ranke amongst men, I

would then have been ambitious in procuring to be beloved, but never to be feared or admired. Shall I expresse it more insolentlie? I would have had as much regard unto pleasing as unto profiting. Cyrus doth most wisely, and by the mouth of an excellent capitaine and also a better philosopher, esteeme his bountie and praise his good deedes farre beyond his valour and above his warlike conquests. And Scipio the elder, wheresoever he seeketh to prevaile and set forth himselfe, rateth his debonairtie and valueth his humanitie above his courage and beyond his victories, and hath ever this glorious saying in his mouth: "That hee hath left his enemies as much cause to love him as his friends." I will therefore say, that if a man must thus owe any thing, it ought to be under a more lawfull title then that whereof I speake, to which the law of this miserable warre doth engage me, and not of so great a debt, as that of my totall preservation and whole estate, which doth unrepairably over-whelme mee. I have a thousand times gone to bed in mine house, imagining I should the very same night either have beene betrayed or slaine in my bed; compounding and conditioning with fortune that it might be without apprehension of fearful astonishment and languishment; and after my prayers have cried out,

*Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?*¹
Shall these our grounds so deckt and drest,
By goddesse souldiers be possess't?

What remedie? It is the place where my selfe and most of my ancestors were borne: therein have they placed their affection and their name. Wee harden our selves unto whatsoever wee accustome ourselves. And to a wretched condition, as ours is, custome hath beene a most favourable present, given us by nature, which enureth and lulleth our sense asleepe to the suffering of divers evils. Civill warres have this one thing worse then other warres, to cause every one of us to make a watch-tower of his owne house.

*Quam miserum, porta vitam muroque tueri,
Visque suæ tutum viribus esse domus!*²

How hard with gate and wall our life to guard,
And scarce be safe in our owne houses hard?

It is an awesome extremitie for one to be troubled and pressed even in his owne household and domestical rest. The place wherein I dwell is ever both the first and last to the batterie of our troubles, and where peace is ever absolutely discerned.

Tunc quoque cum pax est, trophæos vidine belli?

Ev'n when in peace they are,
They quake for feare of warre.

— *quoties pacem fortuna lacessit,
Hæc iter est bellis, melius, fortuna, dedisses
Orbe sub Eo sedem, gelidæque sub Arcto,
errantesque domos.*³

As oft as fortune troubleth peace, their race
Warres makes this way: fortune with better
grace,
In th' Easterne world thou shouldst have
giv'n them place,
Or wandring tents for warre, under the cold
North Starre.

I sometimes draw the meanes to strengthen my selfe against these considerations, from carelesnesse and idlenesse, which also in some sort bring us unto resolution. It often befalleth me, with some pleasure, to imagine what mortall dangers are, and to expect them. I do even hood-winkt, with my head in my bosome and with stupiditie, plunge my selfe into death, without considering or knowing it, as into a deepe, hollow and bottomlesse abysses, which at one leape doth swallow me up, and at an instant doth cast me into an eternall slumber, full of insipiditie and indolencie. And in these short, sudden or violent deaths, the consequence I foresee of them affords me more comfort then the effect of feare. They say, that even as life is not, the best because it is long, so death is the best because it is short. I estrange not my selfe so much by being dead, as I enter into confidence with dying. I enwrap and shrowd my selfe in that storme which shall blinde and furiously wrap me with a ready and insensible charge. Yet if it hapned (as some gardners say) that those roses and violets are ever the sweeter and more odoriferous that grow neere unto garlike and onions, forsomuch as they sucke and draw all the ill savours of the ground unto them, so that these depraved natures would draw and sucke all the venome of mine aire and infection of my climate, and by their neerenesse unto me make me so much the better and purer, that I might not lose all. That is not, but of this, something may be, forsomuch as goodness is the fairer and more attracting when it is rare, and that contrarietie stineth and diversitie encloseth well doing in it selfe, and by the jealousie of opposition and glory it doth enflame it. Theeves and stealers (godamercie their kindness) have in particular nothing to say to me: no more have I to them. I should then have to do with over many sorts of men. Alike consciences lurke under divers kinds of garments, alike cruel-

¹ Virg. Eccl. l. 1.

² Ovid. Trist. l. iv. Elg. l. 69.

³ Lycan. l. i. 956.

⁴ Id. 1.

tie, disloyaltie and stealing. And so much the worse, by how much it is more base, more safe and more secret under the colour of lawes. I hate lesse an open-professed injurie then a deceiving traitorous wrong, an hostile and warlike then a peacefull and lawfull. Our feaver hath seized upon a body which it hath not much empai red. The fire was in it, but now the flame hath taken hold of it. The report is greater, the hurt but little. I ordinarily answer such as demand reasons for my voia ges: That I know what I shunne, but wot not what I seeke. If one tell mee there may be as little sound health amongst strangers, and that their manners are neither better nor purer then ours, I answer first, that it is very hard:

*Tam multa scelerum facies.*¹

The formes so manifold
Of wickednesse we hold.

Secondly, that it is ever a gaine to change a bad estate for an uncertaine. And that others evils should not touch us so neare as ours. I will not forget this, that I can never mutinie so much against France but I must needes looke on Paris with a favourable eye: it hath my hart from my infancy, whereof it hath befall me as of excellent things: the more other faire and stately cities I have seene since, the more hir beauty hath power and doth still usurpingly gaine upon my affection. I love that citie for her owne sake, and more in her onely subsisting and owne being then when it is full fraught and embellished with forraine pompe and borrowed garish ornaments: I love her so tenderly that even hir spotts, her blemishes and hir warts are deare unto me. I am no perfect Frenchman, but by this great matchlesse citie, great in people, great in regard of the felicitie of her situation; but above al, great and incomparable in varietie and diversitie of commodities: the glory of France, and one of the noblest and chiefe ornaments of the world. God of his mercy free hir, and chase away all our divisions from hir: being entirely united to hir selfe, I finde hir defended from all other violence. I forewarne hir, that of all factions, that shall be the worst which shall breed discord and sedition in hir. And for hir sake, I onely feare hir selfe. And surely I am in as great feare for hir as for any other part of our state. So long as she shall continue, so long shall I never want a home or retreat to retire and shrowd my selfe at all times: a thing able to make me forget the regret of all other retreates. Not because Socrates

hath said it, but because such is in truth my humour, and peradventure not without some excuse, to esteeme all men as my countrymen; and as I kindly embrace a Polonian as a Frenchman, postponing this naturall bond to universall and common. I am not greatly stricken with the pleasantnesse of naturall aire. Acquaintances altogether new and wholly mine doe in my conceit countervaille the worth of all other vulgar and casuall acquaintance of our neighbours. Friendships meerey acquired by our selves doe ordinarily exceed those to which wee are joynd either by communication of climate or affinity of blood. Nature hath placed us in the world free and unbound, wee imprison our selves into certaine streights, as the kings of Persia, who bound themselves never to drinke other water then of the river Choaspez, foolishly renouncing all lawfull right of use in all other waters, and for their regard dried up all the rest of the world. What Socrates did in his latter dayes, to deeme a sentence of banishment worse then a doome of death against himselfe, being of the mind I am now, I shall never be neither so base minded nor so strictly habituated in my country that I would follow him. The celesticall lives have divers images which I embrace more by estimation then by affection. And some too extraordinary, and so highly elevated, which because I am not able to conceive, I cannot embrace by estimation. This humor was very tenderly apprehended by him who deemed all the world to be his city. True it is he disdaind peregrinations, and had not much set his foote beyond the territory of Athens. What if he bewailed the mony his friend offred to lay out, to disingage his life, and refused to come out of prison, by the intercession of others, because he would not disobey the lawes in a time wherein they were otherwise so corrupted? These examples are of the first kind for me. Of the second there are others, which I could find in the very same man. Many of these rare examples exceed the power of my action; but some exceed also the force of my judgement. Besides these reasons, I deem travell to be a profitable exercise. The minde hath therein a continuall excitation, to marke things unknowne, and note new objects. And as I have often said: "I know no better schoole to fashion a man's life then necessarily to propose unto him the diversitie of so many other mens lives, customes, humors, and fantasies; and make him taste or apprehend one so perpetuall variety of our natures, shapes, or formes. Therein the body is neither absolutely idle nor wholly troubled, and

that moderate agitation doth put him into breath." My selfe, as crazed with the collicke as I am, can sit eight, yea sometimes ten houres on horse-backe, without wearinesse or tiring.

*Vires ultra sortemque senectas.*¹
Beyond strength ordinary,
Which old yeeres use to cary.

No weather is to me so contrary as the scorching heat of the parching sunne. For, these umbrels or riding canopies, which since the ancient Romans, the Italians use, doe more weary the armes then ease the head. I would faine-faine know what industry it was in the Persians, so anciently, and even in the infancy of luxuriousnesse (as Xenophon reporteth) to fanne themselves, and at their pleasures to make cold shades. I love rainy and dirty weather as duckes doe. The change either of aire or climate doth nothing distemper mee. All heavens are alike to me, I am never vexed or beaten, but with internall alterations, such as I produce my selfe, which surprise and possesse me least in times of way-fairing. It is a hard matter to make me resolve of any journey; but if I be once on the way, I hold out as long and as farre as another. I strive as much in small as I labour in great enterprises; and to prepare my selfe for a short journey or to visite a friend, as to undertake a farre set voiage. I have learnt to frame my journeyes after the Spanish fashion, all at once and outright, great and reasonable. And in extreme heats I travell at night, from sunne-set to sunne rising. The other fashion, confusedly and in haste to bait by the way and dine, especially in winter, when the daies are so short, is both troublesome for man and incommodious for horse. My jades are the better, and hold out longer. No horse did ever faile me that held out the first daies journey with me. I water them in all waters, and only take of their last watering, that before I come to mine inne they have way enough to beat their water. My slothfulness to rise in the morning alloweth such as follow mee sufficient leasure to dine before wee take horse. As for me, I never feed over-late: I commonly get an appetite
to otherwise: I am never hungry but at the table. Some complaineth that being married, and well stricken in yeeres, I have enured my selfe, and beene pleased to continue this exercise. They doe me wrong. The best time for a man to leave his house is when he hath so ordered and settled the same that it may continue

without him; and when he hath so disposed his affaires, that they may answere the ancient course and wonted forme. It is much more indiscretion, and an argument of want of judgement, to goe from home and leave no trusty guard in his house, and which for lacke of care may be slow or forgetfull in providing for such necessities as in your absence it may stand in need of. The most profitable knowledge and honourable occupation for a matron or mother of a familie is the occupation and knowledge of huswiferie. I see divers covetous, but few huswives. It is the mistresse-qualitye that all men should seeke after, and above all other endeavour to finde, as the onel dowry; that serveth either to ruine and overthrow, or to save and enrich our houses. Let no man speake to me of it; according as experience hath taught me, I require in a married woman the economicall vertue above all others. Wherein I would have her absolutely skilfull, since by my absence I commit the whole charge and bequeath the full government of my household to her.

I see (and that to my grieve) in divers houses the master or Goodman come home at noone all weary, dirty and dusty, with drudging and toiling about his businesse; when the mistresse or good-wife is either scarce up, or if shee bee, she is yet in her closet dressing, decking, smuggling, or trimming of her selfe. It is a thing onely fitting queenes or princes; whereof some doubt might be made. It is ridiculous that the idlenesse and unjust that the lithernesse of our wives should be fostered with our sweat and maintained by our travell. No man (as neere as I can) shall fortune to have a more free and more absolute use, or a more quiet and more liquid fruition of his goods then I have. If the husband bring matter, nature her selfe would have women to bring forme. Concerning duties of wedlocke-friendship, which some happily imagine to be interested or prejudiced by the husbands absence, I beleeve it not. Contrariwise, it is a kinde of intelligence that easily grows cold by an over-continual assistance, and decaieth by assiduitie; for to stand still at racke and manger breedeth a satietie. Every strange woman seemeth to us an honest woman, and all feele by experience that a continuall seeing one another cannot possibly represent the pleasure men take by parting and meeting againe. These interruptions fill mee with a new kinde of affection toward mine owne people, and yeeld me the use of my house more pleasing: vicissitude doth now and then en-earnest my minde toward one, and then toward another. I am not ignorant

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. vi. 114.

how true amitie hath armes long enough to embrace, to claspe and holde from one corner of the world unto another; namely in this, where is a continuall communication of offices that cause the obligation and revive the remembrance thereof. The Stoickes say that there is so great an affinitie and mutuall relation betwene wise men that he who dineth in France feedeth his companion in Ægypt; and if one of them doe but hold up his finger, where ever it bee, all the wise men disperced upon the habitable land feelee a kinde of aid thereby. Jovissance and possession appertaine chiefly unto imagination. It embraceth more earnestly and unnecessarily what she goeth to fetch, then what wee touch. Summon and count all your daily amusements, and you shall finde you are then furthest and most absent from your friend when he is present with you. His assistance releaseth your attention, and giveth your thoughts libertie at all times and upon every occasion to absent themselves; if I be at Rome, or any where else, I hold, I survey, and governe my house and the commodities which I have left about and in it. I even see my walles, my trees, my grasse, and my rents to stand, to grow, to decay, and to diminish, within an inch or two of that I should doe when I am at home.

Ante oculos errat domus, errat forma locorum.

My house is still before mine eyes,
There still the forme of places lies.

If we but only enjoy what we touch, farewell our crownes when they are in our coffers, and adiew to our children when they are abroad or a hunting; we would have them neerer. In the garden is it farre off? within halfe a daies journey? What, within ten leagues, is it farre or neere? If it be neere, what is eleven, twelve, or thirteene? and so step by step. Verely that woman who can prescribe unto her husband how many steps end that which is neere, and which step in number begins the distance she counts farre, I am of opinion that she stay him betwene both.

— *excludat furgia finis.*¹

Let the conclusion,
Exclude confusion.

*Utor permissis, caudaque pilos ut equino.
Paulatim vello: et demo unum, demo etiam unum.*

*Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acerui.*²

I use the grant, and plucke by one and one
The horse-taile haire, till when the bush is gone

I leave the Jade a curtail taile or none.

And let them boldly call for philosophy to

helps them. To whom some might reproach, since she neither discerneth the one nor other end of the joynt, betwene the overmuch and the little, the long and the short, the light and the heave, the neare and the farre, since she neither knows the beginning nor ending thereof, that she doth very uncertainly judge of the middle. *Resum natura nullam nobis dedit cognitionem finium*: "Nature hath afforded us no knowledge of her endes." Are they not yet wives and friendes of the deceased that are not at the end of this, but in the other world? Wee embrace both those that have beene, and those which are not yet, not only the absent. We did not condition when we were married, continually to keepe our selves close hugging one another as some, I wot not what little creatures doe we see daily; or as those bewitched people of Karenti, in a kinde of dogged manner. And a woman should not have her eyes so greedily or so dotingly fixed on hir husband's forepart, that if neede shall require she may not view his hinder parts. But might not the saying of that cunning painter, who could so excellently set forth their humours and pourtray their conditions, fitly bee placed heere, lively to represent the cause of their complaints?

*Uxor, si cessas, aut te amare cogitat,
Aut te amari, aut polari, aut animo obsequi,
Et tibi bene esse soli, cum sibi sit male.*³

If you be slow, your wife thinks that in love you are,

Or are belov'd, or drinke, or all for pleasure care,

And that you only fare well when she ill doth fare.

Or might it be that opposition and contradiction doe naturally entertaine, and of themselves nourish them; and that they are sufficiently accommodated, provided they disturbe and incommode you? In truly-perfect friendship, wherein I presume to have some skill and well-grounded experience, I give myselfe more unto my friend than I draw him unto me. I doe not only rather love to do him good, then he should doe any to me, but also that he should rather doe good unto himselfe then unto me; for then doth he me most good when he doth it to himselfe. And if absence be either pleasing or beneficiall unto him, it is to me much more pleasing then his presence; and that may not properly be termed absence where meanes and waies may be found to enter-advertise one another. I have heeretofore made good use and reaped commoditie by our absence and distance. Wee better replenished the bene-

¹ HOR. l. ii. *Epist.* i. 38.

² Id. 45.

³ TER. *Adelph.* act i. sc. 1.

fit and extended further the possession of life by being divided and farre asunder. He lived, he rejoiced, and he saw for me and I for him, as fully as if he had beene present; being together, one partie was idle; we confounded one another. The separation of the place made the conjunction of our mindes and wills the richer. This insatiate and greedy desire of corporal presence doth somewhat accuse the weakness in the jouissance of soules. Concerning age, which some allege against me, it is cleane contrary. It is for youth to subject and bondage itselfe to common opinions, and by force to constraîne itselfe for others. It may fit the turne of both the people and itselfe: we have but overmuch to do with ourselves alone. According as natural commodities faile us, let us sustaine ourselves by artificiall meanes. It is injustice to excuse youth in following her pleasures, and forbid age to devise and seeke them. When I was yong I concealed my wanton and covered my youthfull passions with wit; and now being aged, I endeavour to passe the sadde and incident to yeeres with sport and debauches. Yet doe Platoes lawes forbid men to travell abroad before they are forty or fifty yeares of age, that so their travell may sort more profitable and proove more instructive. I should more willingly consent to this other second article of the said lawes, which forbiddeth men to wander abroad after they are once threescore, of which age few that travell farre journies returne home againe. What care I for that? I undertake it not either to returne or to perfect the same. I onely undertake it to be in motion, so long as the motion pleaseth me, and I walke that I may walke. Those runne not that runne after a benefice or after a hare; but they runne that runne at barriers and to exercise their running. My dessigne is everywhere divisible, it is not grounded on great hopes: each day makes an end of it. Even so is my lifes voiage directed. Yet have I seene divers farre countries where I would have beene glad to have beene staied—why not? If Chrysippus, Diogenes, Cleanthes, Antipater, and Zeno, with so many other wise men of that roughly-severe and severely-strict sect, forsooke their countries (without just cause to be offended with them), onely to enjoy another aire? Truly the greatest grieve of my peregrinations is, that I cannot have a firme resolution to establish my abiding where I would. And that I must ever resolve with myselfe to returne for to accommodate myselfe unto common humors. If I should feare to die in any other place

than where I was borne, if I thought I should die lesse at my ease farre from mine owne people, I would hardly goe out of France; nay, I should scarcely goe out of mine owne parish without feeling some dismay. I feeble death ever pinching me by the throat or pulling me by the backe. But I am of another mould; to me it is ever one, and at all times the same. Nevertheless, if I were to chuse, I thinke it should rather be on horsebacke than in a bed, from my home and farre from my friends. There is more harts-sorrow than comfort in taking ones last farewell of his friends. I doe easily forget or neglect these duties or complements of our common or civill courtesie. For, of offices appertaining to unaffected amitie, the same is the most displeasing and offensive; and I should as willingly forget to give a body that great adieu or eternall farewell. If a body reape any commoditie by this assistance, he also findes infinite inconveniences in it. I have seene divers die most piteously, compassed and beset round with their friends and servants; such multitudes and thronging of people doth stifle them. It is against reason and a testimony of smal affection, and little care they have that you should die at rest. One offendeth your eies, another molesteth your eares, the third vexeth your mouth; you have neither sense nor limme, or parte of your body, but is tormented and grieved. Your hart is ready to burst for pittie to heare your friends moanes and complaints, and to rive asunder with spite to heare peradventure some of their wallings and moanes that are but fained and counterfet. If a man have ever had a milde or tender nature, being weake and readie to die, he must then necessarily have it more tender and relenting. It is most requisite that in so urgent a necessitie one have a gentle hand, and fitly applied to his senses, to scratch him where he itcheth, or else he ought not be clawed at all. If wee must needs have the helpe of a midwife to bring us into this world, there is reason we should also have the aiding-hand of a wise man to deliver us out of the same. Such a one, and therewithall a true friend, should a man before-hand purchase very deare, only for the service of such an occasion. I am not yet come to that disdainfull vigor which so fortifieth itselfe that at such times nothing aideth nor nothing troubleth; I flie a lower pitch. I seeke to squat myselfe and steale from that passage, not by feare, but by art. My intent is not in such an action to make either triall or shew of my constancy. Wherefore? Because then shall the right and interest I have in reputation cease. I

am content with a death united in itself, quiet and solitarie, wholly mine, convenient to my retired and private life. Cleane contrary to the Roman superstition, where he was judged unhappy that died without speaking, and had not his nearest friends to close his eyes. I have much adoe to comfort myselfe, without being troubled to comfort others; cares and vexations enow in my minde without needing circumstances to bring me new; and sufficient matter to entertaine myselfe without borrowing any. This share belongs not to the part of societie; it is the act of one man alone. Let us live, laugh and be merry amongst our friends, but die and yeeld up the ghost amongst strangers and such as we know not. He who hath money in his purse shall ever finde some ready to turne his head, make his bedde, rubbe his feet, attend him, and that will trouble and importune him no longer than hee list, and will ever shew him an indifferent and well-composed countenance, and without grumbling or grudging give a man leave to do what he please, and complaine as he list. I dayly endeavour by discourse to shake off this childish humour and inhumane conceit, which causeth that by our griefes and paines we ever desire to movee our friends to compassion and sorrow for us, and with a kinde of sympathy to condole our miseries and passions. We endeare our inconveniences beyond measure to exact teares from them; and the constancy we so much commend in all others, undauntedly to endure all evill fortune, we accuse and upbraid to our nearest allies when they molest us; we are not contented they should have a sensible feeling of our calamities if they doe not also afflict themselves for them. A man should, as much as he can, set forth and extend his joy, but to the utmost of his power suppress and abridge his sorrow. He that will causelesly be moaned and sans reason, deserveth not to be pitied when he shall have cause and reason for it. To be ever complaining and alwaies moaning is the way never to be moaned and seldome to be pitied; and so often to seeme over passionately pitifull is the meane to make no man feelingly ruthfull towards others. He that makes himselfe dead, being alive, is subject to be counted alive when he is dying. I have seene some take pepper in the nose, forsomuch as they were told that they had a cheerefull countenance, that they looked well, that they had a temperate pulse; to force laughter because some betrayed their recovery, and hate their health because it was not regrettable. And which is more, they were no women. I for the

most represent my infirmities such as they are, and shunne such words as are of evill presage, and avoid composed exclamations. If not glee and mirth, at least an orderly-settled countenance of the bystanders and assistants is sufficiently convenient to a wise and discreet sicke man, who, though he see himselfe in a contrary state, he will not pick a quarrell with health. He is pleased to behold the same sound and strong in others, and at least for company sake to enjoy his part of it. Though he feele and finde himselfe to faint and sinke downe, he doth not altogether reject the conceits and imaginations of life, nor doth he avoid common entertainements. I will studie sicknesses when I am in health, when it comes it will really enough make her impression without the helpe of my imagination. We deliberately prepare ourselves beforehand for any voiage we undertake, and therein are resolved; the houre is set when he will take horse, and we give it to our company in whose favour we extend it. I finde this unexpected profit by the publication of my manners, that in some sort it serveth me for a rule. I am sometimes surprised with this consideration not to betray the history of my life. This publike declaration bindes me to keepe myselfe within my course, and not to contradict the image of my conditions, commonly lesse disfigured and gairesaid then the malignitie and infirmities of moderne judgements doth beare. The uniformitie and singlenesse of my manners produceth a visage of easie interpretation; but because the fashion of them is somewhat new and strange, and out of use, it giveth to detraction faire play. Yet is it true, that to him who will goe about loyally to injure me, me thinks I doe sufficiently afford matter whereby he may detract and snarle at my avowed and known imperfections, and wherewith hee may be satisfied, without vaine contending and idle skirmishing. If my selfe by preoccupating his discovery and accusation hee thinks I barre him of his snarling, it is good reason hee take his right towards amplification and extension. Offence hath her rights beyond justice, and that the vices whereof I shew him the rootes in mee, hee should amplifie them to trees, let him not only employ thereunto those that possesse mee, but those which but threaten me. Injurious vices, both in qualitie and in number. Let him beate me that way. I should willingly embrace the example of Dion the Philosopher. Antigonus going about to scoffe and quip at him touching his birth and offspring, he interrupted him and tooke the worde out of his mouth: "I am" (said hee)

"the sonne of a bond slave, a butcher, branded for a rogue, and of a whoore, whom my father by reason of his base fortune tooke to wife. Both were punished for some misdeede. Being a childe, an orator bought me as a slave, liking me for my beautie and comelinesse; and dying, left mee all his goods; which having transported into this cite of Athens, I have applied my selfe unto philosophy. Let not historians busie themselves in seeking newes of mee; I will at large blazon my selfe, and plainly tell them the whole discourse." A generous and free-minded confession doth disable a reproch and disarm an injurie. So it is, that when all cards be told, me seemes that I am as oft commended as dispraised beyond reason. As also me thinks, that even from my infancie, both in ranke and degree of honour, I have had place given me, rather above and more than lesse and beneath that which appertained to me. I should better like to be in a countrie where these orders might either be reformed or contemned. Among men, after that striving or altercation for the prerogative or upper hand in going or sitting exceedeth three replies, it becommeth incivill. I neither feare to yeeld and give place, nor to follow and proceed unjustly, so I may avoid such irkesome and importunate contestations. And never did man desire precedencie or place before me, but I quitted the same without grudging. Besides the profit I reape by writing of my selfe, I have hoped for this other, that if ever it might happen my humours should please or sympathize with some honest man, he would before my death seeke to be acquainted with me, or to overtake mee. I have given him much ground! For whatsoever a long acquaintance or continuall familiarity might have gained him in many wearisome yeares, the same hath hee in three dayes fully seene in this register, and that more safely and more exactly. A pleasant fantazie is this of mine, many things I would be loath to tell a particular man, I utter to the whole world; and concerning my most secret thoughts and inward knowledge, I send my dearest friends to a stationers shop.

*Excutienda damus præcordia.*¹

Our very entrailes wee
Lay forth for you to see.

If by so good markes and tokens I had ever known or heard of any one man that in this humour had bene answerable to me, I would assuredly have wandred very farre to finde him out; for the exceeding joy of

a sortable, and in one consent agreeing company, cannot (in mine opinion) be sufficiently endeared or purchased at too high a rate. Oh God! who can expresse the value or conceive the true worth of a friend? How true is that ancient golden saying, that the use of a friend is more necessary and pleasing then of the elements water and fire. But to returne to my former discourse. There is, then, no greater inconvenience in dying farre from home and abroad. Wee esteeme it a part of duty and decencie to withdraw ourselves for naturall actions lesse hideous and lesse disgracefull than this. But also those that come unto that in languishing manner to draw along space of life should not happily wish with their miserie to trouble a whole familie. Therefore did the Indians of a certaine countrie deeme it just and lawfull to kill him that should fall into such necessity. And in another of their provinces they thought it meet to forsake him, and as well as hee could, leave him alone to seeke to save himselfe. To whom at last prove they not themselves tedious and intolerable? Common offices proceed not so farre. Perforce you teach cruelty unto your best friends, obdurate by long use both wife and children, not to feele, nor to conceive, nor to moane your evils any longer. The groanes and outcries of my chollicke cause no more ruth and wailing in my body. And should we conceive pleasures by their conversation (which seldome hapneth, by reason of the disparitie of conditions, which easily produceth either contempt or envy towards what man soever) is it not too-too much therewith to abuse a whole age? The more I should see them with a good heart to straine themselves for me, the more should I bewaile their paine. The law of curtesie alloweth us to leane upon others, but not so unmanerly to lie upon them and underprop ourselves in their ruine; as he who causeth little infants, to be slaine, that with their innocent blood he might be cured of a malady he had; or another, who was continually stored with young tendrels or lasses to keepe his old frozen limbs warme at nights, and exterminx the sweetnesse of their breath with his old-stinking and offensive vapours. Decrepitude is a solitary quality. I am sociable even unto excesse, yet doe I thinke it reasonable at last to subtract my opportunity from the sight of the world, and hate it in my selfe. Let me shrowd and shrugge my selfe into my shell as a tortoise, and learne to see men without taking hold of them. I should outrage them in so steepe a passage. It is now high time to turne from the company. But

¹ PERS. *Sat.* v. 22.

here will some say that in these farre journes you may penulventure fall into some miserable dog-hole or poore cottage, where you shall want all needfull things. To whom I answer, that for things most necessary in such cases I ever carry most of them with me : and that whereever wee are wee cannot possibly avoid fortune if she once take upon her to persecute us. When I am sicke I want nothing that is extraordinary ; what nature cannot worke in me I will not have a bolus or a glister to effect. At the very beginning of my agues or sicknesses that cast me downe, whilst I am yet whole in my senses and neere unto health, I reconcile myselfe to God by the last duties of a Christian, whereby I finde myselfe free and discharged, and thinke I have so much more reason and authority over my sickness. I finde lesse want of notaries and counsell then of physicians. What I have not disposed of my affaires or settled of my state when I was in perfect health, let none expect I should doe it being sicke. Whatever I will doe for the service of death is alwayes ready done. I dare not delay it one only day. And if nothing be done it is as much to say that either some doubt hath delaide the choice, for sometimes it is a good choice not to chuse at all ; or that absolutely I never intended to doe anything. I write my booke to few men and to few yeares. Had it beene a matter of lasting continuance, it should have beene compiled in a better and more polished language ; according to the continuall variation that hitherto hath followed our French tongue, who may hope that its present forme shall be in use fifty yeares hence ? It dayly changerth and slips our hands : and since I could speake the same it is much altdred and wellnigh halfe varied. We say it is now come to a full perfection. There is no age but saith as much of hirs. It lies not in my power, so long as it glideth and differeth and altereth as it doth, to keepe it at a stay. It is for excellent and profitable compositions to fasten it unto them, whose credit shall either diminish or encrease according to the fortune of our state. For all that I feare not to insert therein divers private articles, whose use is consumed amongst men living now adayes, and which concerne the particular knowledge of some that shall further see into it, then with a common understanding. When al is done, I would not (as I often see the memory of the deceased tossed to and fro) that men should descant and argue, thus and thus he judged, thus he lived, thus he meant ; had he spoken when his life left him, he would have given I wot what ; there is no man

knew him better than myselfe. Now, as much as modestie and decorum doth permit me, I here give a taste of any inclinations and an essay of my affections, which I doe more freely and more willingly by word of mouth to any that shall desire to be thoroughly informed of them. But so it is, that if any man shall look into these memorials, he shall finde that either I have said all or desseigned all. What I cannot expresse, the same I point at with my finger.

*Verum animo satis hac vestigia parva sagaci
Sunt, per quæ possis cognoscere cætera tute.*¹

But this small footing to a quicke-sent minde
May serve whereby safely the rest to finde.

I leave nothing to be desired or divined of mee. If one should entertaine himselfe with them, I would have it to be truly and justly. I would willingly come from the other world to give him the lie that should frame me other then I had beene ; were it he meant to honour mee, I see that of the living men never speake according to truth, and they are ever made to be what they are not ; and if with might and maine I had not upheld a friend of mine whom I have lately lost, he had surely beene mangled and torne in a thousand contrary shapes. But to make an end of my weake humours, I confesse that in travelling I seldome alight in any place or come to any inne, but first of all I cast in my minde whether I may conveniently lie there, if I should chauce to fall sicke, or dying, die at my ease and take my death quietly. I will as nere as I can be lodged in some convenient parte of the house, and in particular from all noise or stinking savours ; in no close, filthy, or smoaky chamber. I seeke to flatter death by these frivolous circumstances ; or, as I may rather say, to discharge my selfe from all other trouble or encombrance, that so I may wholly apply and attend her, who without that shall haply lie very heavy upon me. I will have her take a full share of my lives eases and commodities ; it is a great part of it and of much consequence, and I hope it shall not belie what is past. Death hath some formes more easie then others, and assumeth divers qualities according to all mens fantasies. Among the naturall ones, that proceeding of weaknesse and heavy dullnesse, to me seemeth gentle and pleasant. Among the violent I imagine a precipice more hardly then a ruine that overwhelmes me, and a cutting blow with a sword then a shot of an harquebuse ; and I would rather have chosen to drinke the potion of Socrates,

then wound my selfe as Cato did. And though it be all one, yet doth my imagination perceive a difference, as much as is between death and life. to cast my selfe into a burning furnace or in the channell of a shallow river; so toolishly doth our feare respect more the meane then the effect. It is but one instant, but of such moment that to passe the same according to my desire, I would willingly renounce many of my lives dayes. Since all mens iantazies finde either excesse or diminution in her sharpnesse, since every man hath some choice betweene the formes of dying, let us trie a little further whether we can finde out some one free from all sorrow or grieft. Might not one also make it seeme voluptuous, as did those who died with Antonie and Cleopatra? I omit to speake of the sharpe and exemplar efforts that philosophy and religion produce. But amongst men of no great fame some have beene found (as one Petronius and one Tigellinus at Rome) engaged to make themselves away who by the tendernes of their preparations have in a manner lulled the same asleepe. They have made it passe and glide away even in the midst of the security of their accustomed pastimes and wanton recreations. Amongst harlots and good fellows no speech of comfort, no mention of will or testament, no ambitious affectation of constancie, no discourse of their future condition, no compunction of sinnes committed, no apprehension of their soules-health, ever troubling them, amid sports, playes, banquetting, surfeting, chambering, jesting, musicke, and singing of amorous verses, and all such popular and common entertainements. Might not wee imitate this manner of resolution in more honest affaires and mote commendable attempts? And since there are deaths good unto wise men and good unto fooles, let us find some one that may be good unto such as are betweene both. My imagination presents me some easie and milde countenance thereof, and (since we must all die) to bee desired. The tyrants of Rome have thought they gave that criminall offender his life to whom they gave the free choice of death. But Theophrastus, a philosopher so delicate, so modest, and so wise, was he not forced by reason to dare to utter this verse, latinized by Cicero:

*Vitam regit fortuna non sapientia.*¹

Fortune our life doth rule,
Not wisdom of the schoole.

Fortune giveth the facilitie of my lives

condition some aide, having placed it in such a time wherein it is neither needfull nor combersome unto my people. It is a condition I would have accepted in all the seasons of my age, but in this occasion to trusse up bag and baggage and take up my bed and walke. I am particularly pleased that when I shall die, I shall neither breede pleasure nor cause sorrow in them. Shee hath caused (which is the recompence of an artist) that such as by my death may pretend any materiall benefit, receive thereby elsewhere jointly a materiall losse and hinderance. Death lies sometimes heave upon us, in that it is burthensome to others; and interesteth us with their interest almost as much as with ours, and sometimes more; yea altogether. In this inconveniency of lodging that I seeke, I neither intermix pompe nor amplitude; for I rather hate it. But a certaine simple and humble proprietie, which is commonly found in places where lesse arte is, and that nature honoureth with some grace peculiar unto her selfe. *Non ampliter sed munditer convivium. Plus salis quam sumptus*: "Not a great, but a neat feast. More conceit than cost."

And then it is for those who by their urgent affaires are compelled to travell in the midst of deepe winter, and amongst the Grisons, to be surprized, by such extremities in their journies. But I, who for the most part never travel but for pleasure, will neither bee so ill-advised nor so simply guided. If the way be foule on my right hand, I take the left. If I find my selfe ill at ease or unfit to ride, I stay at home. Which doing, and observing this course, in very truth I see no place and come nowhere that is not as pleasant as convenient, and as commodious as mine owne house. True it is that I ever find superfluitie superfluous, and observe a kind of troublesomenesse in delicatenesse and plenty. Have I omitted or left anything behind me that was worth the seeing? I returne backe, it is ever my way, I am never out of it. I trace no certaine line, neither right nor crooked. Comming to any strange place, finde I not what was told mee? As it often fortuneth that others judgements agree not with mine, and have most times found them false, I grieve not at my labour; I have learned that what was reported to bee there is not. I have my bodies complexion as free and my taste as common as any man in the world. The diversity of fashions betweene one and other nations concerneth me nothing, but by the varieties pleasure.

¹ CIC. *TUSC. QN.* . v. Theoph. Calisth.

¹ PLAUTIN.

Each custome hath his reason. Bee the trenchers or dishes of wood, of pewter, or of earth; bee my meate boyled, roasted, or baked; butter or oyle, and that of olives or of walnuts, hot or colde, I make no difference, all is one to me. And as one that is growing old, I accuse the generous facultie, and had need that delicatenesse and choise should stay the indiscretion of my appetite, and sometime ease and solace my stomacke. When I have beene out of France, and that to do me curtesie some have asked me whether I would be served after the French maner, I have jested at them, and have ever thrust in amongst the thickest tables and fullest of strangers. I am ashamed to see our men besotted with this foolish humor, to fret and chafe when they see any fashions contrary to theirs. They thinke themselves out of their element when they are out of their village. Where ever they come they keepe their owne country fashions, and hate, yea and abhorre all strange manners. Meet they a countryman of theirs in Hungary, they feast that good fortune. And what doe they? Marry close and joyne together, to blame, to condemne, and to scorne so many barbarous fashions as they see. And why not barbarous since not French? Nay, happily they are the better sort of men that have noted and so much exclaimed against them. Most take going out but for coming home. They travell close and covered, with a silent and incommunicable wit, defending themselves from the contagion of some unknowne ayre. What I speake of such puts mee in minde of the like matter of that I have heretofore perceived in some of your young courtiers. They onely converse with men of their coate, and with disdain or pittie looke upon us as if we were men of another world. Take away their new fangled, mysterious, and affected courtly compliments, and they are out of their byase. As farre to seeke and short of us as we of them. That saying is true, that an honest man is a man compounded. Cleane contrary, I travell fully glutt with our fashions; not to seeke Gaskoines in Sicillie, I have left over many at home. I rather seeke for Græcians and Persians. Those I accost, them I consider, and with such I endeavour to be acquainted; to that I prepare and therein I employ myselfe. And which is more, me seemeth I have not met with many manners that are not worth ours. Indeed I have not waded farre, scarcely have I lost the sight of our chimnies. Moreover, most of the casuall companies you meete withall by the way have more incommodity than pleasure, a matter I doe not

greatly take hold of, and lesse now that age doth particularize and in some sort sequester me from common formes. You suffer for others, or others endure for you. The one inconvenience is yrkesome, the other troublesome, but yet the last is (in my conceipt) more rude. It is a rare chance and seld-seene fortune, but of exceeding solace and inestimable worth, to have an honest man of singular experience, of a sound judgement, of a resolute understanding and constant resolution, and of manners conformable to yours, to accompany or follow you with a good will. I have found great want of such a one in all my voyages. Which company a man must seeke with discretion and with great heed obtaine before he wander from home. With me no pleasure is fully delightsome without communication, and no delight absolute except imparted. I doe not so much as apprehend one rare conceipt, or conceive one excellent good thought in my minde, but me thinks I am much grieved and grievously perplexed to have produced the same alone and that I have no sympathizing companion to impart it unto. *Si cum hac exceptione datur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam, nec euntem, reiiciam:* "If wisdom should be offered with this exception, that I should keep it concealed and not utter it, I would refuse it." The other strained it one note higher. *Si contigerit ea vita sapientis, ut omnium rerum affluentibus copiis, quamvis omnia, quæ cognitione digna sunt, summo otio secum ipse consideret et contempletur; tamen si solitudo tanta sit, ut hominem videre non possit, excedat & vita:* "If a wise man might lead such a life, as in abundance of all things hee may in full quiet contemplate and consider all things worthy of knowledge, yet if he must be so solitary as he may see no man, he should rather leave such a life." Architas his opinion is suitable to mine, which was that it would be a thing unpleasant to the very heavens, and distastefull to man, to survey and walke within those immense and divine and celestial bodies, without the assistance of a friend or companion; yet is it better to be alone than in tedious and foolish company. Aristippus loved to live as an alien or stranger everywhere:

*Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
Auspicium,*³

If fates would me permit
To live as I thinke fit,

I should chuse to weare out my life with my bum in the saddle, ever riding,

¹ Cic. Off. l. ii.

² Virg. Æn. l. iv. 339.

— *visere gessiens,
Qua parte debacchantur ignes,
Qua nebula pluviiq; rores.*¹

Delighting much to goe and see
Where fiery heats rage furiously,
Where clouds and rainy dews most be.

Have you not more easie pastimes?
What is your want? Is not your house
well seated, and in a good and wholesome
ayre; sufficiently furnished and more then
sufficiently capable? His Royall Majesty
hath in great state beene in the same, and
more then once taken his repast there.
Doth not your family in rule and govern-
ment leave many more inferior to hir then
above hir eminency? Is there any locall
thought or care that as extraordinary doth
ulcerate, or as indigestible doth molest
you?

*Qua te nunc cognat et vixet sub pectore fixa.*²

Which now boyles in thy breast,
And lets thee take no rest.

Where doe you imagine you may bee
without empeachment or disturbance?
Nunquam simpliciter fortuna indulget:
"Fortune never favours fully without ex-
ception." You see then there is none but
you that trouble and busie yourself: and
everywhere you shall follow yourself, and
in all places you shall complaine. For
here below there is no satisfaction or con-
tent, except for brutall or divine mindes.
He who in so just an occasion hath no
content, where doth he imagine to finde it?
Unto how many thousands of men does
such a condition as yours bound and stay
the limits of their wishes? Reforme but
yourselfe, by that you may doe all; whereas
towards fortune you have no right or
interest but patience. *Nulla placida quies
est, nisi quam ratio composuit.*³ "There is
no pleasing settled rest, but such as reason
hath made up." I see the reason of this
advertisement, yea I perceive it wel. But
one should sooner have done, and more
pertinently, in one bare word to say unto
me, be wise. This resolution is beyond
wisedome. It is hir worke, and her pro-
duction. So doth the physician that is ever
crying to a languishing, heart-broken sick
man, that he be merry and pull up a good
heart; he should lesse foolishly perswade
him if he did but bid him to be healthy;
as for me, I am but a man of the common
stamp. It is a certaine sound and of easie
understanding precept: be content with
your owne, that is to say, with reason,
the execution whereof notwithstanding is no

more in the wiser sort than in my selfe: it
is a popular word, but it hath a terrible
far-reaching extension. What comprehends
it not? All things fall within the compasse
of discretion and modification. Well I wot
that being taken according to the bare
letter, the pleasure of travell brings a testi-
mony of unquietnesse and irresolution,
which, to say truth, are our mistresse and
predominant qualities. Yea, I confesse it: I
see nothing, bee it but a dreame or by
wishing, whereon I may take hold. Onely
varietie and the possession of diversitie doth
satisfie me, if at least anything satisfie mee.
In travell this doth nourish mee, that
without interest I may stay myselfe; and
that I have means commodiously to divert
myselfe from it. I love a private life be-
cause it is by mine owne choice that I love
it, not by a diffidence or disagreeing from a
publike life, which peradventure is as much
according to my complexion. I thereby
serve my prince more joyfully and genuinely
because it is by the free election of my
judgement and by my reason, without any
particular obligation. And that I am not
cast or forced thereunto, because I am unfit
to be received of any other, or am not
beloved, so of the rest. I hate those mors-
els that necessitie doth carve mee. Every
commoditie of which alone I were to depend,
should ever hold me by the throat:

*Alter remus aquas, alter mihi radat arenas.*⁴

Let me cut waters with one oare,
With th' other shave the sandie shoare.

One string alone can never sufficiently
hold me. You will say there is vanitie in
this amusement. But where not? And
these goodly precepts are vanitie, and meeke
vanitie is all worldly wisedome. *Dominus
novit cogitationes sapientum, quoniam vane
sunt.*⁵ "The Lord knows the thoughts of
the wise that they are vaine." Such exqui-
site subtilities are onely fit for sermons.
They are discourses that will send us into
the other world on horsebacke. Life is a
materiall and corporall motion, an action
imperfect and disordered by its owne
essence; I employ or apply myselfe to
serve it according to itselfe.

*Quisque suos patimur manes.*⁶

All of us for our merit,
Have some attending spirit.

*Sic est faciendum, ne contra naturam
universam nihil contendamus, ea tamen
conservata, propriam sequamur.*⁶ "We

¹ HOR. *Car.* l. iii. *Od.* iii. 54:

² ENN. *Cic. Senect.*

³ SEN. *Epist.* l vi. m.

⁴ PROPERT. l. iii. *Eleg.* ii. 23.

⁵ PS. xciii. 11. ⁶ VIRG. *Æn.* l. vi. 743.

⁶ CIC. *Off.* l. i.

must so worke as we endeavour nothing against nature in generall, yet so observe it as we follow our owne in speciall." To what purpose are these heaven-looking and nice points of Philosophie, on which no human being can establish and ground itselfe? And to what end serve these rules that exceed our use and excell our strength? I often see that there are certaine ideas or formes of life proposed unto us, which neither the proposer nor the auditors have any hope at all to follow, and which is worse, no desire to attaine. Of the same paper whereon a judge writ but even now the condemnation against an adulterer, hec will teare a scantlin thereon to write some love-lines to his fellow-judges wife. The same woman from whom you came lately, and with whom you have committed that unlawfull-pleasing sport, will soone after, even in your presence, raile and scold more bitterly against the same fault in her neighbour than ever Portia or Lucrece could. And some condemne men to die for crimes that themselves esteeme no faults. I have in my youth seen a notable man with one hand to present the people most excellent and well-written verses, both for invention and extreme licentiousness, and with the other hand, at the same instant, the most sharpe-railling reformation, according to divinitie, that happily the world hath scene these many-many yeeres. Thus goes the world, and so goe men. We let the lawes and precepts follow their way, but wee keepe another course; not onely by disorder of manners, but often by opinion and contrary judgement. Heare but a discourse of philosophy read, the invention, the eloquence and the pertinencie, doth presently tickle your spirit and moove you. There is nothing tickleth or pricketh your conscience; it is not to her that men speake. Is it not true? Ariston said that neither bath nor lecture are of any worth, except the one wash cleane and the other cleanse all filth away. One may busie himselfe about the barke when once the pith is gotten out, as when we have drunke off the wine we consider the graving and workmanship of the cuppe. In all the parts of ancient philosophie this one thing may be noted, that one same workman publisheth some rules of temperance, and therewithall some compositions of love and licentiousnesse. And Xenophon in Clinias bosome writ against the Aristippian vertue. It is not a miraculous conversion that so doth wave and holl them to and fro. But it is that Solon doth sometimes represent himselfe in his owne colours, and sometimes in

forme of a law-giver; now he speaketh for the multitude and now for himselfe, and takes the free and naturall rules to himselfe; warranting himselfe with a constant and perfect soundnesse.

*Curentur dubii medicis majoribus acri.*¹

Let patients in great doubt,
Seeke great Physitians out.

Antisthenes alloweth a wise man to love and doe what he list, without respect of lawes, especially in things he deemeth needfull and fit; forasmuch as he hath a better understanding than they, and more knowledge of vertue. His disciple Diogenes said: To perturbations we should oppose reason, to fortune confidence, and to lawes nature; to dainty and tender stomachs constrained and artificiall ordinances. Good stomachs are simply served with the prescriptions of their naturall appetite. So do our phisitians, who, whilst they tie their patients to a strict diet of a panada or a sirope, feed themselves upon a melone, dainty fruits, much good meat, and drinke all maner of good wine. I wot not what bookes are, nor what they meane by wisdom and philosophy (quoth the courtesan Laïs), but sure I am those kinds of people knocke as often at my gates as any other men. Because our licentiousnesse transports us commonly beyond what is lawfull and allowed, our lives precepts and lawes have often been wrested or restrained beyond universall reason.

*Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum, Permittas.*²

No man thinks it enough so farre 't offend
As you give lawfull leave (and there to end).

It were to be wished there were a greater proportion betweene commandement and obedience; and unjust seemeth that ayme or goale whereto one cannot possibly attaine. No man is so exquisitely honest or upright in living but brings all his actions and thoughts within compasse and danger of the lawes, and that ten times in his life might not lawfully be hanged. Yea happily such a man as it were pitty and dangerously hurtfull to loose and most unjust to punish him.

— Ole, quid ad te,

*De cute quid faciat ille, vel illa sua;*³

Foole, what hast thou to doe, what he or she
With their owne skinnies or themselves doing
bee?

And some might never offend the lawes,
that notwithstanding should not deserve the

¹ Juv. Sat. xiii. 124.

² Ib. xiv. 233.

³ MART. l. vii. Epig. i

commendations of vertuous men, and whom philosophy might meritoriously and justly cause to be whipped; so troubled, dimme-sighted and partial is this relation. Wee are farre enough from being honest according to God, for wee cannot be such according to ourselves. Humane wisdom could never reach the duties or attaine the deuoirs it had prescribed unto itselfe. And had it at any time attained them, then would it doubtlesse prescribe some others beyond them, to which it might ever aspire and pretend; so great an enemy is our condition unto consistence. Man doth necessarily ordaine unto himselfe to bee in fault. Hee is not very crafty to measure his duty by the reason of another being than his owne. To whom prescribes he that which hee expects no man will performe? Is he unjust in not doing that which he cannot possibly achieve? The lawes which condemne us not to be able, condemne us for that we cannot performe. If the worst happen, this deformed liberty for one to present himselfe in two places, and the actions after one fashion, the discourses after another, is lawfull in them which report things. But it cannot be in them that acknowledge themselves as I doe. I must walke with my penne as I goe with my feete. The common highway must haue conference with other wayes. Catoes vertue was vigorous beyond the reason of the age he lived in, and for a man that entemedled with governing other men destinated for the common service, it might be said to haue bene a justice; if not unjust, at least vaine and out of season. Mine owne manners, which scarce disagree one inch from those now current, make me notwithstanding in some sort strange, uncouth and unsociable to my age. I wot not, whether it be without reason, I am so distasted and out of liking with the world wherein I live and frequent; but well I know I should haue small reason to complaine, the world were distasted and out of liking with me, since I am so with it. The vertue assigned to the worlds affaires, it is a vertue with sundry byases, turnings, bendings and elbows, to apply and joyne itselfe to humane imbecillitie, mixed and artificiall; neither right, pure or constant, nor meerey innocent. Our annales even to this day blame some one of our kings to haue over simply suffered himself to be led or misled by the conscientious perswasions of his confessor. Matters of state haue more bold precepts.

— exeat aula,
Qui nulli esse pius.¹

He that will godly bee,
From Court let him be free,

I haue therefore essayed to employ my opinions and rules of life as new, as rude, as impolished, or as unpolluted as they were naturally borne with me, or as I haue attained them by my institution; and where-with, if not so commodiously, at least safely in particular, I serve mine owne turne unto the service of publike affaires and benefit of my commonwealth. A scholasticall and novice vertue, but I haue found them very unapt and dangerous for that purpose. He that goeth in a presse or throng of people must sometimes step aside, hold in his elbows, crosse the way, advance himselfe, start backe, and forsake the right way according as it falls out; live he not so much as he would himselfe, but as others will, not according to that he proposeth to himselfe, but to that which is proposed to him: according to times, to men and to affaires, and as the skillfull mariner sails with the winde. Plato saith that who escapes untainted and cleane-handed from the managing of the world, escapeth by some wonder. He sayes also that when he instituteth his philosopher as chiefe over a commonwealth, he means not a corrupted or law-broken commonwealth as that of Athens, and much lesse as ours, with which wisdom herselfe would be brought to a nonplus or put to her shifts. And a good hearb, transplanted into a soile very diverse from her nature, doth much sooner conforme itselfe to the soile then it reformeth the same to itselfe. I feelingly perceive that if I were wholly to enure myselfe to such occupations I should require much change and great repairing. Which could I effect in me (and why not with time and diligence?) I would not. Of that little which in this vocation I haue made triall of, I haue much distasted myselfe: I sometimes finde certaine temptations arise in my minde towards ambition, but I start aside, bandie and opinionate myselfe to the contrarie:

At tu Catulle obstinatus obdura.¹

Be thou at any rate,
Obdurate, obstinate,

I am not greatly called, and I invite myselfe as little unto it. Libertie and idleness, my chiefe qualities, are qualities diametrically contrarie to that mysterie. We know not how to distinguish men's faculties. They haue certaine divisions and limits uncasse and over nice to be chosen. To conclude by the sufficiency of a private life,

¹ LUCAN. *Dei. Civ.* l. i. 492.

¹ CATULL. *Lyr.* 1. 13. 7-11.

any sufficiency for publike use it is ill concluded; some one directs himselfe well that cannot so well direct others, and composeth essayes that could not worke effects. Some man can dispose and order a siege that could but ill commaund and marshall a battell; and discourseth well in private that to a multitude or a prince would make but a bad oration. Yea, peradventure, 'tis rather a testimony to him that can doe one that he cannot doe the other, but otherwise. I finde that high spirites are not much lesse apt for base things then base spirits are for high matters. Could it be imagined that Socrates would have given the Athenians cause to laugh at his own charges, because he could never justly compt the suffrages of his tribe and make report thereof unto the counsell? Truly the reverence I beare and respect I owe to that mans perfections deserveth that his fortune bring to the excuse of my principall imperfections one so notable example. Our sufficiency is retailed into small parcells. Mine hath no latitude, and is in number very miserable. Saturninus answered those who had conferred all authority upon him, saying, "Oh you, my fellow souldiers, you have lost a good captaine by creating him a bad generall of an armie." Who in time of infection vanteth himselfe for the worlds service to employ a genuine or sincere vertue, either knows it not (opinions being corrupted with manners; in good sooth heare them but paint it forth, marke how most of them magnifie themselves for their demeanours, and how they forme their rules; in lieu of pourtraying vertue they onely set forth mere injustice and vice, and thus false and adulterate they present the same to the institution of princes), or if he know it he wrongfully boasted himselfe; and whatever he saith he doth many things whereof his owne conscience accuseth him. I should easily believe Seneca of the experience he made of it in such an occasion, upon condition he would freely speake his minde of it unto me. The honourablest badge of goodnesse in such a necessitie is ingeniously for a man to acknowledge both his owne and others faults; to stay and with his might hinder the inclination towards evil, and avie to follow this course to hope and wish better. In these dismembings or havocks of France and divisions whereinto we are miserablyaine, I perceive every man travell and busie himselfe to defend his owne cause, and the better sort with much dissembling and falsehood. Hee that should plainly and roundly write of it should write rashly and viciously. Take the best and justest part, what is it else but

the member of crased, worme-eaten and corrupted body? But of such a body the member least sicke is called sound; and good reason why, because our qualities have no title but in comparison. Civill innocency is measured according to places and seasons. I would be glad to see such a commendation of Agesilaus in Xenophon, who, being entreated of a neighbour prince, with whom he had sometimes made warr, to suffer him to passe through his countrie, was therewith well pleased; granting him free passage through Peloponnese, and having him at his mercy did not only not imprison nor empoison him, but, according to the tenour of his promise, without shew, or offence, or unkindenesse, entertained him with all courtesie and humanitie. To such humours it were a matter of no moment: at other times and elsewhere the libertie and magnanimitie of such an action shall be highly esteemed. Our gullish Gaberdines would have mockt at it, so little affinity is there betwene the Spartan and the French innocencie. We have, notwithstanding, some honest men amongst us; but it is after our fashion. He whose manners are in regularity established above the age he liveth in, let him either wrest or muffle his rules; or (which I would rather perswade him) let him withdraw himselfe apart and not medle with us. What shall he gaine thereby?

*Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno,
bimembri*

*Hoc monstrum puero, et miranti jam sub
aratro*

*Piscibus inventis et facta comparo mula.*¹

See I a man of holinesse and vertues rare,
To birthe bimembred, under wonderfull
plowshare

Fish found, or moiles with sole, this monster
I compare.

One may bewaile the better times, but not avoide the present; one may desire other magistrates, but notwithstanding he must obey those he hath; and happily it is more commendable to obey the wicked than the good. So long as the image of the received, allowed, and ancient lawes of this monarchie shall be extant and shine in any corner thereof, there will I be, there will I abide. And if by any disaster they shall chauce to have contradiction or empeachment amongst themselves, and produce two factions, or doubtfull or hard choice; my lection shall be to avoide and, if I can, escape this storme. In the meanwhile, either nature or the hazard of warre shall lend me that helping hand. I should freely

¹ JUVEN. Sat. xxvi. 64.

have declared my selfe betweene Cæsar and Pompey; but betweene those three theeves which came after, where either one must have hid himselfe or followed the winde: which I deeme lawfull, when reason swayeth no longer,

*Quo diversus abis,*¹

Whither have you recourse,
So farre out of your course?

This mingle-mangle is somewhat beside my text. I stragle out of the path; yet it is rather by licence then by unadvisednesse: my fantasies follow one another, but sometimes afarre off, and looke one at another, but with an oblique looke. I have heretofore cast mine eyes upon some of Platoes Dialogues, bemolted with a fantasticall variety; the first part treateth of love, all the latter of rhetoric. They feare not those variances, and have a wonderful grace in suffering themselves to bee transported by the wind, or to seeme so. The titles of my chapters embrace not allwayes the matter; they often but glance at it by some marke: as these others, Andria, Eunuchus; or these, Sylla, Cicero, Torquatus. I love a poeticall kinde of march, by frisks, skips, and jumps. It is an arte (saith Plato) light, nimble, fleeting, and light-brained. There are some treatises in Plutarke where he forgets his theame, where the drift of his argument is not found but by incidencie and chance, all stuffed with strange matter. Marke but the vagaries in his Dæmon of Socrates. Oh God! what grace hath the variation, and what beautie these startings and nimble escapes! And then most, when they seeme to employ carelesnesse and casualtie. It is the unheedie and negligent reader that loseth my subject, and not my life. Some word or other shall ever be found in a corner that hath relation to it, though closely couched. I am indiscreetly and tumultuously at a fault; my stile and wit are still gadding alike. A little folly is tolerable in him that will not be more sottish, say our masters' precepts, and more their examples. A thousand poets labour and languish after the prose-manner, but the best antient prose, which I indifferently scatter here and there for verse, shineth everywhere, with a poeticall vigour and boldnesse, and representeth some aire or touch of his fury: verily she ought to have the maistry and pre-eminence given her in matters of speech. A poet (saith Plato) seated on the Muses' footstoole doth in a furie powre out whatsoever cometh in his mouth, as the pipe or cocke of a fountaine, without considering

or ruminating the same: and many things escape him, diverse in colour, contrary in substance, and broken in course. Antient divinitie is altogether poesie (say the learned) and the first philosophie. It is the original language of the gods. I understand that the matter distinguisheth it selfe. It sufficiently declareth where it changeth, where it concludeth, where it beginneth, and where it rejoyneth; without enterlacings of words, joyning ligaments and binding seames wrested-in for the service of weake and unattentive eares, and without glossing or expounding my selfe. What is he that would not rather not be read at all, then read in a drowsie and cursorie manner: *Nihil est tam utile, quod in transitu prosit*: "There is nothing so profitable, that being lightly past over, will doe good." If to take bookes in hand were to learne them, and if to see were to view them, and if to runne them over were to seize upon them, I should be to blame, to make my self altogether so ignorant as I say. Since I cannot stay the reader's attention by the weight, *maneo male*, if I happen to stay him by my intricate confusion; yea, but he will afterward repent that ever he amused himselfe about it. You say true, but hee shall have amused himselfe upon it. And there be humors to whom understanding causeth disdain, who because they shall not know what I meane will esteeme mee the better, and will conclude the mystery and depth of my sense by the obscuritie, which, to speake in good earnest, I hate as death, and would shunne it if I could avoid my self. Aristotle vaunteth in some place to affect the same. A vicious affectation, forsomuch as the often breaking of my chapters, I so much used in the beginning of my bookes, seemed to interrupt attention before it be conceived, disdainng for so little a while to collect and there seat it selfe; I have betaken my selfe to frame them longer, as requiring proposition and assigned leasure. In such an occupation he to whom you will not grant one houre, you will allow him nothing; And you doe nought for him for whom you doe, but in doing some other thing. Sithence peradventure I am particularly tied and precisely vowed to speake by halves, to speake confusedly, to speake discrepantly; I therefore hate this trouble-feast reason, and these extravagant projects, which so much molest man's life, and these so subtle opinions, if they have any truth; I deeme it over-deare, and find it too incommodious. On the other side, I labour to set forth vanitie and make sottishnesse to prevaile, if it bring me any pleasure; and without so nicely controlling them, I follow mine owne

¹ VERG. *Æn.* l. v. 166.

naturall inclinations. I have elsewhere scene some houses ruined, statues overthrowne, both of heaven and of earth ; but men be alwaies one. All that is true ; and yet I cannot so often survey the vast toombe of that citie, so great, so populous, and so puissant, but I as often admire and reverence the same. The care and remembrance of evils is recommended unto us. Now have I from my infancie beene bred and brought up with these ; I have had knowledge of the affaires of Rome, long time before I had notice of those of my house. I knew the Capitoll and its platforme, before I knew Louvre, the pillage of our kings in Paris ; and the River Tiber before Seyne. I have more remembered and thought upon the fortunes and conditions of Lucullus, Metellus and Scipio, then of any of our countrymen. They are deceased, and so is my father as fully as they ; and is as distant from me and life in eightene yeeres as they were in sixteen hundred ; whose memorie, amitie, and societie I notwithstanding omit not to continue, to embrace and converse withall, with a perfect and most lively union. Yea, of mine owne inclination I am more officious toward the deceased. They can no longer helpe themselves, but (as me seemeth) they require so much the more my ayde ; there is gratitude, and there appeareth she in her perfect lustre. A benefit is lesse richly assigned where retrogradation and reflexion is. Arcesilaus, going to visit Cresibus that was sicke, and finding him in very poore plight, faire and softly thrust some money under his bolster, which he gave him ; and concealing it from him, left and gave him also a quittance for ever being beholding to him. Such as have at any time deserved friendship or love or thanks at my hands, never lost in the same by being no longer with me. I have better paid and more carefully rewarded them, being absent and when they least thought of it. I speake more kindly and affectionately of my friends when there is least meanes that ever it shall come to their eares. I have heretofore undergone a hundred quarrels for the defence of Pompey and Brutus his cause. This acquaintance continueth to this day betwene us. Even of present things we have no other holde but by our fantasie. Perceiving my selfe unfit and unprofitable for this age, I cast my selfe to that other, and am so besotted with it that the state of the said ancient, free, just and flourishing Rome (for I neither love the birth nor like the old age of the same), doth interest, concerne and passionate me. And therefore can I not so often looke into the situation of their streets

and houses, and those wondrous-strange ruines, that may be said to reach down to the Antipodes, but so often must I amuse my selfe on them. Is it nature or by the error of fantasie, that the seeing of places wee know to have beene frequented or inhabited by men, whose memory is esteemed or mentioned in stories, doth in some sort move and stirre us up as much or more than the hearing of their noble deeds, or reading of their compositions ? *Tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis : et id quidem in hac urbe infirmitum ; quacunq; enim ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus.*¹ "So great a power of admonition is in the very place. And that in this city is most infinite, for which way soever we walke, we set our foote upon some history." I am much delighted with the consideration of their countenance, port and habilliments. I ruminate those glorious names betwene my teeth, and make mine eares to ring with the sound of them. *Eg illos veneror, et tantis nominibus semper assurgo* : "I do reverence them, and at their names I do rise and make curtesie." Of things but in some sort great, strange and admirable, I admire their common parts. I could wish to see them walk and suppe together, and heare their discourses. It were ingratitude to despise and impie to neglect the reliques or images of so many excellent, honest good men, and therewithall so valiant, which I have scene live and die ; and who by their examples, had we the wit or grace to follow them, afford us so many notable instructions. And Rome as it stands now deserveth to be loved, confederated so long since and sharing titles with our crowne of France, being the only common and universall citie ; thesoveraigne magistrate therein commanding is likewise knowne abroad in divers other places. It is the chiefe metropolitan citie of all Christian nations ; both French and Spaniards, and all men else, are there at home. To be a prince of that state, a man needs but be of Christendome, wherever it be seated. There's no place here on earth that the Heavens have embraced with such influence of favors and grace, and with such constancie ; even her ruine is glorious with renowne, and swolne with glorie.

Laudandis preciosior ruinis.
Ev'n made more honourable,
By ruines memorable.

Low-levelled as she lieth, and even in the tombe of hir glory, she yet reserveth the lively image and regardfull marks of em-

¹ Cic. *S. de Fin.*

vire. *Ut palam si uno in loco gaudens opus esse naturæ* : "So as it is cleare, in one place is set forth the worke of nature in her jollity." Some one would blame himselfe, yea and mutinie, to feele himselfe tickled with so vaine a pleasure. Our humors are not over-vaine that be pleasant. Whatsoever they be that constantly content a man capable of common understanding, I could not finde in my heart to moane or pitty him. I am much beholding to fortune, inasmuch as untill this day she hath committed nothing outrageously against me, or imposed anything upon me that is beyond my strength, or that I could not well beare. Is it not haply her custome to suffer such as are not importunate or over-busie with hir to live in peace ?

*Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
A Diis plura feret, nil cupientium
Nudus castra peto, multa potentibus
Desunt multa.*¹

The more that men shall to themselves denie,
The more the gods will give them : thread-bare I
Follow the campe of them that nought desire,
They still want much that still doe much require.

If she continue so, I shall depart very well content and satisfied.

— nihil supra,

*Deos lacesso.*²

More than will serve, to have
Of Gods I doe not crave.

But beware the shooke ; thousands miscary in the haven, and are cast away, being nearest home. I am easily comforted with what shall happen here when I am gone. Things presently trouble me sufficiently, and set me thorowly at worke.

*Fortuna cetera mando.*³

The rest I doe commit
To Fortune (as is fit).

Besides, I am not tied with that strong bond which some say bindes men to future times, by the children bearing their names, and succeeding them in honors ; and being so much to be desired, it may be I shall wish for them so much the lesse. I am by myselfe but overmuch tied unto the world and fastned unto life ; I am pleased to be in fortune's hold by the circumstances properly necessary to my state, without enlarging her jurisdiction upon me by other wayes ; and I never thought that to be without children were a defect, able to make mans life lesse

compleat and lesse contented. A barred state or sterill vacation have also their peculiar commodities. Children are in the number of things that need not greatly bee desired ; especially in these corrupted daies, wherein it would be so hard a matter to make them good. *Bona jam nec nasci licet ilia corrupta sunt semina* : "We cannot now have good things so much as grow, the seeds are so corrupt." Yet have they just cause to moane them, that, having once gotten, lose them untimely. He who left me my house in charge, considering my humor, which was to stay at home so little, fore-saw I should be the overthrow of it. He was deceived ; I am now as I came unto it, if not somewhat better ; and that without any office or church-living, which are no small helps. As for other matters, if fortune have offered me no violent or extraordinary offence, so hath she not shewed me any great favour or extraordinary grace. Whatsoever I have belonging to it that may properly be termed her gifts, was there before I came unto it ; yea, and a hundred yeeres before. I particularly enjoy no essentiall good, or possesse no solid benefit, that I owe unto her liberalitie. Indeed she hath bestowed some wind-puff favours upon me, which may rather be termed titular and honourable in show, though in substance or materiall ; and which, in good truth, she hath not granted, but offered me, God he knowes, to me, who am altogether materiall ; not satisfied with but realitie, which must also be massie and substantiall ; and who, if I durst confesse it, would not think avarice much lesse excusable then ambition, nor grieve lesse enviable then shame, nor health lesse desirable then learning, or riches lesse to be wished then nobilitie. Amongst her vaine favours I have none doth so much please my fond self-pleasing conceit as an authenticke bull, charter or patent of denizenship or borgeouship of Rome, which at my last being there, was granted me by the whole Senate of that citie—garish and trimly adorned with goodly seales, and written in faire golden letters—bestowed upon me with all gracious and free liberalitie. And forso much as they are commonly conferred in divers stiles more or lesse favourable, and that before I had ever seene any I would have beene glad to have had but a patterne or formulare of one, I will for the satisfaction of any, if he fortune to be possessed with such a curiositie as mine, here set down the true copy or transcript of it, and thus it is :—

¹ HOR. CAR. l. iii. OD. xvi. 21, 42.

² *Id.* l. ii. OD. xviii. 11.

³ OVID. *Metam.* l. ii. 140.

Quod Horatius Maximus, Martius Cadius, Alexander Mutus, alma urbis conservatores de Illustrissimo viro Michael Montano, Equite sancti Michaelis, et à Cubiculo Regis Christianissimi, Romanæ civitate donando, ad Senatum referunt, S.P.Q.R. de ea re ita fieri censuit.

Quum veteri more et instituto cupidè illi semper studiosque suscepti sint, qui virtute ac nobilitate præstantes, magno Reipublicæ nostræ usui atque ornameto fuissent, vel esse aliquando possent: Nos majorum nostrorum exemplo atque auctoritate permoti, præclarum hanc Consuetudinem nobis imitandam ac servandam fore censemus. Quamobrem cum Illustrissimus Michael Montanus Eques sancti Michaelis, et à Cubiculo Regis Christianissimi, Romani nominis studiosissimus, et familia laude atque splendore et propriis virtutum meritis dignissimus sit, qui summo Senatus Populique Romani judicio ac studio in Romanam Civitatem adscribatur, placere Senatui P.Q.R. Illustrissimum Michaelum Montanum rebus omnibus ornatissimum, atque huic inclyto Populo charissimum, ipsum posterisque in Rom. civitatem adscribi, ornarique omnibus et premiis et honoribus, quibus illi fruuntur, qui Cives patriæque Romani nati aut jure optimo facti sunt. In quo censere Senatum P.Q.R. se non tam illius Civitatis largiri quam debitum tribuere, neque magis beneficium dare quam ab ipso accipere, qui hoc Civitatis munere accipiendo, singulari Civitatem ipsam ornameto atque honore affecerit. Quam quidem S.C. auctoritatem eadem Conservatores per Senatum P.Q.R. scribas in acta referri atque in Capitolii curia servari, privilegiumque hujusmodi fieri, solitoque urbis sigillo communiri curarunt, Anno ab urbe condito CXXXXXXXI. post Christum natum MDLXXXI. III. Idus Martii.

Horatius Fuscus sacri S.P.Q.R. scriba,

Vincent Martholus sacri S.P.Q.R. scriba,

At the motion of Horatius Maximus, Martius Becius, Alexander Mutus, who are Conservators of this beautifull cittie concerning the endenizing and making citizen of Rome the noble gentleman Michael de Montaigne, Knight of the Order of Saint Michael, and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, the Senate and people of Rome thought good thereof thus to exact. Whereas by the antient custome and good order, they have ever and with good will been entertained, who excelling in vertue and nobilitie have been, or at any

time might be, of any great use or ornament unto our common-weale: Wee, moved by example and authoritie of our Ancesters, decree, That this notable custome by us should be ensued and observed. Wherefore, slthence the right Noble Michael de Montaigne, Knight of Saint Michaels Order, and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, both is most affectionate unto the Roman name, and by the commendations and splendor of his pedigree, as also by the merits of his proper vertues, most worthie to be adopted and inserted into the Romane cittie with a special judgement and good will of the Senate and people of Rome. It pleaseth the Senate and people of Rome that the right noble Michael de Montaigne, adorned in all complements and well-beloved of this famous communitie, both himself and his successours should be ascribed and enfranchized into this Romane cittie, and be graced with al rewards and honours which they enjoy who either have been borne or elected either citizen or noble men of Rome. Wherein the Senate and people doe decree that they doe not so much vouchsafe him the right of their citie, as give him that is due unto him, nor doe they rather give him a benefite then receive it of him, who by accepting this gift of the cittie doth countenance the cittie with a singular ornament and honour. Which act and authoritie of the Senates decree the said Conservators caused by the Clerks of the Senate and people to be registered and laid-up in the Capitoll Court, and this Priviledge to be made and signed with the Cities usuallseale. In the yearesince the building of the Citie CXXXXXXXI. after the birth of Christ a thousand five hundred eighty and one: the Ides of March.

Horatius Fuscus, and Vincent Martholus,
Clerks of the Sacred Senate and
people of Rome.

Being neither burgeois nor denizen of any citie, I am well pleased to bee so of the noblest and greatest that ever was heretofore, or ever shall be hereafter. If others did so attentively consider and survy themselves as I doe, they shall, as I doe, finde themselves full of inanitie, fondnesse, or vanity. I can not be rid of it, except I rid and quit my selfe. Wee are all possessed and overwhelmed therewith, as well one as the other. But such as have a feeling of it have somewhat the better bargaine; and yet I am not sure of it. This common opinion and vulgar custome, to looke and marke elsewhere then on ourselves, hath well provided for our affaires. It is an object full-fraught with discontent, wherein we see

nothing but miserie and vanitie. To the end we should not wholly be discomforted. Nature hath very fittly cast the action of our sight outward ; wee goe forward according to the streame, but to turne our course back to ourselves is a painefull motion ; the sea likewise is troubled, raging and disquieted when 'tis turned and driven into itselfe. Observe (saith every one) the motions and bransles of the heavens : take a survay of all—the quarrell of this man, the pulse of that man, and anothers last testament : to conclude, behold and marke ever, high or low, right or oblique, before or behind you. It was a paradoxall commandment which the God of Delphos laid heretofore upon us ; saying, " View your selves within, know yourselves and keepe you to yourselves. Your minde and your will, which elsewhere is consumed, bring it unto itselfe againe : you scatter, you stragle, you stray, and you distract yourselves ; call yourselves home againe ; rowze and uphold yourselves : you are betrayed, you are spoiled and dissipated ; yourselves are stolen and taken from yourselves. Seest thou not how all this universe holdeth all his sights compelled inward, and his eyes open to contemplate itselfe ? Both inward and outward it is ever vanitie for thee ; but so much lesse vanitie by how much lesse it is extended. Except thyselfe, oh man (said that God) every thing doth first seeke and study itselfe, and according to its neede hath limits to her travells and bounds to her desires. There's not one so shallow, so empty, and so needie as thou art who embraceth the whole world. Thou art the Scrutator without knowledge, the magistrate without jurisdiction, and when all is done, the vice of the play.

CHAPTER X.

How one ought to Gouverne his Will.

IN regard of the common sort of men, few things touch me, or (to speake properly) sway me ; for it is reason they touch, so they possess us not. I have great neede, both by study and discourse, to increase this priviledge of insensibilitie, which is naturally crept farre into me. I am not wedded unto many things, and by consequence not passionate of them. I have my sight cleare, but tied to few objects ; my senses delicate and gentle, but my apprehension and application hard and

dull. I engage myselfe with difficulty. As much as I can I employ myselfe wholly to my selfe. And in this very subject I would willingly bridle and uphold my affection, lest it be too farre plunged therein ; seeing it is a subject I possesse at the mercy of others, and over which fortune hath more interest then my selfe. So as even in my health, which I so much esteeme, it were requisite not to desire, nor so carefully to seeke it, as thereby I might light upon intollerable diseases. We must moderate ourselves betwixt the hate of pain and the love of pleasure. Plato sets downe a meane course of life betwene both. But to affections that distract me from myselfe, and divert me elsewhere, surely to such I oppose my selfe with all my force. Mine opinion is, that one should lend himselfe to others, and not give himselfe but to himselfe. Were my wil ease to engage or apply it selfe, I could not continue : I am ever tender both by nature and custome.

*Fugax rerum, securaque in otia natus.*¹

Avoiding active business,
And borne to secure idlenesse..

Contested and obstinate debates, which in the end would give mine adversarie advantage, the issue which would make my earnest pursuit ashamed, would perchance torment mee cruelly. If vexed as other men, my soule should never have strength to beare the alarms and emotions that follow such as embrace much. She would presently be displaced by this intestine agitation. If at any time I have beene urged to the managing of strange affaires, I have promised to undertake them with my hand, but not with my lungs and liver ; to charge, and not to incorporate them into me, to have a care, but nothing at all to be over-passionate of them : I looke to them, but I hatch them not. I worke enough to dispose and direct the domesticall troubles within mine owne entrailes and veines, without harbouring, or importune my selfe with any forraine employments ; and am sufficiently interessed with my proper, naturall and essentiall affaires, without seeking others businesses. Such as know how much they owe to themselves, and how many offices of their owne they are bound to performe, shall finde that nature hath given them this commission fully ample and nothing idle. Thou hast businesse enough within thy selfe, therefore stray not abroad² : men give themselves to hire. Their faculties are not their own, but theirs to whom they subject themselves ; their inmates, and not themselves, are

¹ OVID. *Trist.* l. iii. *Eleg.* ii. 9.

within them. This common humour doth not please me. We should thriftily husband our mindes liberty, and never engage it but upon just occasions, which if we judge impartially, are very few in number. Look on such as suffer themselves to be transported and swayed, they doe it everywhere; in little as well as in great matters, to that which concerneth as easie as to that which toucheth them not. They thrust themselves indifferently into all actions, and are without life if without tumultuary agitation. *In negotiis sunt negotii causa*: "They are busie that they may not be idle, or else in action for actions sake." They seeke worke but to be working. It is not so much because they will goe, as for that they cannot stand still—much like to a rowling stone, which never staves untill it come to a lying place. To some men employment is a marke of sufficiencie and a badge of dignity. Their spirits seeke rest in action, as infants repose in the cradle. They may be said to be as serviceable to their friends as importunate to themselves. No man distributes his mony to others, but every one his life and time. We are not so prodigall of anything as of those whereof to be covetous would be both commendable and profitable for us. I follow a cleane contrary course; I am of another complexion; I stay at home and looke to myselfe. What I wish for I commonly desire the same but mildly, and desire but little; so likewise I seldome employ and quietly embusie myselfe. Whatever they intend and act they do it with all their will and vehemency. There are so many dangerous steps, that for the more security wee must somewhat slightly and superficially slide through the world, and not force it. Pleasure itselfe is painefull in its height.

— *incedis per ignes,
Subpositis cineri doloso.*¹

You passe through fire (though unfraid)
Under deceitfull ashes laid.

The towne councill of Bourdeaux chose me mayor of their city, being farre from France, but further from any such thought. I excused myselfe, and would have avoided it; but they told mee I was to blame, the more because the King's commandement was also employed therein. It is a charge should seeme so much the more goodly because it hath neither fee nor reward other than the Honour in the execution. It lasteth two yeares, but may continue longer by a second election, which seldome hapneth. To me it was, and never

had been but twice before: some yeares past the Lord of Lansac, and lately to the Lord of Biron, Marshall of France, in whose place I succeeded, and left mine to the Lord of Matignon, likewise Marshall of France, glorious by so noble an assistance.

Utique bonus pacis bellique minister,

Both, both in peace and warre,
Right serviceable are.

Fortune would have a share in my promotion by this particular circumstance which shew of her owne added thereunto, not altogether vaine; for Alexander disdained the Corinthian Ambassadors who offered him the freedome and burgesse of their citie, but when they told him that Bacchus and Hercules were likewise in their registers hee kindly thanked them and accepted their offer. At my first arrival I faithfully deciphered and conscientiously displaid myselfe such as I am indeede, without memorie, without diligence, without experience and without sufficiencie; so likewise without hatred, without ambition, covetousnesse and without violence; that so they might be duly instructed what service they might or hope or expect at my hands. And forsomuch as the knowledge they had of my deceased father, and the honour they bare unto his memory, had moved them to chuse me to that dignitie, I told them plainly I should be verie sorie that any man should worke such an opinion in my will as their affaires and citie had done in my fathers, while he held the said government, whereunto they had called me. I remembered to have scene him, being an infant and he an old man, his minde cruelly turmoiled with the publike toyle, forgetting the sweet aire of his owne house, whereunto the weakenes of his age had long before tied him, neglecting the care of his health and family, in a maner despising his life, which as one engaged for them, he much endangered, riding long and painefull journeyes for them. Such a one was he, which humour proceeded from the bountie and goodnesse of his nature. Never was minde more charitable or more popular. This course, which I commend in others, I love not to follow. Neither am I without excuse. He had heard that a man must forget himselfe for his neighbour; that in respect of the generall, the particular was not to be regarded. Most of the worlds-rules and precepts hold this traine, to drive us out of our selves into the wide world, to the use of publike societie. They presumed to worke a goodly effect in distracting and withdrawing us from our selves, supposing wee were by a naturall instinct tooo much tied

¹ Hor. Car. l. ii. Od. l. i.

unto it : and to this end have not spared to say any thing. For to the wise it is no novelty to preach things as they serve, and not as they are. Truth hath her lets, commodities and incomparabilities with us. Wee must not often deceive others, lest we beguile our selves; and feeble our eyes, and dull our understanding, thereby to repaire and amend them. *Imperiti enim judicant, et qui frequenter in hoc ipsum fallendi sunt, ne errent*: "For unskilful men judge, who must often even therefore be deceived, lest they erre and bee deceived." When they prescribe us, to love three, foure, yea fifty degrees of things before our selves, they present us with the arte of shooters, who to come neere the marke take their aime far above the same. To make a crooked sticke straight, we bend in the contrary way. I suppose that in the times of Pailas, as we see in all other religions, they had some apparent mysteries, of which they made shew to all the people, and others more high and secret, to be imparted onely to such as were professed. It is likely that the true point of friendship, which every man oweth to himselfe, is to be found in these. Not a false amitie, which makes us embrace glory, knowledge, riches, and such like, with a principall and immoderate affection, as members of our being; nor an effeminate and indiscreet friendship, wherein hapneth as to the ivie, which corrupts and ruines the wals it claspeth; but a sound and regular amity, equally profitable and pleasant. Who so understandeth all her duties and exerciseth them, hee rightly is endenized in the muses cabinet; hee hath attained the type of humane wisdom and the perfection of our happinesse. This man, knowing exactly what nee oweth to himselfe, findeth that he ought to employ the use of other men and of the world unto himselfe; which to performe, he must contribute the duties and offices that concerne him unto publike societie. He that lives not somewhat to others, liveth little to himselfe. *Qui sibi amicus est, scito hunc amicum omnibus esse*.¹ "He that is friend to himselfe, know, he is friend to all." The principall charge we have is every man his particular conduct. And for this onely wee live here. As he that should forget to live well and religiously, and by instructing and directing others should thinke himselfe acquitted of his duty, would be deemed a foole; even so, who forsaketh to live healthy and merrily himselfe, therewith to serve another, in mine opinion taketh a bad and unnaturall course. I will not that in any charge one shall take in

hand he refuse or thinke much of his attention, of his labour, of his steps, of his speech, of his sweat, and if need be of his blood.

— *non ipse pro charis amicis,
Aut patria timidus perire.*¹
Not fearing life to end
For country or deare friend.

But it is onely borrowed and accidentally, the minde remaining ever quiet and in health, not without action, but without vexation or passion; simply to moove or be dooing costs it so little that even sleeping it is mooving and dooing; but it must have its motion with discretion, for the body receiveth the charges imposed on him, justly as they are; but the spirit extendeth them, and often to his hindrance makes them heavy, giving them what measure it pleaseth. Like things are effected by divers efforts and different contentions of will; the one may goe without the other, for how many men doe dayly hazard themselves in warre which they regard not, and presse into the danger of the battells, the losse whereof shall no whit breake their next sleepe? Whereas some man in his own house, free from this danger, which he durst not so much as have looked towards it, is for the wars issue more passionate, and therewith hath his minde more perplexed than the souldier that therein employeth both his blood and life. I know how to deal in publike chargus without departing from myselfe; this sharpnesse and violence of desires hindreth more then steade the conduct of what we undertake, filling us with impatience to the events, either contrary or slow, and with bitterness and jealousy toward those with whom we negotiate. Wee never governe that thing well wherewith we are possessed and directed.

— *Male cuncta ministrat
Impetus.*
Fury and haste doe lay all waste,
Misplacing all, disgracing all.

He who therein employeth but his judgement and direction, proceeds more cheerefully, he faines, he yeelds, he deferses at his pleasure according to the occasions of necessity; hee failes of his attempt without torment or affliction, ready and prepared for a new enterprise. He marcheth alwaies with the reines in his hand. He that is besotted with this violent and tyrannicall intention doth necessarily declare much indiscretion and injustice. The violence of his desire transports him. They are rash motions, and if fortune helpe not much, of

¹ Sen. *Epist.* vi, f.

¹ Hor. *Carp.* l. iv, *Od.* ix, f.

little fruit. Philosophie wills us to banish choller in the punishment of offences; not to the end revenge should be more moderate, but contrary, more weighty and surely set on; wherunto this violence seemeth to bee a let. Choller doth not onely trouble, but wearie the executioners armes. This passionate heat dulleth and consumes their force. As in too much speede, *festinatio tarda est*: "hastinesse is slow." Haste makes waste, and hinders and stayes it selfe: *Ipsa se velocitas implicat*: "Swiftnesse entangles it selfe." As for example, according as by ordinary custome I perceive, covetousnesse hath no greater let then it selfe. The more violent and extended it is, the lesse effectuall and fruitfull. Commonly it gathers wealth more speedily, being masked with a shew of liberality. A very honest gentleman and my good friend was likely to have endangered the health of his body by an over passionate attention and earnest affection to the affaires of a prince, who was his maister. Which maister hath thus described himselfe unto me: That as another, he discerneth and hath a feeling of the burthen of accidents; but such as have no remedie, he presently resolveth to suffer with patience. For the rest, after he hath appointed necessary provisions, which by the vivacitie and nimblenesse of his wit hee speedily effects, hee then attends the event with quietnesse. Verily, I have scene in him at one instant a great carelesnesse and libertie, both in his actions and countenance, even in important and difficult affaires. I finde him more magnanimous and capable in bad then in good fortune. His losses are to him more glorious than his victories, and his mourning than his triumphs. Consider how in meere vaine and frivolous actions, as at chesse, tennis and such like sports, this earnest and violent engaging with an ambitious desire to win, doth presently call both minde and limmes into disorder and indiscretion. Wherein a man doth both dazle his sight and distemper his whole body. Hee who demeaneth himselfe with most moderation both in winning and loosing is ever nearest unto himselfe, and hath his wits best about him. The lesse he is moved or passionate in play, the more safely doth he governe the same, and to his great advantage. We hinder the minds seizure and holdfast by giving her so many things to seize upon. Some wee should onely present unto her, others fasten upon her, and others incorporate unto her. Shee may see and feele all things, but must onely feede on hir selfe: and bee instructed in that which properly concerneth her, and which meerey belongeth to her essence and

substance. The lawes of nature teach us what is just and fit for us. After the wise men have told us, that according to nature no man is indigent or wanteth, and that each one is poore but in his owne opinion, they also distinguish subtilly the desires proceeding from nature, from such as grow from the disorders of our fantasie. Those whose end may be discerned are meerey hirs; and such as flie before us, and whose end we cannot attaine, are properly ours. Want of goods may easily be cured, but the poverty of the minde is incurable.

Nam si quod satis est homini, id satis esse potest.

Hoc sat erat, nunc, quum hoc non est, qui credimus porro

Divitias ullas animum mi expleri potesse?

If it might be enough, that is enough for man, This were enough, since it is not, how thinke we can

Now any riches fill

My minde and greedy will?

Socrates seeing great store of riches, jewells, and pretious stufte, carried in pompe through the city: Oh how many things (quoth he) doe not I desire! Metrodorus lived daily with the weight of twelve ounces of foode; Epicurus with lesse; Metrocles in winter lay with sheepe, and in summer in the cloisters of churches. *Sufficit ad id natura, quod poscit*: "Nature is sufficient for that which it requires." Cleanthes lived by his hands, and boasted that if Cleanthes would, he could nourish another Cleanthes. If that which nature doth exactly and originally require at our handes for the preservation of our being, is over little (as in truth what it is, and how good cheape our life may be maintained, cannot better be known or expressed than by consideration that it is so little, and for the smallnesse thereof, it is out of fortunes reach, and shee can take no hold of it) let us dispense something els unto our selves and call the custome and condition of every one of us by the name of Nature. Let us taxe and stint and feede our selves according to that measure; let us extend both our appurtenances and reckonings thereunto. For so farre, me seemes, we have some excuse. Custome is a second nature, and no lesse powerfull. What is wanting to custome, I hold it a defect; and I had well nigh as leefe one should deprive mee of my life, as refraine or much abridge me of my state wherein I have lived so long. I am no more upon terms of any great alteration nor to thrust my selfe into a new and unusuall course, no not toward augmentation;

it is no longer time to become other or be transformed; and as I should complaine if any great adventure should now befall me, and grieve it came not in time that I might have enjoyed the same,

Quo mihi fortuna, si non conceditur uti?

Whereto should I have much,
If I to use it grutch?

I should likewise bee grieved at any inward purchase. I were better in a manner never, than so late, to become an honest man, and well practised to live: when one hath no longer life. I who am ready to depart this world could easily be induced to resigne the share of wisdom I have learnt concerning the world's commerce, to any other man new come into the world. It is even as good as mustard after dinner. What neede have I of that good which I cannot enjoy? Whereto serveth knowledge if one have no head? It is an injury and disgrace of fortune to offer us those presents, which forsomuch as they faile us when we should most neede them, fill us with a just spite. Guide me no more; I can go no longer. Of so many dismembrings that sufficiency hath, patience sufficeth us. Give the capacity of an excellent treble to a singer that hath his lungs rotten, and of eloquence to a hermit confined into the deserts of Arabia. There needs no arte to further a fall. The end findes it selfe in the finishing of every worke. My world is at an end, my forme is expired. I am wholly of the time past, and am bound to authorize the same, and thereto conforme my issue. I will say this by way of example, that the eclipsing or abridging of tenne dayes, which the Pope hath lately caused, hath taken me so low that I can hardly recover my selfe. I follow the yeares wherein we were wont to compt otherwise; so long and antient a custome doth challenge and recall me to it againe, I am thereby enforced to be somewhat an hereticke, incapable of innovation though corrective. My imagination mauer my teeth runnes still tenne dayes before or tenne behinde, and whispers in mine eares: This rule toucheth those which are to come. If health it selfe, so sweetly pleasing, comes to me but by fittes, it is rather to give me cause of grief then possession of it selfe; I have no where left me to retire it. Time forsakes me, without which nothing is enjoyed. How small accompt should I make of these great elective dignities I see in the world, and which are only given to men ready to leave the world, wherein they regard not so much how duely they shall

discharge them, as how little they shall exercise them, from the beginning they looke to the end. To conclude, I am ready to finish this man, not to make another. By long custome this forme is changed into substance and fortune into nature. I say, therefore, that amongst us feeble creatures, each one is excusable to compt that his owne, which is comprehended under measure; and yet beyond these limits is nothing but confusion.

It is the largest extension we can grant our rights. The more we amplifie our neede and possession, the more we engage our selves to the crosses of fortune and adversities. The carriere of our desires must be circumscribed, and tied to strict bounds of nearest and contiguous commodities. Moreover, their course should be managed, not in a straight line having another end, but round, whose two points hold together, and end in our selves with a short compasse. The actions governed without this reflection, I meane a neere and essentiall reflection, as those of the covetous, of the ambitious, and so many others, that runne directly point-blanke, the course of which carrieth them away before them, are erroneous and crazed actions. Most of our vocations are like playes. *Mundus universus exercet histriioniam*: "All the world doth practise stage-playing." Wee must play our parts duly, but as the part of a borrowed personage. Of a visard and apparance wee should not make a reall essence, nor proper of that which is another. We cannot distinguish the skinne from the shirt; it is sufficient to disguise the face without deforming the breast. I see some transforme and transubstantiate themselves into as many new formes and strange beings as they undertake charges; and who emprelate themselves even to the heart and entrailles; and entraine their offices, even sitting on their close stoole. I cannot teach them to distinguish the salutations and cappings of such as regard them, from those that respect either their office, their traine, or their mule. *Tantum se fortuna permittunt, etiam ut naturam dediscant*: "They give themselves so much over to fortune, as they forget nature." They swell in minde and puffe up their naturall discourse according to the dignity of their office. The Mayor of Bourdeaux, and Michael, Lord of Montaigne, have ever bene two, by an evident separation. To be an advocate or a treasurer one should not be ignorant of the crait incident to such callings. An honest man is not compatible for the vice and folly of his trade, and therefore ought not to refuse the exercise of it. It is the custome of his

country, and there is profit in it. We must live by the world, and such as we finde it, so make use of it. But the judgement of an Emperour should be above his empire, and to see and consider the same as a strange accident. He should know how to enjoy himselfe apart, and communicate himselfe as James and Peter, at least to himselfe, I cannot so absolutely or so deeply engage my selfe. When my will gives me to any party, it is not with so violent a bond that my understanding is thereby infected. In the present intestine trouble of our State my interest hath not made me forget neither the commendable qualities of our adversaries, nor the reproachfull of those I have followed. They partially extoll whatever is on their side; I doe not so much as excuse the greater number of my friends actions. A good orator loseth not his grace by pleading against me. The intricatenesse of our debate remooved, I have maintained myselfe in equanimity and pure indifferency. *Neque extra necessitates belli, præcipuum odium gero*: "Nor beare I capitall hatred when I am out of the necessitie of warre." Wherein I glory, for that commonly I see men erre in the contrary. Such as extend their choller and hatred beyond their affaires (as most men doe) shew that it proceedes elsewhence, and from some private cause; even as one being cured of an ulcer, and his fever remaineth still, declareth it had a more hidden beginning. It is the reason they beare none unto the cause in generall, and forsomuch as it concerneth the interest of all and of the state; but they are vexed at it, onely for this, that it toucheth them in private. And therefore are they distempered with a particular passion, both beyond justice and publike reason. *Non tam omnia universi, quam ea, quæ ad quemque pertinent, singuli carpebant*: "All did not so much finde fault with all, as every one with those that appertained to every one." I will have the advantage to be for us, which though it be not I enrage not, I stand firmly to the sounder parts. But I affect not to be noted a private enemy to others, and beyond generall reason I greatly accuse this vicious forme of obstinate contesting. He is of the League because he admireth the grace of the Duke of Guise; or he is a Hugonote, forsomuch as the King of Navarres activitie amazeth him. He finds fault in the Kings behaviours, therefore he is seditious in his heart. I would not give the magistrate my voice that he had reason to condemne a booke, because an hereticke was therein named and extolled to be one of the best poets of this age. Dare wee not say that a theefe hath a good leg if he have

so indeed? If she be a strumpet, must she needs have a stinking breath? In wiser ages revoked they the proud title of Capitollinus they had formerly given to Marcus Manlius as the preserver of religion and publike libertie? Suppressed they the memory of his liberalitie, his deeds of armes and military rewards granted to his vertues, because to the prejudice of his countries lawes he afterwards affected a royalty? If they once conceive an hatred against an orator or an advocate, the next day he becommeth barbarous and uneloquent. I have elsewhere discoursed of zeale which hath driven good men into like errors. For myselfe I can say that he doth wickedly, and this virtuously. Likewise, in prognostickes or sinister events of affaires, they will have every man blinde or dull in his owne cause, and that our perswasion and judgement serve not the truth but the project of our desires. I should rather erre in the other extremity? So much I feare my desire might corrupt me, considering I somewhat tenderly distrust myselfe in things I most desire. I have in my dayes seene wonders in the indiscreet and prodigious facilitie of people, suffering their hopes and beliefs to be led and governed as it hath pleased and best fitted their leaders, above a hundred discontents, one in the necke of another, and beyond their fantasies and dreames. I wonder no more at those whom the apish toys of Apollonius and Mahomet have seduced and blinded. Their sense and understanding is wholly smothered in their passion. Their discretion hath no other choise but what pleaseth them and furthereth their cause, which I had especially observed in the beginning of our distempered factions and factious troubles. This other which is growne since by imitation surmounteth the same, whereby I observe that it is an inseparable quality of popular errors. The first being gone on, opinions entershocke one another, following the winde as waves doe. They are no members of the body, if they may renounce it, if they follow not the common course. But truly they wrong the just parties when they seeke to helpe them with fraude or deceits. I have always contradicted the same. This meane is for sicke braines; the healthy have surer and honest wayes to maintaine their resolutions and excuse all contrary accidents. The heavens never saw so weighty a discord and so harmefull a hatred as that betwene Cæsar and Pompey, nor ever shall hereafter. Mee seemeth, notwithstanding I see in those noble and hericall mindes an exemplar and great moderation of the one toward the other, it was a jealousie of honour and emulation of com-

mand which transported them, not to a furious and indiscreet hatred, without malice or detraction. In their sharpest exploits I discover some reliques of respect and cinders of well-meaning affection. And I imagine that had it been possible, either of them desired rather to effect his purpose without overthrowing his competitor than by working his utter ruine. Note how contrary the proceeding was between Sylla and Marius. We must not run headlong after our affections and private interests, As in my youth I ever opposed myself to the motions of love, which I felt to usurpe upon me, and laboured to diminish its delights, lest in the end it might vanquish and captivate me to his mercy; so do I now in all other occasions which my will apprehendeth with an over great appetite. I bend to the contrary of my disposition as I see the same plunged and drunke with its owne wine. I shunne so farre forth to nourish her pleasure as I may not revoke it without a bloody losse. Those mindes which through stupidity see things but by halves enjoy this happinesse, that such as be hurtfull offend them least. It is a spirituall leprosie that hath some shew of health, and such a health as philosophy doth not altogether contemne. But yet it may not lawfully be termed wisdom, as we often doe. And after this manner did in former times somebody mocke Diogenes, who, in the dead of winter, went all naked, embracing an image of snow to try his patience, who, meeting him in this order, said thus unto him: "Art thou now very colde?" "Nothing at all," answered Diogenes. "What thinkest thou to do then that is either hard or exemplar by standing in the colde?" replied the other. "To measure constancy we must necessarily know sufferance." But such minds as must behold crosse events and fortunes injuries in their height and sharpnesse, which must weigh and taste them according to their naturall bitternesse and charge, let them employ their skil and keep themselves from embracing the causes and divert their approaches. What did King Cotys? He payed liberally for that goodly and rich vessel which one had presented unto him, but forsomuch as it was exceeding brittle he presently brake it himself, that so betimes he might remove so easie an occasion of choller against his servants. I have in like sort shunned confusion in my affaires, and sought not to have my goods contiguous to my neighbours, and to such as I am to be linked in strict friendship, whence commonly ensue causes of alienation and unkindnesse. I have heretofore loved the hazardous play of cardes and dice. I have

long since left it; onely for this, that notwithstanding any faire semblance I made in my losses I was inwardly disquieted. Let a man of honour, who is to take a lie or endure an outrageous wrong, and cannot admit a bad excuse for payment or satisfaction, avoid the progresse of contentious altercations. I shunne melancholike complexions and froward men as infected. And in matters I cannot talke of without interest and emotion I meddle not with them, except duty constrain me thereunto: *Melius non incipere quam desinere*: "They shall better not begin than leave off." The surest way is then to prepare ourselves before occasion, I know that some wise men have taken another course, and have not feared to engage and vehemently to insinuate themselves into diverse objects. Those assure themselves of their own strength, under which they shrowd themselves against all manner of contrary events, making mischiefs to wrestle one against another by vigor and vertue of patience;

*Vclut rupes vastum quæ prodit in æquor,
Olvia ventorum furis, expostaque ponto.
Vim cunctam atque minas perfert calique
marisque,*

*... ipsa immota manens.*¹

Much like a rocke, which butts into the maine,

Meeting with windesage, to the sea laid plaine,

It doth the force of skies and seas sustaine,
Endure their threats, yet doth unmoo'd remaine.

Let us not imitate these examples; we shall not attaine them. They opinionate themselves resolutely to behold, and without perturbation to be spectators of their countries ruine, which whilome possessed and commanded their full will. As for our vulgar mindes, therein is too much effort and roughnesse. Cato quit thereby the noblest life that ever was. Wee seely ones must seeke to escape the storm further off: We ought to provide for apprehension and not for patience, and avoid the blowes wee cannot withstand. Zeno seeing Chremonides, a young man whom he loved, approach to sit neere him, rose up suddenly. Cleanthes asking him the reason? I understand (saith hee) that physicians above all things prescribe rest, and forbid emotion in all tumors. Socrates saith not: Yeeld not to the allurements of beauty; maintaine it, enforce your selves to the contrary. Shunne her (saith he), runne out of ber sight and company, as from a violent poison that infecteth and stingeth farre-off. And his good

¹ VIRG. *ÆN.* l. x. 699.

disciple, faining or reciting, but in mine opinion rather reciting then faining, the matchles perfections of the great Cyrus, describeth him distrusting his forces to withstand the blandishments or allurements of the divine beautie of that famous Panthea his captive, committing the visitation and garde of her to an other, that had lesse libertie than himselfe. And likewise the Holy-Ghost saith, *Ne nos inducas in tentationem*:¹ "And lead us not into temptation." We pray not that our reason be not encountered and vanquished by concupiscences, but that it be not so much as assayed therewith; that we bee not reduced to an estate, where we should but suffer the approaches, sollicitations and temptations of sinne: and we entreat our Lord to keepe our conscience quiet, fully perfectly free from all commerce of evil. Such as say they have reason for their revenging passion, or any other mind-troubling perturbation, say often truth, as things are, but not as they were. They speake to us when the causes of their error are by themselves fostered and advanced. But retire further backward, recall their causes to their beginning: there you surprise and put them to a non-plus. Would they have their fault be lesse because it is more ancient; and that of an unjust beginning, the progresse be just? He that (as I doo) shall wish his countries welfare, without fretting or pining himselfe, shall be grieved, but not swoune, to see it threatening, either in his own downefall, or a continuance no lesse ruinous. Oh seely-weake barke, whom both waves, windes and pilot, hull and tosse to so contrary desseignes:

— in tam diversa, magister,
Ventus et unda trahunt.

Maister the wave and winde
So divers wayes doe binde.

Who gapes not after the favour of princes, as after a thing without which he cannot live, nor is much disquieted at the coldnes of their entertainment or frowning countenance, nor regardeth the inconstancy of their will. Who hatcheth not his children or huggeth not honours, with a slavish propension, nor leaves to live commodiously having once lost them. Who doth good namely for his owne satisfaction, nor is much vexed to see men censure of his actions against his merit. A quarter of an ownece of patience provideth for such inconveniences. I find ease in this receipt: redeeming my selfe in the beginning as good cheape as I can, by which means I perceive my selfe

to have escaped much trouble and manifold difficulties. With very little force I stay these first motions of my perturbations, and I abandon the subject which begins to molest me, and before it transport mee. Hee that stops not the loose, shal hardly stay the course. He that cannot shut the doore against them shall never expell them being entred. He that cannot attaine an end in the beginning, shall not come to an end of the conclusion; nor shall he endure the fall that could not endure the starts of it. *Etenim ipsa se impellant, ubi semel a ratione discessum est, ipsaque sibi imbecillitas indulget, in altumque provehitur imprudens: nec reperit locum consistendi*:² "For they drive themselves headlong, when once they are parted and past reason, and weaknesse soothes it selfe, and unawares is carried into the deepe, nor can it finde a place to tarry in." I feel betimes the low winds which are forerunners of the storme, buzze in mine eares and sound and trie me within:

— ceu flamma prima

*Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, et caeca volutant
Murmurs, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.*³

At first blasts in the woods perceiv'd to goe,
Whistle, and darkely speake in murmurs low,
Foretelling mariners what windes will grow.

How often have I done my selfe an apparant injustice to avoide the danger I should fall into by receiving the same, happily worse, from the judges after a world of troubles, and of foule and vile practises, more enemies to my naturall disposition then fire or torment. *Convenit & litibus quantum licet, abhorrentem esse; est enim non modo liberale, prutulum nonnunquam de suo jure decedere, sed interdum etiam fructuosum*:⁴ "As much as we may, and it may be more than we may, we should abhorre brabling and lawing; for it is not onely an ingenious part, but sometimes profitable also at sometimes to yeeld a little of our right." If we were wise indeede, we should rejoyce and glory, as I heard once a yong gentleman, borne of a very good house, very wittily and unfainedly rejoyce with all men that his mother had lost her sute; as if it had beene a cough, an ague, or any other yrksome burthen. The favours which fortune might have given me, as alliances and acquaintances with such as have soveraigne authority in those things, I have in my conscience done much instantly to avoide employing them to

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qn.* l. iv.

² *Ving. Ann.* l. x. 97.

³ *Cic. Off.* l.

⁴ *Math.* vi. 23.

others prejudice, and not over-value my rights above their worth. To conclude, I have so much prevailed by my endeavours (in a good houre I may speake it) that I am yet a virgin for any sutes in law, which have notwithstanding not omitted gently to offer me their service, and under pretence of lawfull titles insinuate themselves into my allowance, would I but have given eare unto them. And as a pure maiden from quarrels, I have without important offence, either passive or active, lingred out a long life, and never heard worse than mine owne name : a rare grace of heaven. Our greatest agitations have strange springs and ridiculous causes. What ruine did our last Duke of Burgundy runne into for the quarrell of a cart-load of sheepes-skinnes? And was not the graving of a seale the chiefe cause of the most horrible breach and topsie-turvey that ever this worlds frame endured? For Pompey and Cæsar are but the new buddings and continuation of two others. And I have seene in my time the wisest heads of this realme assembled with great ceremony and publike charge about treaties and agreements, the true deciding whereof depended in the meane while absolutely and soveraignly of the will and consultations held in some ladies pate or cabinet, and of the inclination of some silly woman. Poets have most judiciously lookt into this, who but for an apple have set all Greece and Asia on fire and sword. See why that man doth hazard both his honour and life on the fortune of his rapier and dagger; let him tell you whence the cause of that contention ariseth; he cannot without blushing, so vaine and so frivolous is the occasion. — embarke him, there needes but little visement, but being once in, all parts doe worke. There are greater provisions required, more difficult and important. How farre more easie it is not to enter than to get forth? We must proceed contrary to the briar, which produceth a long and straighte stake at the first springing; but after, as tired and out of breath, it makes many and thicke knots, as if they were pauses, shewing to have no more that vigor and constancy. Wee should rather begin gently and leasurly, and keepe our strength and breath for the perfection of the worke. We direct affairs at the beginning, and hold them at our mercy, but being once undertaken, they guide and transport us, and we must follow them. Yet may it not be said that this counsell hath freed me from difficulties, and that I have not beene often troubled to controle and bridle my passions, which are not alwayes governed according to the measure of occasions, whose en-

trances are often sharpe and violent. So is it that thence may be reaped good fruit and profit, except for those who in welldoing are not satisfied with any benefit, if their reputation be in question. For in truth such an effect is not compted of but by every one to himselfe. You are thereby better satisfied, but not more esteemed, having reformed your selfe before you come into action or the matter was in sight; yet not this onely, but in all other duties of life, their course which aime at honour is diverse from that which they propound unto themselves that follow order and reason. I finde some that inconsiderately and furiously thrust themselves into the lists, and grow slacke in the course. As Plutarke saith, that "such as by the vice of bashfulnessse are soft and tractable to grant whatsoever is demanded, are afterward as prone and facile to recant and breake their word." In like manner, he that enters lightly into a quarrell is subject to leave it as lightly. The same difficulty which keepees me from embracing the same should incite me, being once moved and therein engaged, to continue resolute. It is an ill custome. Being once embarked, one must either goe on or sinke. "Attempt coldly (said Bias), but pursue hotly." For want of judgement our hearts faile us, which is also lesse tolerable. Most agreements of our moderne quarrels are shamefull and false; we onely seek to save appearances and therewithal betray and disavow our true intentions. We salve the deede; we know how wee spake it, and in what sense the bystanders know it; yea and our friends to whom we would have our advantages knowne. It is to the prejudice of our liberty and interest of our resolutions honour that we disavow our thoughts and seeke for starting holes in falshood to make our agreements. We belie ourselves to salve a lye we have given to another. We must not looke whether your action or word may admit another interpretation, but it is your own true and sincere construction that you must now maintaine, whatsoever it cost you. It is to your vertue and to your conscience that men speake; parts that ought not to be disguised. Leave we these base courses, wrangling shifts and verbal meanes, to pettyfogging lawyers. The excuses and reparations, or satisfactions, which dayly I see made, promised and given to purge indiscretion, seeme to me more foule than indiscretion itselfe; better were it for one to offend his adversary again, than in giving him such satisfaction to wrong himselfe so much. You have braved him moved by choller, and now you seeke to pacifie and flatter him in your cold and better sense;

thus you abase yourselfe more than you were before exalted. I find no speech so vicious in a gentleman as I deeme any recantation hee shall make, dishonorable, especially if it be wrested from him by authority; forso-much as obstinacy is in him more excusable than cowardize: Passions are to me as easy to be avoided as they are difficult to be moderated. *Excinduntur facilius animo, quam temperantur*: "They are more easily rooted out of the minde than brought to good temper." He that cannot attaine to this noble Stoicall impossibility let him shrowd himselfe in the bosome of this my popular stupidity. What they did by vertue I inure myselfe to do by nature. The middle region harboureth stormes; the two extreames containe philosophers and rurall men, they concur in tranquillity and good hap.

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subiecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.
Fortunatus et ille, Deos qui novit agrestes,
Panemque, Sylvanumque senem, Nymphasque
sorores.*¹

Happy is he that could of things the causes

And subject to his feete all fearefulnessse of
minde,
Inexorable fate, and noyse of greedy Hell.
And happy he with Country Gods acquainted
well,
Pan and old Sylvan knowes,
And all the sister shrowes.

The beginnings of all things are weake and tender, we must therefore be cleare-sighted in beginnings; for, as in their budding we discern not the danger, so in their full growth we perceive not the I should have encountered a thousand crosses, daily more hard to be digested in the course of ambition, than it hath bin un-easie for me to stay the naturall inclination that led me unto them.

*—jura perhorruī,
Late conspicuum tollere verticem.*²

I have beene much afraid for causes right,
To raise my foretop far abroad to sight.

All publike actions are subject to uncertaine and divers interpretations, for too many heads judge of them. Some say of this my city employment (whereof I am content to speak a word, not that it deserves it, but to make a shew of my manners in such things) I have demeaned myselfe like one that is too slowly mooved and with a languishing affection; and they are not altogether void of reason. I strive to keepe

my minde and thoughts quiet. *Cum semper natura, tum etiam aetate jam quietus*: "Both ever quiet by nature, and now because of yeeres." And if at any time they are debauched to some rude and piercing impression it is in truth without my consent, from which naturall slacknesse one must not therefore inferre any prooffe of disability; for want of care and lacke of judgement are two things; and lesse, unkindnesse and ingratitude toward those citizens who to gratifie me, employed the utmost of all the meanes they could possibly, both before they knew me and since; and who did much more for me in appointing me my charge the second time, then in choosing me the first. I love them with all my heart, and wish them all the good that may be; and truly if occasion had beene offered I would have spared nothing to have done them service. I have stirred and laboured for them as I doe for myselfe. They are good people, warlike and generous, yet capable of obedience and discipline and fit for good employment, if they be well guided. They say likewise that I passed over this charge of mine without any deede of note or great shew. It is true. Moreover, they accuse my cessation, when as all the world was convicted of too much doing; I have a most nimble motion where my will doth carry me. But this point is an enemy unto perseverance. Whosoever will make use of me according to myselfe, let him employ me in affaires that require vigor and liberty; that have a short, a straight, and therewithall a hazardous course; I may peradventure somewhat prevaile therein. Whereas if it be tedious, crafty, laborious, artificiall and intricate, they shall doe better to addresse themselves to some other man. All charges of importance are not difficult. I was prepared to labour somewhat more earnestly if there had beene great neede, for it lyes in my power to doe something more than I make shew of, and than I love to doe. To my knowledge I have not omitted any motion that duty required earnestly at my hands. I have easily forgotten those which ambition blendeth with duty and cloketh with her title. It is they which most commonly fill the eyes and eares and satisfy men. Not the thing itselfe, but the apparence payeth them. If they heare no noise they imagine we sleepe. My humours are contrary to turbulent humours; I could pacifie an inconvenience or trouble without troubling myselfe, and chastise a disorder without alteration.

Have I neede of choller and inflammation, I borrow it and therewith maske myselfe; my maners are musty, rather wallowish than sharpe; I accuse not a magistrate that

¹ Virg. *Geor.* l. ii. 490.

² *Juv.* *Cur.* l. iii. 16, 18.

sleepeth so they that are under it sleepe also. So sleepe the lawes. For my part I mend a gliding, an obscure and reposed life. *Neque submissam et abjectam, neque se efferentem*:¹ "Neyther too abject and submissive, nor vaunting itself too much." But my fortune will have it so; I am descended of a family that hath lived without noise and tumult, and of long continuance particularly ambitious of integrity. Our men are so framed to agitation and ostentations that goodnesse, moderation, equity, constancy, and such quiet and meane qualities are no more heard of. Rough bodies are felt, smooth ones are handled imperceptibly. Sickenesse is felt, health little or not at all; nor things that annoint us, in regard of such as sting us; it is an action for ones reputation and private commodity, and not for the common good, to refer that to be done in the market-place which a man may do in the counsel-chamber; and at noone day what might have beene effected the night before; and to be jealous to doe that himselfe which his fellow can performe as well. So did some surgeons of Greece shew the operations of their skill upon scaffolds in view of all passengers, thereby to get more practice and custome. They suppose that good orders cannot be understood but by the sound of a trumpet. Ambition is no vice for petty companions, and for such endeavours as ours. One said to Alexander: "Your father will leave you a great commaund, easie and peacefull;" the boy was envious of his father's victories and of the justice of his government. He would not have enjoyed the world's empire securely and quietly. Alcibiades in Plato loveth rather to die yong, faire, rich, noble, learned, and all that in excellence, then to stay in the state of such a condition. This infirmity is happily excusable in so strong and full a minde. When these petty wretched soules are therewith enveagled, and thinke to publish their fame, because they have judged a cause rightly, or continued the order in guarding of a cities gates; by how much more they hoped to raise their head, so much more do they shew their simplicity. This petty well-doing hath neither body nor life. It vanisheth in the first moneth, and walkes but from one corner of a street to another. Entertaine therewith your sonne and your servant, and spare not. As that ancient fellow, who having no other auditor of his praises and applauding of his sufficiency, boasted with his chamber-maide, exclaiming: "Oh Perette! what a gallant and sufficient man thou hast to thy maister!"

If the worst happen, entertaine yourselves in yourselves; as a counsellour of my acquaintance, having degorged a rable of paragraphs with an extreme contention and like foolishnesse, going out of the counsell chamber to a pissing place neere unto it, was heard very conscienciously to utter these words to himselfe: *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*:¹ "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us but unto thy name give the glory." He that cannot otherwise, let him pay himselfe out of his owne purse. Fame doth not so basely prostitute it selfe, nor so cheape. Rare and exemplar actions, to which it duly belongeth, could not brooke the company of this innumerable multitude of vulgar petty actions. Well may a piece of marble raise your titles high as you list, because you have repaired a piece of an olde wall, or cleansed a common ditch, but men of judgement will never doe it. Report followeth not all goodnesse, except difficulty and rarietie be joyned thereunto. Yea simple estimation, according to the Stoikes, is not due to every action proceeding from vertue. Neither would they have him commended, who through temperance abstaineth from an old blear-eyed woman. Such as have known the admirable qualities of Scipio the Affrican, renounce the glory which Panætius ascribeth from gifts, as a glory, not his, alone, but peculiar to that age. We have pleasures sortable to our fortune; let us not usurpe those of greatnesse. Our owne are more naturall. They are the more solide and firme by how much the meaner. Since it is not for conscience, at least for ambition let us refuse ambition. Let us dislaine this insatiate thirst of honour and renowne, base and beggarly, which makes us so suppliantly to crave it of all sorts of people: *Quæ est ista laus quæ possit e macello peti*?² "What praise is this, which may bee fetcht out of the shambles?" By abject meanes, and at what vile rate soever. To be thus honoured, is merely a dishonor. Learne we to bee no more greedy of glory then we are capable of it. To be proud of every profitable and innocent action, is it fit for men to whom it is extraordinary and rare. They will value it for the price it cost them. According as a good effect is more resounding, I abate of its goodnesse; the jealousy I conceive, it is produced more because it is so resounding than because it is good. What is set out to shew is halfe solde. Those actions have more grace which carelesly and under silence passe from the

¹ Cic. *Off.* l. i.¹ Psalm cxv. 1.² Cic. *De Fin.* l. ii.

hands of a workeman, and which some honest man afterward chuseth and redcemeth from darknesse, to thrust them into the worlds-light: onely for their worth. *Mihi quidem laudabiliora videntur omnia, que sine venditione, et sine populo teste fiunt.*¹ "All things in sooth seem to mee more commendable that are performed with no ostentation, and without the people to witnesse," said the most glorious man of the world. I had no care but to preserve and continue, which are deafe and insensible effects. Innovation is of great lustre; but interdicted in times when we are most urged, and have to defend our selves but from novelties; abstinence from doing is often as generous as doing, but it is not so apparant. My small worth is in a manner all of this kinde. To be short, the occasions in this my charge have seconded my complexion, for which I conne them hartly thanks. Is there any man that desireth to be sicke, to see his physitian set a worke? And should not that physitian be well whipped who to put his arte in practice would wish the plague to infect us? I was never possessed with this impious and vulgar passion, to wish that the troubled and dis-tempered state of this city might raise and honour my government. I have most willingly lent them my hand to further and shouldiers to aid their ease and tranquility. He that will not thanke me for the good order and for the sweet and undisturbed rest which hath accompanied my charge, cannot at least deprive me of that part which by the title of my good fortune be- longeth unto me. This is my humour, that I love as much to be happy as wise, and attribute my successes as much to the meere grace of God as to the meane furtherance of my operation. I had sufficiently published to the world my sufficiency in managing of such publike affaires; nay, there is something in me worse than insufficiency, which is, that I am not much displeased therewith, and that I endeavour not greatly to cure it, considering the course of life I have determined to my selfe. Nor have I satisfied my selfe in this employment, but have almost attained what I had promised unto my selfe; yet have I much exceeded what I had promised those with whom I was to negotiate, for I willingly promise somewhat lesse than I can performe or hope to accomplish. Of this I am assured, I have never left offence or hatred among them. To have left either regret or desire of me, this know I certainly, I have not much affected it.

*Mene huic confidere monstro:
Mene salis placidi vultum, fluctusque quietos
Ignorare?*¹

Should I this monster trust? Should I not know
The calme seas counterfait dissembling show,
How quietly sometimes the floods will go?

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Lame or Cripple.

TWO or three yeares are now past since the yeare hath beene shortened tenne dayes in France. Oh how many changes are like to ensue this reformation. It was a right remooving of Heaven and Earth together, yet nothing remooveth from its owne place: my neighbours finde the season of their seede and harvest time, the opportunity of their affaires, their lucky and unlucky dayes, to answer just those seasons to which they had from all ages assigned them. Neither was the error heretofore perceived, nor is the reformation now discerned in our use. So much uncertainty is there in all things; so grosse, so obscure and so dull in our understanding. Some are of opinion this reformation might have bin redressed after a lesse incommo- dious maner; subtracting according to the example of Augustus, for some yeares, the bisextile or leape day, which in some sort is but a day of hinderance and trouble, until they might more exactly have satisfied the debt, which by this late reformation is not done, for wee are yet some dayes in arrerages; and if by such a meane we might provide for times to come, appoynting that after the revolution of such or such a number of yeares, that extraordinary day might for ever be eclipsed; so that our mis- reckoning should not henceforward exceede foure and twenty houres. Wee have no other computation of time, but yeares; the world hath used them so many ages; and yet is it a measure we have not untill this day perfectly established. And such as wee dayly doubt, what forme other nations have diversly given the same; and which was the true use of it. And what if some day, that the heavens in growing olde compress themselves towards us, and cast into an uncertainty of houres and dayes? And as Plutarke saith of moneths, that even in his dayes astrology could not yet

¹ CIC. *Tusc. Qn.* l. ii.¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. v. 849.

limit the motion of the moone? Are not we then well help-up to keepe a register of things past? I was even now plodding (as often I doe) upon this, what free and gadding instrument humane reason is. I ordinarily see that men, in matters proposed them, doe more willingly ammuze and busie themselves in seeking out the reasons than in searching out the truth of them. They omit pre-suppositions, but curiously examine consequences. They leaue things, and runne to causes. Oh conceited discourses. The knowledge of causes doth onely concerne him who hath the conduct of things; not us that have but the sufferance of them, and who according to our neede, without entering into their beginning and essence, have perfectly the full and absolute use of them. Nor is wine more pleasant unto him that knows the first faculties of it. Contrariwise, both the body and the minde interrupt and alter the right which they have of the worlds use and of themselves, commixing therewith the opinion of learning. The effects concerne us, but the meanes nothing at all. To determine and distribute belongeth to superiority and regency; as accepting, to subjection and apprenticeshippe. Let us re-assume our custome. They commonly beginne thus: How is such a thing done? Whereas they should say: Is such a thing done? Our discourse is capable to frame an hundred other worlds, and finde the beginnings and contexture of them. It needeth matter nor ground. Let it but runne on; it will as well build upon emptinesse as upon fulnesse, and with inanity as with matter.

*Dare pondus idonea fumo.*¹

That things which vanish straight
In smoke, should yet beare weight.

I finde that wee should say most times: "There is no such thing." And I would often employ this answer, but I dare not; for they cry: It is a defeature produced by ignorance and weakness of spirit. And I most commonly juggle for company sake, to treat of idle subjects and frivolous discourses, which I believe nothing at all. Since truly, it is a rude and quarellous humour, flatly to deny a proposition. And few misse (especially in things hard to be perswaded) to affirme, that they have seene it; or to alleadge such witnesses as their authority shall stay our contradiction. According to which use we know the foundation and meanes of a thousand things that never were. And the world is in a thousand questions discanted and bandied to and fro,

the *pro* and *contra* of which is merely false: *Ita finitima sunt falsa veris, ut in precipitem locum non debeat se sapiens committere.*¹ "Falsehood is so neere neighbour to truth, that a wise man should not put himselfe upon a slipperie downefall. Truth and falsehood have both alike countenances; their port, their taste, and their proceedings semblable." Wee behold them with one same eyes. I observe that we are not onely slow in defending our selves from deceipt, but that we seeke and sue to embrace it. Wee love to meddle and entangle our selves with vanity, as conformable unto our being. I have seene the birth of divers miracles in my dayes. Although they be smothered in the first growth, wee omit not to foresee the course they would have taken had they lived to their full age. The matter is to find the end of the clue; that found, one may wind-off what we list; and there is a further distance from nothing to the least thing in the world, than betweene that and the greatest. Now the first that are embred with the beginning of strangenesse, comming to publish their history, finde by the opposition made against them, where the difficulty of perswasion lodgeth, and goe about with some false patch to botch up those places. Besides that, *Insula hominibus libidine alendi de industria rumores*. "Men having a naturall desire to nourish reports." We naturally make it a matter of conscience to restore what hath been lent us, without some usury and accession of our encrease. A particular errour doth first breed a publike errour; and when his turne commeth, a publike errour begetteth a particular errour. So goeth all this vast frame, from hand to hand, confounding and composing itselfe, in such sort that the furthest-abiding testimonie, is better instructed of it then the nearest, and the last informed better perswaded then the first. It is naturall progresse; for whosoever believeth any thing thinks it a deepe of charity to perswade it unto another; which that he may the better effect, he feareth not to adde something of his owne invention thereunto, so far as he seeth necessary in his discourse, to supply the resistance and effect, he imagineth to bee in anothers conception. My selfe who make an especiall matter of conscience to lie, and care not greatly to add credit or authority to what I say, perceive nevertheless, by the discourses that I have in hand, that being earnestest, either by the resistance of another or by the earnestnesse of my narration, I swell and amplifie my

¹ PERS. Sat. v. 20.

¹ CIC. Acad. Qu. l. iv.

subject by my voice, motions, vigor and force of wordes ; as also by extension and amplification, not without some prejudice to the naked truth. But yet I doe it upon condition that to the first that brings mee home againe, and enquireth for the bare and simple truth at my hands, I sodainly give over my hold, and without exaggeration, emphasis or amplification, I yeeld both my selfe and it unto him ; a lively, earnest and ready speech as mine, is easie transported into hyperboles. There is nothing whereunto men are ordinarily more prone then to give way to their opinions. Where ever usuall meanes faile us, we adde commandement, fire and sword. It is not without some ill fortune to come to that passe, that the multitude of believers in a throng where fooles doe in number so far exceede the wise, should bee the best touch-stone of truth, *Quasi vero quidquam sit tam valde, quam nil sapere vulgare. Sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba.*¹ "As though any thing were so common as to have no wit. The multitude of them that are mad is a defence for them that are in their wits." It is a hard matter for a man to resolve his judgement against common opinions. The first perswasion taken from the very subject seizeth on the simple, whence under the authority of the number and antiquity of testimonies it extends it selfe on the wiser sort.* As for me, in a matter which I could not believe being reported by one, I should never credit the same though affirmed by a hundred. And I judge not opinions by yeares. It is not long since one of our princes, in whom the gowt had spoiled a gentle disposition and blith composition, suffered himselfe so far to bee perswaded or misled by the reports made unto him of the wondrous deedes of a priest, who by way of charmes, spells and gestures cured all diseases, that he undertooke a long-tedious journey to find him out ; and by the vertue of his apprehension did so perswade, and for certain houres so lull his legs asleepe, that for a while hee brought them to doe him that service which for a long time they had forgotten. Had fortune heaped five or six like accidents one on the necke of another, they had doubtles bene able to bring this miracle into nature ; whereas afterward there was so much simplicity and so little skill found in the architect of these works, that he was deemed unworthy of any punishment : as likewise should be done with most suchlike thing, were they thoroughly known in their nature. *Miramur ex intervallo fal-*

lentia : "Wee wonder at those things that deceive us by distance." Our sight doth in such sort, often represent us afarre-off with strange images, which vanish in approaching neerer. *Nunquam ad liquidum fama perducitur* : "Fame is never brought to be cleare." It is a wonder to see how from many vaine beginnings and frivolous causes, so famous impressions doe ordinarily arise and ensue. Even that hindereth the information of them ; for while a man endeavoureth to find out causes, forcible and weighty ends, and worthy so great a name, hee loseth the true and essentiall. They are so little that they escape our sight. And verily a right wise, heedy and subtle inquisitor is required in such questings—impartiall and not preoccupied. All these miracles and strange events, are untill this day hidden from me : I have seene no such monster or more expresse wonder in this world than my selfe. With time and custome a man doth acquaint and enure himselfe to all strangenesse ; but the more I frequent and know my selfe the more my deformitie astonieth me, and the lesse I understand my selfe. The chiefeest priviledge to produce and advance such accidents is reserved unto fortune. Travelling yesterday through a village within two leagues of my house, I found the place yet warme of a miracle that was but newly failed and discovered, wherewith all the country thereabout had for many months bene amused and abused, and divers bordering provinces began to listen unto it, and severall troupes of all qualities ceased not thicke and threefold to flocke thither. A yong man of that towne undertooke one night in his owne house (never dreaming of any knavery) to counterfeit the voice of a spirit or ghost, but onely for sport, to make himselfe merry for that present, which succeeding better than he had imagined, to make the jest extend further and himselfe the merrier, he made a country maiden acquainted with his devise ; who because she was both seely and harmlesse, consented to bee secret and to second him : in the end they got another, and were now three, all one age and like sufficiency ; and from private spirit-talking, they beganne with hideous voices to cry and roare aloud, and in and about churches hiding themselves under the chiefe altar, speaking but by night, forbidding any light to be set up ; from speeches tending the worlds subversion, and threatening of the day of judgment (which are the subjects by whose authority and abusive reverence imposture and illusion is more easily lurked) they proceeded to certaine visions and strange gestures, so foolish and ridiculous

¹ Cic. *De Div.* l. ii.

that there is scarce any thing more grosse and absurd used among children in their childish sports. Suppose, I pray you, that fortune would have seconded this harmlesse devise or juggling trick, who knoweth how farr it would have extended, and to what it would have grown? The poore scely three divels are now in prison, and may happily ere long pay deare for their common sottishnesse, and I wot not whether some cheverell judge or other will be avenged of them for his. It is manifestly seene in this, which now is discovered, as also in divers other things of like quality, exceeding our knowledge; I am of opinion that we uphold our judgement as well as to reject as to receive. Many abuses are engendered into the world, or, to speake more boldly, all the abuses of the world are engendered upon this, that wee are taught to feare to make profession of our ignorance, and are bound to accept and allow all that wee cannot refute. Wee speak of all things by precept and resolution. The stile of Rome did beare that even the same that a witnes deposed, because he had seen it with his own eyes, and that which a judge ordaineth of his most assured knowledge, was conceived in this form of speech, "It seemeth so unto me." I am drawn to hate likely things, when men goe about to set them downe as infallible. I love those words or phrases which mollifie and moderate the temerity of our propositions: "It may be: Peradventure: In some sort: Some: It is said: I think," and such like: and had I beene to instruct children, I would so often have put this manner of answering in their mouth, enquiring and not resolving: "What meanes it? I understand it not: It may well bee: Is it true?" that they should rather have kept the forme of learners untill three score yeeres of age, than present themselves doctore at ten, as many doe. Whosoever will be cured of ignorance must confesse the same. Iris is the daughter of Thaumas; admiration is the ground of all philosophy; inquisition the progresse; ignorance the end. Yea but there is some kinde of ignorance strong and generous, that for honor and courage is nothing beholding to knowledge. An ignorance which to conceive rightly there is required no less learning than to conceive true learning.

Being yong, I saw a law case which Corras, a counsellor of Thoulouse, caused to be printed of a strange accident of two men, who presented themselves one for another. I remember (and I remember nothing else so well) that methought, he proved his imposture, whom he condemned as guilty, so wondrous strange and so far

exceeding both our knowledge and his owne who was judge, that I found much boldnes in the sentence which had condemned him to be hanged. Let us receive some forme of sentence that may say: "The court understands nothing of it;" more freely and ingenuously than did the Areopagites, who finding themselves urged and entangled in a case they could not well cleare or determine, appointed the parties to come againe and appeare before them a hundred yeares after. The witches about my country are in hazard of their life upon the opinion of every new author that may come to give their dreames a body. To apply such examples as the holy Word of God offereth us of such things (assured and irrefragable examples) and joine them to our moderne events, since we neyther see the causes nor meanes of them, some other better wit than ours is thereunto required. Peradventure it appertaineth to that onely most mighty testimony to tell us, this here, and that there, and not this other are of them. God must be beleevd, and good reason he should be so. Yet is there not one amongst us that will be amazed at his owne narration (and he ought necessarily to be astonished at it, if he be not out of his wits) whether he employ it about others matters or against himselfe. I am plaine and homely, and take hold on the maine point, and on that which is most likely, avoiding reproches. *Majorem fidem homines adhibent iis quæ non intelligunt. Cupidine humani ingenii libentius obscura creduntur.* "Men give more credit to things they understand not; things obscure are more willingly beleevd through a strange desire of man's wit." I see that men will be angry, and am forbid to doubt of it upon paine of execrable injuries—a new manner of persuading. Mercy for God's sake. My beliefe is not carried away with blowes. Let them tyrannize over such as accuse their opinion of falsehood; I onely accuse mine of difficulty and boldnesse. And equally to them I condemne the opposite affirmation, if not so imperiously. He that with bravery and by commandement will establish his discourse declareth his reason to bee weake. For a verbal and scholasticall altercation that they have as much apparence as their contradictors. *Videantur sane, non affirmantur modo.* "Indeede let them seeme, so they bee not avouched." But in effectual consequence they draw from it, these have great ods. To kill men there is required a bright-shining and cleare light. And our life is over-reall and essentiall to warrant their supernaturall and fantastick accidents. As for drugges and poisons, they are out of my element; they are homicides, and of

the worst kinde. In which, neverthelesse, it is said that one must not alwayes rely upon the meere confession of those people, for they have sometimes bene scene to accuse themselves to have made away men which were both sound and living. In these other extravagant accusations I should easily say that it sufficeth what commendations soever he hath, a man be believed in such things as are humane, but of such as are beyond his conception and of a supernaturall effect, he ought then only to be believed when a supernaturall approbation hath authorized him. That privilege it hath pleased God to give some of our testimonies ought not to be vilified, or slightly communicated. Mine eares are full of a thousand such tales. Three saw him such a day in the east; three saw him the next day in the west, at such an houre, in such a place, and thus and thus attired; verily in such a case I could not beleve my selfe. How much more naturall and more likely doe I finde it, that two men should lie, then one in twelve houres pass with the winde from east to west? How much more naturall that our understanding may by the volubility of our loose-caping minde be transported from his place, then that one of us should by a strange spirit, in flesh and bone, be carried upon a broome through the tunnell of a chimney? Let us, who are perpetually tossed to and fro with domestickall and our owne illusions, not seeke for forraine and unknown illusions. I deeme it a matter pardonable not to beleve a wonder, so far forth at least as one may divert and exclude the verification by no miraculous way. And I follow Saint Augustine's opinion, that "a man were better bend towards doubt than encline towards certaintie, in matters of difficult triall and dangerous belief." Some yeares are now past that I travelled through the country of a soveraigne prince, who in favour of mee, and to abate my incredulity, did mee the grace, in his owne presence and in a particular place, to make mee see tenne or twelve prisoners of that kinde, and amongst others an olde beldam witch, a true and perfect sorceresse, both by her ugliness and deformity, and such a one as long before was most famous in that profession. I sawe both proofes, witnesses, voluntary confessions, and some other insensible markes about this miserable olde woman. I enquired and talked with her a long time, with the greatest heed and attention I could, yet am I not easily carried away by preoccupation. In the end, and in my conscience, I should rather have appointed them helleborum than hemlocke. *Captisque res magis mentibus quam consceleratis similis visa.* "The

matter seemed liker to mindes captivate than guiltie." Law hath her owne corrections for such diseases. Touching the oppositions and arguments that honest men have made unto mee, both there and often elsewhere, I have found none that tie mee, and that admit not always a more likely solution than their conclusions. True it is that proofes and reasons grounded upon the fact and experience, I untie not, for indeede they have no end, but often cut them, as Alexander did his knot. When all is done it is an overvaluing of ones conjectures by them to cause a man to be burned alive. It is reported by divers examples (and Prestantius saith of his father) that being in a slumber much more deeply then in a full-sound sleepe, he dreamed and verily thought himselfe to be a mare, and served certaine souldiers for a sumpter-horse, and was indeede what he imagined to bee. If sorcerers dreame thus materially, if dreames may sometimes be thus incorporated into effects, I cannot possibly believe that our will should therefore be bound to the lawes and justice; which I say, as one who am neither a judge nor a counsellor unto kings, and furthest from any such worthinesse, but rather a man of the common stamp, and both by my deedes and sayings borne and vowed to the obedience of publique reason. He that should register my humours to the prejudice of the simplest law, or opinion, or custome of this village, should greatly wrong himselfe and injure me as much. For in what I say, I gape for no other certainty but that such was then my thought. A tumultuous and wavering thought. It is by way of discourse that I speake of all, and of nothing by way of advise. *Nec me pudet, ut istos, fateri nescire quod nesciam:* "Nor am I ashamed, as they are to confesse I know not that which I doe not know."

I would not be so hardy to speake if of duty I ought to bee believed; and so I answered a great man who blamed the sharpnesse and contention of my exhortations. When I see you bent and prepared on one side, with all the endeavour I can I will propose the contrary unto you, to resolve and enlighten your judgment, not to subdue or binde the same. God hath your hearts in his hands, and hee will furnish you with choise. I am not so malapert as to desire that my opinions alone should give sway to a matter of such importance. My fortune hath not raised them to so powerfull and deepe conclusions. Truly, I have not onely a great number of complexiones, but an infinite many of opinions, from which, had I a sonne of mine owne, I would disswade him, and willingly make him to dis-

taste them. What, if the truest are not ever the most commodious for man, he being of so strange and untamed a composition, whether it be to the purpose, or from the purpose, it is no great matter. It is a common proverbe in Italie, that 'he knowes not the perfect pleasure of Venus that hath not laine with a limping woman.' Either fortune or some particular accident have long since brought this by-saying in the people's mouth; and it is as well spoken of men as of women, for the Queene of the Amazons answered the Scithian that wooed her to loves embracements, ἀρις χαλός διφει: "The coroko man doth it best." In that feminine commonwealth of theirs, to avoide the domination of men, they were wont in their infancy to maim them, both their armes, and legges, and other limmes, that might any way advantage their strength over them, and make onely that use of them that we in our world make of our women. I would have saide that the loose or disjoynted motion of a limping or crooke-backed woman might adde some new kinde of pleasure unto that businesse or sweet sinne, and some un-assaid sensual sweetnesse to such as make trial of it; but I have lately learnt that even ancient philosophy hath decided the matter, who saith that the legs and thighs of the crooked-backed or halting-lame, by reason of their imperfection, not receiving the nourishment due unto them, it followeth that the genital parts that are above them are more full, better nourished and more vigorous. Or else, that such a defect hindring other exercise, such as are therewith possessed, do lesse waste their strength and consume their vertue, and so much the stronger and fuller they come to Venus sports. Which is also the reason why the Græcians described their women-weavers to bee more hotte and earnestly-luxurious than other women; because of their sitting-trade without any violent exercise of the body. What cannot we dispute of according to that rate? I might likewise say of these, that the same stirring which their labour so sitting doth give them, doth rouze and sollicite them, as the jogging and shaking of their coach doth our ladies. Doe not these examples fit that whereof I spake in the beginning, that our reasons doe often anticipate the effect, and have the extension of their jurisdiction so infinite, that they judge and exercise themselves in inanity, and do a not being? Besides the flexibility of our invention, to frame reasons unto all manner of dreames; our imagination is likewise found easie to receive impressions from falsehood by very frivolous

appearances. For, by the onely authoritie of the ancient use of this word or phrase, I have heretofore perswaded my selfe to have received more pleasure of a woman in that she was not straight, and have accounted hir crookednesse in the number of hir graces. Torquato Tasso, in the comparison he makes betweene Italy and France, reporteth to have noted that we commonly have more slender and spiny legges than the Italian gentlemen; and imputeth the cause unto our continuall riding and sitting on horsebacke. Which is the very same, from which Suetonius draweth another cleane contrary conclusion; for, he saith, that Germanicus had by the frequent use of this exercise brought his to be very big. There is nothing so supple and wandering as our understanding. It is like to Theramenez shooe, fit for all feet. It is double and diverse, and so are matters diverse and double. Give me a dragme of silver, said a cinicke philosopher unto Antigonus. It is not the present of a king answered he; give then a talent: It is not gift for a cinicke, quoth he.

*Sen plures calor ille vias, et cæca relaxat
Spiramenta, novus veniat qua succus in herbas;
Sen durat magis, et venas astringit hiantes,
Ne tennes pluvie, rapidive potentia solis
Acrior, aut Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat.*¹

Whether the heate layes open holes unseene,
Whereby the sappe may passe to hearbs fresh-
greene;

Or rather hardens and bindes gaping vaines,
Lest sharpe power of hot sunne, or thinning
raies;

Or piercing north-cold blaste,
Should scorch, consume and waste.

Ogni medaglia ha il suo reverso: "Each outside hath his inside," saith the Italian, Lo, why Clitomachus was wont to say that Carneades had surmounted the labours of Hercules, because he had exacted consent from that is to say, opinion and temerity to judge. This fantasie of Carneades, so vigorous (as I imagine) proceeded antiently from the impudency of those who make profession to know, and from their excessive selfe-overweening. Æsop was set to sale, together with two other slaves; a chapman enquired of the first what he could doe; he to endear himselfe, answered, mountaine and wonders, and what not? For he knew and could doe all things. The second answered even so for himselfe, and more too; but when he came to Æsop, and demanded of him what he could doe, "Nothing (said he), for these two have forestaled all, and know and can

¹ VIRG. GEOR. l. i. 89.

doe all things, and have left nothing for mee." So hath it happened in the schoole of philosophy. The rashnes of those who ascribed the capacity of all things to mans wit, through spight and emulation produced this opinion in others, that humane wit was not capable of anything. Some holde the same extremity in ignorance that others hold in knowledge; to the end none may deny that man is not immoderate in all and every where, and hath no other sentence of arrest than that of necessity, and impuissance to proceede further.

CHAPTER XII.

Of Physiognomy.

ALMOST all the opinions we have are taken by authority and upon credit: there is no hurt. We cannot chuse worse then by our selves in so weake an age. This image of Socrates his discourse, which his friends have left us, we only approve it by the reverence of publicke approbation. It is not for our owne knowledge: they are not according to our use. Might such a man be borne now adayes, there are but few would now esteeme him. Wee discern not graces inly or aright; wee only perceive them by a false light set out and put up with arte; such as passe under their naturall purity and simplicity doe easily escape so weake and dimme a sight as ours is. They have a secret, unperceived and delicate beauty; he had neede of a cleere, farre-seeing and true-discerning sight that should rightly discover this secret light. Is not ingenuity (according to us) cosin-germaine unto sottishnesse, and a quality of reproach? Socrates maketh his soule to moove, with a naturall and common motion. Thus saith a plaine country-man, and thus a seely woman: Hee never hath other people in his mouth than coach-makers, joyners, coblers, and masons. They are inductions and similitudes, drawn from the most vulgar and known actions of men: every one understands him. Under so base a forme wee should never have chosen the noble worthinesse and brightnesse of his admirable conceptions; wee that esteeme all those but meane and vile that learning doth not raise, and who have no perceiving of riches except set out in shew and pompe. Our world is framed but unto ostentation. Men are puffed up with winde, and moved or handled by bounds, as baloones. This

man proposeth no vaine fantasies unto himselfe. His end was to store us with things and furnish us with precepts, which really more substantially and joyntly serve our life:

— *servare modum, finemque tenere,
Naturamque sequi.*¹

To keepe a meane, to hold the end,
And natures conduct to attend,

So was he ever all one alike, and raised himselfe to the highest pitch of vigor, not by fits, but by complexion. Or to say better, he raised nothing, but rather brought downe and reduced all difficulties or sharpnesse to their original and naturall state, and thereunto subdued vigor. For in Cato it is manifestly seene to be an out-right proceeding, far-above and beyond the common; by the brave exploits of his life, and in his death, hee is ever perceived to be mounted upon his great horses. Whereas this man keeps on the ground, and with a gentle and ordinary pace treateth of the most profitable discourses, and addresseth himselfe both unto death and to the most thorny and crabbed crosses, that may happen unto the course of humane life. It hath indeede fortun'd, that the worthiest man to be knowne, and for a patterne to be presented to the world, he is the man of whom we have most certaine knowledge. Hee hath beene declared and enlightened by the most cleare-seeing men that ever were; the testimonies wee have of him are in faithfulness and sufficiency most admirable. It is a great matter that ever he was able to give such order unto the pure imaginations of a childe, that without altring or wresting them, he hath thence produced the fairest effects of our minde. He neither represents it rich nor high raised, but sound and pure, and ever with a blithe and undefiled health. By these vulgar springs and naturall words, by these ordinary and common fantasies, sans mooving or without urging himselfe, hee erected not only the most regular, but the highest and most vigorous opinions, actions, and customes that ever were. He it is that brought humane wisdom from heaven againe, where for a long time it had beene lost, to restore it unto man; where her most just and laborious work is. See or heare him pleade before his judges; marke with what reasons he rouzeth his courage to the hazards of warre, what arguments fortifie his patience against detraction, calumnie, tyranny, death, and against his wives peevish head; therein is nothing borrowed from art or from learning. The

¹ LUCAN. *Bel. Civ.* l. ii. 380.

simplest may there know their meanes and might; it is impossible to goe further back or lower. He hath done human nature a great kindnesse, to shew what and how much she can doe of her selfe. We are every one richer then we imagine, but we are taught to borrow and instructed to shift; and rather to make use of others goods and meanes then of our owne. There is nothing whereon man can stay or fix himselfe in time of his need. Of voluptuousnesse, of riches, pleasure, power, he ever embraceth more than he can graspe or hold; his greedinesse is incapable of moderation. The very same I finde to be in the curiosity of learning and knowledge; he cuts out more worke than he can well make an end of, and much more than he neede; extending the profit of learning as farre as his matter. *Ut omnium rerum, sic literarum quoque intemperantia laboramus*:¹ "We are sicke of a surlet, as of all things, so of learning also." And Tacitus hath reason to commend Agricolas mother, to have brided in her sonne an over-burning and earnest desire of learning. It is a good, being needely looked unto, that containeth as other humane goods, much peculiar vanity and naturall weaknesse, and is very chargeable; the acquisition and purchase whereof is much more hazardous then of all other viands and beverage. For whatsoever else we have bought, we carry home in some vessel or other, where we have law to examine it's worth, how much and at what time we are to take it. But sciences, we cannot sodainly put them into any other vessell than our minde; we swallow them in buying them, and go from the market either already infected or amended. There are some which instead of nourishing doe but hinder and surcharge us; and other some which under colour of curing empoison us. I have taken pleasure in some place to see men who for devotions sake have made a vow of ignorance, as of chastity, poverty and penitence. It is also a kind of quelding of our inordinate appetites to muzzle this greedinesse, which provoketh us to the study of bookes, and depriveth the mind of that voluptuous delight which by the opinion of learning doth so tickle us. And it is richly to accomplish the vow of poverty to joyne that of the minde unto it, we neede not much learning to live at ease. And Socrates teacheth us that we have both it, and the way to finde and make use of it, within us. All our sufficiency that is beyond the naturall is well nigh vaine and superfluous. It is much if it charge and trouble us no more then it steads us. *Paucis opus*

est literis ad mentem bonam:¹ "We have neede of little learning to have a good minde." They are febricitant excesses of our spirit, a turbulent and unquiet instrument. Rowze up your selfe, and you shall finde forcible arguments against death to be in your selfe; most true and very proper to serve and steade you in time of necessity. 'Tis they which induce a peasant swaine, yea and whole nations, to die as constantly as any philosopher. Should I have died lesse merly before I read the Tusculanes? I thinke not. And when I finde my selfe in my best wits I perceive that I have somewhat enriched my tongue, my courage but little. It is even as nature framed the same at first. And against any conflict it shields itselfe, but with a naturall and common march. Bookes have not so much served mee for instruction as excercitation. What if learning, assaying to arme us with new wards and fences against naturall inconveniences, hath more imprinted their greatnesse and weight in our fantasie, then her reasons, quiddities, and subtilties, therewith to cover us? They are subtilties indeed, by which she often awaketh us very vainly. Observe how many slight and idle arguments the wisest and closest authors frame and scatter about one good sound, which if you but consider needely are but vaine and incorporall. They are but verbal willes which beguile us; but forsomuch as it may be profitable I will not otherwise blanch them. Many of that condition are scattered here and there, in divers places of this volume, either borrowed or imitated. Yet should a man somewhat heed he call not that force which is but quaintnesse, or term that which is but quipping sharpe, solide; or name that good which is but faire: *Quæ magis gustata quam potata delectant*:² "Which more delight us being but tasted, then swild and swallowed downe." All that which pleaseth feedeth not: *Ubi non ingenii sed animi negotium agitur*: "Where it is no matter of wit, but of courage." To see the strugling endeavors which Seneca giveth himselfe to prepare himselfe against death; to see him sweate with panting; to see him bathe so long upon this perch, thereby to strengthen and assure himselfe; I should have made question of his reputation had he not most undauntedly maintained the same in his death. His so violent and frequent agitation sheweth that himselfe was fervent and impetuous. *Magnus animus remissius loquitur, et securius: Non est alius ingenio, alius animo color*:³ "A great cou-

¹ SEN. *Epist.* 106. f.² CIC. *Tusc. Qu.* l. v.³ SEN. *Epist.* cxix. *Éleg.* l.¹ SEN. *Epist.* 106. f.

rage speaks softly but securely. Wit hath not one colour and courage another." He must be convicted at his owne charges, and sheweth in some sort that he was pressed by his adversary. Plutarkes maner by how much more disdainfull and farre-extending it is (in my opinion) so much more manlike and perswasive is it; I should easily beleeeve that his soule had her motions more assured and more regular. The one more sharpe, pricketh and sodainely starts us, toucheth the spirit more. The other more solide, doth constantly enforme, establish and comfort us; toucheth more the understanding. That ravisheth our judgement; this doth gaine it. I have likewise seene other compositions and more revered, which in portraying the combat they endure against the provocations of the flesh, represent them so violent, so powerfull and invincible, that ourselves, who are cast in the common mould of other men, have as much to admire the unknowne strangeness and unfelt vigor of their temptation, as their constant resistance. To what purpose do we so arme and steele ourselves with these labouring efforts of learning? Let us diligently survey the surface of the earth, and there consider so many seely-poor people as we see toying, sweltering and drooping about their businesse, which never heard of Aristotle nor of Plato, nor ever knew what examples or precepts are. From those doth nature dayly draw and afford us effects of constancy and patientnes of patience, more pure and forcible then are those we so curiously study for in schooles. How many do I ordinarily see that misacknowledge poverty; how many that wish for death, or that passe it without any alarm or affliction? A fellow that dungeth my garden hath happily this morning buried his father or his childe. The very names whereby they call diseases doe somewhat mylden and diminish the sharpnes of them. With them a phthisique or consumption of the lungs is but an ordinary cough; a dysentery or bloody flux but a distemper of the stomacke; a pleurisie but a cold or murre; and as they gently name them so they easily endure them. Grievous are they indeed when they hinder their ordinary labour or breake their usual rest. They will not take their beds but when they shall die. *Simplex illa et aperta virtus in obscuram et solertem scientiam versa est*: "That plaine and cleare vertue is turned into obscure and cunning knowledge." I was writing this about a time that a boisterous storme of our tumultuous broiles and bloody troubles did for many months space, with all its might and horreur, hang full over my head. On the one side I had the enemies

at my gates; on the other the Picoreurs or freebooters, farre worse foes. *Non armis sed villis certatur*: "We contend not with armour, but with vices." And at one time felt and endured all manner of harne-bringing military injuries:

*Hostis adest de extra lævæque a parte timendus,
Viciniq; malo lævæ utriusque latens.*

A fearefull foe on left hand and on right
Doth with his neighbour harmes both sides
afright.

Oh monstrous warre: others worke without, this inwardly and against himselfe, and with her owne venome gnaweth and consumes her selfe. It is of so ruinous and maligne a nature, that, together with all things els, she ruineh her selfe; and with spitelull rage doth rent, deface and massacre itselfe. We doe more often see it, by and through herselfe, to wast, to desolate and dissolve hir selfe, then by or through want of any necessary thing, or by enemies force. All manner of discipline doth shunne and fle it. She commeth to cure sedition, and hir selfe is thoroughly therewith infected; she goeth about to chastise disobedience, and sheweth the example of it; and being employed for the defence of lawes entereth into actual rebellion against her own ordinances. Aye me, where are we? Our phisicke bringeth infection.

*Nostre mal s'empoisonne
Du secours qu'on luy donne.*

Our evill is empoysond more
By plaister they would lay to th' sore.

— *exuberat magis ægrescitque medendo.*²

It rises higher, quicker,
And grows by curing sicker.

*Omnia fanda nefanda malo permista furore,
Justitiam nobis mentem avertere Deorum.*³

Lawfull unlawfull deeds with fury blended,
Have turned from us the Gods just minde
offended.

In these popular diseases one may in the beginning distinguish the sound from the sicke; but if they chance to continue any time, as ours hath done and doth still, all the body, yea head and heeles, feeble themselves the worse; no part is exempted from corruption; for there is no aire a man drawes so greedily, or sucks so gluttonously, and that more spreads itselfe or penetrates more deeply, then doth licentiousnesse. Our armies have no other bond to tie them, or other cement to fasten them, then what cometh from strangers. It is now a hard

¹ OVID. *Pont.* l. i. *Eleg.* iv. 55.

² VIRG. *Æn.* l. xii. 46.

³ CATUL. *Argon.* v. 405.

matter to frame a body of a more compleate, constant, well-ordered and coherent army of Frenchmen. Oh, what shame is it! We have no other discipline then what borrowed or auxilial souldiers shew us. As for us, we are led on by our owne discretion and not by the commanders; each man followeth his owne humour, and hath more to doe within then without. It is the commander who should follow, court and give place; hee onely ought to obey; all the rest are free and loose. I am pleased to see what remission and puslanimity is in ambition, and by what steps of abjection and servitude it must arrive unto in its end. But I am displeased to see some debonaire and well-meaning mindes, yea such as are capable of justice, dayly corrupted about the managing and commanding of this many-headed confusion. Long sufferance begets custome; custome, consent and imitation. We had too-too many infected and ill-borne minds without corrupting the good, the sound, and the generous; so that, if we continue any time, it will prove a difficult matter to finde out a man unto whose skill and sufficiency the health or recovery of this state may be committed in trust, if fortune shall happily be pleased to restore it us againe.

*Hunc saltem everso juvenem succurrere seculo,
Ne prohibete.*

Forbid not yet this youth at least,
To aide this age more then opprest.

What is become of that ancient precept, that souldiers ought more to feare their generall than their enemy? And of that wonderfull examplelesse example, that the Romane army, having upon occasion enclosed within her trenches, and round-beset an apple-orchard, so obedient was she to her captaines, that the next morning it rose and marched away without entring the same or touching one apple, although they were full-ripe and very delicious; so that when the owner came he found the full number of his apples! I should be glad that our youths, in steade of the time they employ about lesse profitable peregrinations, and lesse honourable apprenticeships, would bestow one moiety in seeing and observing the warres that happen on the sea under some good captaine or excellent commander of Malta; the other moiety in learning and surveying the discipline of the Turkish armies. For it hath many differences and advantages over ours. This ensueth that here our souldiers become more licentious in expeditions, that they prove more circumspect and fearfully wary. For small offences and petty larcenies, which in times of peace are in the common people punished

with whipping and bastinadoes, in times of warre are capital crimes. For an egge taken by a Turke without paying, he is by their law to have the full number of fifty stripes with a cudgell. For every other thing, how slight soever, not necessary for mans feeding, even for very trifles, they are either thrust through with a sharpe stake, which they call empaling, or presently beheaded. I have beene amazed reading the story of Selim, the cruelllest conqueror that ever was, to see, at what time he subdued the country of Ægypt, the beauteous gardens round about Damasco, all open and in a conquered country, his maine army lying encamped round about, those gardens were left untouched and unspoyled by the hands of his souldiers, onely because they were commanded to spoyle nothing, and had not the watchword of pillage. But is there any malady in a common-weale that deserveth to be combated by so mortall drugges? No, saide Favonius, not so much as the usurpation of the tyrannicall possession of a commonwealth. Plato likewise is not willing one should offer violence to the quiet repose of his country, no not to reforme or cure the same; and alloweth not that reformation which disturbeth or hazardeth the whole estate; and which is purchased with the blood and ruine of the citizens. Establishing the office of an honest man, in these causes, to leave all there; but onely to pray God to lend his extraordinary assisting hand unto it; and seemeth to be offended with Dion his great friend, to have therein proceeded somewhat otherwise. I was a Platonist on that side before ever I knew there had beene a Plato in the world. And if such a man ought absolutely be banished our commerce and refused our society (he who for the sincerity of his conscience deserved by meane of divine favour, athwart the publique darkness, and through the generall ignorance of the world wherein he lived, so farre to enter and so deeply to penetrate into Christian light), I doe not thinke that it befitteth us to be instructed by a Pagan. Oh what impiety is it to expect from God no succour simply his, and without our co-operation. I often doubt whether amongst so many men that meddle with such a matter, any hath beene found of so weake an understanding, that hath earnestly beene perswaded, he proceeded toward reformation by the utmost of deformations; that he drew toward his salvation by the most expresse causes, that we have of undoubted damnation; that overthrowing policy, disgracing magistrates, abusing lawes, under whose tuition God hath placed him; filling

brotherly minds and loving hearts with malice, hatred and murder; calling the devils and furies to his helpe, he may bring assistance to the most sacred mildnesse and justice of divine law. Ambition, avarice, cruelty and revenge have not sufficient proppes and naturall impetuosity; let us allure and stirre them up by the glorious ditle of justice and devotion. There can no worse estate of things be imagined than where wickednesse cometh to be lawfull, and with the magistrates leave to take the cloake of vertue: *Nihil in speciem fallacius, quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen prætextitur sceleribus*: "There is nothing more deceitfull to shew than corrupt religion, when the power of heaven is made a pretence and cloake for wickednesse." The extreame kinde of injustice (according to Plato) is, that that which is unjust should be held for just. The common people suffered therein greatly then, not onely present losses—

— *undique totis*
Usque adeo turbatur agris—
Such revell and tumultuous rout
In all the country round about—

but also succeeding dammagés. The living were faine to suffer, so did such as then were scarce born. They were robbed and pilld, and by consequence so was I, even of hope; spoiling and depriving them of all they had to provide their living for many yeares to come.

Que nequeunt secum ferræ aut abducere,
perdunt,
Et cremat insontes turba scelerata casas:
Muris nulla fides, squalent populatibus
agri.

They wretch-lesse spoyle and spill what draw
or drive they may not,
Guilty rogues to set fire on guilt-lesse houses
stay not.
In walls no trust, the field
By spoyle growes waste and wilde.

Besides these mischiefes I endured some others. I incurred the inconveniences that moderation bringeth in such diseases. I was shaven on all hands. To the Ghibelin I was a Gueft, to Gueft a Ghibelin. Some one of my poets expressed as much, but I wot not where it is. The situation of my house, and the acquaintance of such as dwelt round about me, presented me with one visage; my life and actions with another. No formall accusations were made of it, for there was nothing to take hold of. I never opposed myself against the lawes, and who had called me in question should have lost by the bargain. They were mute suspicions that ranne under hand, which

never want apparence to so confused a hurly-hurly, no more thar lacke of envious or foolish wits. I commonly affoord ayde unto injurious presumption that fortune scattereth against me; by a fashion I ever had, to avoid justifying, excusing, or interpreting myselfe; deeming it to be a putting of my conscience to compromise, to pleade for her: *Perspicuitas enim, argumentatione elevatur*: "For the clearing of a cause is lessened by the arguing." And as if every man saw into mee as cleare as I doe myselfe, in lieu of withdrawing, I advance myselfe to the accusation and rather endeare it by an erroneous and scoffing confession, except I flatly hold my peace as of a thing unworthy any answer. But such as take it for an over-proud confidence, doe not much lesse disesteeme and hate me for it, then such as take it for weaknesse of an indefensible cause; namely, the great, with whom want of submission, is the extreame fault. Rude to all justice, that is knowne or felt; not demisse, humble, or suppliant, I have often stumbled against that pillar. So it is, that by the harness which befell mee, an ambitious man would have hanged himselfe; and so would a covetous churle. I have no care at all to acquire or get.

Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi
vivam
*Quod superest avi, si quid superesse volent dii.*¹
Let me have that I have, or lesse, so I may
live
Unto my selfe the rest, if any rest God give.

But losses that come unto me by others injury, be it larceny or violence, pinch me in a manner as one sicke and tortured with avarice. An offense causeth undoubtably more griefe and sharpnesse than a losse. A thousand severall kindes of mischiefes fell upon me one in the neck of another: I should more stoutly have endured them had they come all at once. I berought my selfe, amongst my friends, to whom I might commit a needy, a defective and unfortunate olde age; but after I had surveyed them all, and cast mine eyes every where, I found my selfe bare and far to seeke. For one to sowse himselfe downe headlong, and from so great a height, he should heedily fore-cast that it may be in the armes of a solide, steadfast, vigorous and fortunate affection. They are rare, if there be any. In the end I perceived the best and safest way was to trust both my self and my necessity unto my selfe, and if it should happen to be but meanly and faintly in Fortunes grace, I might more effectually recommend

¹ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* xxviii. 107.

my selfe unto mine owne favour, more closely fasten and more neerely looke unto my selfe. In all things men relie upon strange props, to spare their owne; onely certaine and onely powerfull, know they but how to arme themselves with them. Every man runneth out and unto what is to come, because no man is yet come into himselfe. And I resolved that they were profitable inconveniences, forasmuch as when reason will not serve, we must first warne towards scholars with the rod; as with fire and violence of wedges, we bring a crooked peece of wood to be straight. It is long since I preached to me to keepe my selfe unto my selfe, and live sequestred from alien and strange things, notwithstanding I daily start out and cast mine eyes aside. Inclination, a great man's favourable word, a kind looke doth tempt me. God he knows whether there be penury of them now-a-dayes, and what sense they beare. I likewise, without frowning, listen to the subornings, framed to draw mee to some towne of merchandise or city of traffike; and so coldly defend myself that it seemes I should rather endure to be overcome than not. Now to a spirit so indocile blowes are required; and this vessel, that of it selfe is so ready to warpe, to unhoope, to escape and fall in peeces, must be closed, hooped and strongly knocked with an adze. Secondly, that this accident served me as an exercitation to prepare my selfe for worse, if worse might happen, if I, who both by the benefit of my fortune and condition of my manners, hoped to bee of the last, should by this tempest be one of the first surprised; instructing my selfe betimes to force my life, and frame it for a new state. True-perfect liberty is for one to be able to doe and work all things upon himselfe, *Potentissimus est qui se habet in potestate.* "Hee is of most power that keepes himselfe in his owne power." In ordinary and peacefull times a man prepares himselfe for common and moderate accidents; but in this confusion wherein we have beene these thirty yeeres, every Frenchman, be it in generall or in particular, doth hourly see himselfe upon the point of his fortunes over-throw and downfall. By so much more ought each one have his courage stored and his minde fraught with more strong and vigorous provisions. Let us thanke Fortune, that hath not made us live in an effeminate, idle, and languishing age; some, whom other meanes could never bring unto it, shall make themselves famous by their misfortune. As I read not much in histories,

these confusions of other states, without regret, that I could not better them present; so doth my curiosity make me somewhat please myselfe with mine eyes to see this notable spectacle of our publik death; her symptomes and formes, and since I could not hinder the same, I am content to be appointed as an assistant unto it, and thereby instruct myselfe. Yet seeke we evidently to know in shadows and understand by fabulous representations upon theaters, to shew of the tragicke revolutions of humane fortune. It is not without compassion of that we heare, but we please our selves to rowze up our displeasure by the rarenesse of these pitifull events. Nothing tickles that pincheth not; and good historians avoid calme narrations, as a dead water or mortuere, to retrieve seditions and finde out warres, whereto they know we cal them. I doubt whether I may lawfully avow at how base a rate of my lifes rest and tranquility I have past it more than halfe in the ruine of my country. In accidents that touch me not in my freehold I purchase patience very cheape; and to complaine to my selfe I respect not so much what is taken from mee, as what is left me both within and without. There is comfort in sometimes eschewing one and sometimes another of the evils, that one in the neck of another surprise us, and elsewhere strike us round about. As matters of publike interestes, according as my affection is more universally scattered, she is thereby more enfeebled. Since it is halfe true: *Tantum ex publicis malis sentimus, quantum ad privatas res pertinet.* "Wee feele so much of common harmes as appertaine to our private estate." And that the health whence wee fell was such that her selfe solaceth the regret we should have for her. It was health, mary but in comparison the contagion, which hath followed the same. Wee have not falne very high. The corruption and the brigandage which now is in office and dignity seemes to me the least tolerable. Wee are lesse injuriously robbed in the midst of a wood then a place of security. It was an universall coherency of members spoiled avie one another, and most of them, with old-ranked ulcers, which neither admitted nor demaunded recovery. Truly this shaking fit did therefore more animate then deterre me, only by the aide of my conscience, which not onely quietly but fiercely carried it selfe; and I found no cause to complain of my selfe. Likewise, as God never sends men either evils or goods absolutely pure, my health held out well for that time, yea against her ordinary; and as with out it I can do nothing, so with it,

there are few things I cannot doe. She gave me meanes to summon and rouze up all my provisions, and to beare my hand before my hurt, which happily would have gone further; and proved in my patience that yet I had some hold against fortune, and that to thrust me out of my saddle there was required a stronger counterbuffe. This I speake not to provoke her to give me a more vigorous charge. I am her servant, and yeeld my selfe unto her: for Gods sake let her be pleased. Demaund you whether I feele her assaults? I doe indeede. As those whom sorrow possesseth and overwhelmeth doe notwithstanding at one time or another suffer themselves by intermissions to be touched by some pleasure, and now and then smile. I have sufficient power over my selfe to make mine ordinary state quiet and free from all tedious and irksome imaginations; but yet I sometimes suffer my selfe by starts to be surprised with the pinchings of these unpleasant conceits, which whilst I arme my selfe to expell or wrestle against them assaile and beate mee. Loe here another huddle or tide of mischief, that on the necke of the former came rushing upon mee. Both within and round about my house, I was overtaken, in respect of all other, with a most contagious pestilence; for, as soundest bodies are subject to grievous diseases, because they onely can force them; so the aire about me being very healthy, wher in no mans memory infection (though very neere) could ever take footing, coming now to be poisoned, brought forth strange effects.

*Mista senum et juvenum densantur funera ;
nullum*

*Sæva caput Proserpina fugit.*¹

Of old and young thicke funerals are shared ;
By cruell Proserpine no head is spared.

I was faine to endure this strange condition, that the sight of my house was irksome unto me. Whatever was therein lay all at random, no man looked thereunto, and was free for any that had a minde unto it. I who have so long beene a good house-keeper, and used to hospitality, was much troubled and put to my shifts, how to finde out some retreat for my family—a dismaied and scattered family, making both her selfe and her friends afraide, and breeding horror where it sought to retire for shelter, being now to shift and change her dwelling; so soone as any of the company beganne to feele his finger ake, all the rest were dismaied. Every sicknesse is then taken for the plague: none hath leisure to

consider them. And the mischief is, that according to rules of arte, what danger soever approacheth, a man must continue forty dayes in anxiety or feare of that evill; in which time your owne imagination doth perplex you as she list and infect your health. All which had much lesse toucht mee, had I not beene forced to beare other mens burthens and partake all their grievances, and for six months space in miserable manner to be a woefull guide to so great-confused a caravane. For I ever carry my preservatives about me, which are resolution and sufferance. Apprehension doth not greatly presse me, which is particularly feared in this sicknesse; and if, being alone, I should have taken it, it had beene a stronger and further flight. It is a death, in my opinion, not of the worst: it is commonly short and speeding, voide of lingring giddinesse, without paine, comforted by the publike condition; without ceremonie, without mourning, and without thronging. But for the people about us, the hundreth part of soules cannot be saved.

— *videas desertaque regna*

Pastorum, et longe saltus lateque vacantes.

Kingdomes of shepherds desolate, forlorne,
Parkes farre and neere lie waste, a state all
torne,

In that place my best revenue is manuell: what a hundred men laboured for me lay fallow for a long time. What examples of resolution saw we not then in all this peoples simplicity? Each one generally renounced all care of life. The grapes (which are the countries chiefe commoditie) hung still and rotted upon the vines untouched; all indifferently preparing themselves, and expecting death either that night or the next morrow; with countenance and voice so little daunted, that they seemed to have compromitted to this necessitie, and that it was an universall and inevitable condemnation. It is ever such. But what slender hold hath the resolution of dying? The difference and distance of some few houres; the onely consideration of the company yeelds the apprehension diverse unto us. Behold these because they die in one same month, children, yong, old; they are no more astonished, they are no longer wept for. I saw some that feared to stay behinde, as if they had beene in some horrible solitude. And commonly I knew no other care amongst them but for graves; it much grieved them to see the dead carcasses scattered over the fields, at the mercy of wilde beasts, which presently began to flocke thither. Oh how humane fantasies

¹ HOR. CAR. I. i. OD. xviii. 19.

differ and are easily disjoined! The Negroes, a nation whilome subdued by Alexander the Great, cast out their dead mens bodies into the thickest of their woods, there to be devoured, the grave onely esteemed happy among them. Some in good health digged already their graves, other some yet living did go into them; and a day-labourer of mine, as he was dying, with his owne hands and feet pulled earth upon him, and so covered himselfe. Was not this a lying downe in the shade to sleepe at ease—an enterprise in some sort as highly noble as that of some Romane souldiers, who, after the battle of Cauna, were found with their heads in certaine holes or pits, which themselves had made, and filled up with their hands, wherein they were smothered? To conclude, a whole nation was presently by use brought to a march, that in undantednesse yelds not to any consulted and fore-meditated resolution. The greatest number of learning's instructions to encourage us have more shew then force, and more ornament then fruit. Wee have forsaken nature, and yet we will teach her her lesson; shee, that led us so happily, and directed us so safely. And in the meanwhile, the traces of her instructions and that little which by the benefit of ignorance remaineth of her image, imprinted in the life of this rusticall troupe of unpolished men; learning is compelled to goe daily a borrowing, thereby to make her disciples a patterne of constancy, of innocency, and of tranquillitie. It is a goodly matter to see how these men full of so great knowledge, must imitate this foolish simplicitie, yea in the first and chiefe actions of vertue. And that our wisdome should learne of beasts the most profitable documents belonging to the chiefeest and most necessary parts of our life. How we should live and die, husband our goods, love and bring up our children, and entertain justice. A singular testimonie of mans infirmitie, and that this reason we so manage at our pleasure, ever finding some diversitie and noveltie, leaveth unto us no maner of apparant tracke of nature. Wherewith men have done as perfumers do with oyle, they have adulterated her with so many argumentations and sophisticated her with so diverse farre-fetcht discourses, that she is become variable and peculiar to every man, and hath lost her proper, constant, and universall visage; whereof we must seeke for a testimony of beasts, not subject to favor or corruption, nor to diversity of opinions. For it is most true that themselves march not alwaies exactly in natures path, but if they chance to stray, it is so little that you may

ever perceive the tracke; even as horses led by hand doe sometimes bound and start out of the way, but no further then their halters length, and nevertheless follow ever his steps that leadeth them; and as a hawke takes his flight but under the limits of her cranes or twyne. *Exilia, tormenta, belli, morbos, naufragia meditare, ut nullo sis malo tyro.* "Banishments, torments, warres, sicknesses, shipwracks, all these forecaste and premeditate, that thou maiest seeme no novice, no freshwater souldier to any misadventure." What availeth this curiosity unto us, to preoccupate all humane natures inconveniences, and with so much labour and toying against them to prepare our selves, which peradventure shall nothing concern us? (*Parem passis tristitiam facit, pati posse.* "It makes men as sad that they may suffer some mischiefe as if they had suffred it." Not onely the blow, but the winde and cracke strikes us.) Or as the most febricitant, for surely it is a kinde of fever, now to cause yourselfe to be whipped because fortune may one day chance to make you endure it; and at mid-summer to put on your furr'd gowne, because you shall neede it at Christmas? Cast yourselves into the experience of all the mischiefs that may befall you, namely of the extreamest; there try your selfe (say they), there assure your selfe. Contrariwise, the easiest and most naturall were even to discharge his thought of them. They will not come soone enough, their true being doth not last us long enough, our spirit must extend and lengthen them, and beforehand incorporate them into himselfe, and therewith entertaine himselfe, as if they lay not sufficiently heavy on our senses. They will weigh heavy enough when they shall be there (saith one of the maisters, not of a tender, but of the hardest sect); meanwhile favour thy selfe; beleve what thou lovest best. What availes it thee to collect and prevent thy ill fortune, and for feare of the future lose the present; and now to be miserable because in time thou maiest bee so? They are his owne words. Learning doth us willingly one good office, exactly to instruct us in the dimensions of evils.

Curus acuens mortalina corda.

Mens cogitationes whetting,
With sharpe cares inly fretting.

It were pity any part of their greatnesse should escape our feeling and understanding. It is certaine that preparation unto death hath caused more torment unto most than the very sufferance. It was whilome truly said of and by a most judicious author: *Minus afficit sensus fatigatio, quam*

cogitatio: "Wearinesse lesse troubleth our senses then pensiveness doth." The apprehension of present death doth sometimes of it selfe animate us with a ready resolution no longer to avoide a thing altogether inevitable. Many gladiators have in former ages bene seene, having at first fought very cowardly, most courageously to embrace death; offering their throate to the enemies sword, yea and bidde them make haste. The sight distant from future death hath neede of a slowe constancy, and by consequence hard to bee found. If you know not how to die, take no care for it; Nature her selfe will fully and sufficiently teach you in the nicke, she will exactly discharge that worke for you; trouble not your selfe with it.

*Incertam frustra, mortales, funeris horam
Quæritis, et quâ sit mors aditura via:
Pena minor certam subito perferre ruina;
Quod timeas, gravior sustinuisse diu.*¹

Of death th'uncertaine houre you men in vaine
Enquire, and what way death shall you de-
taine:

A certaine sodaine ruine is lesse paine,
More grievous long what you feare to sus-
taine.

We trouble death with the care of life, and life with the care of death. The one annoyeth, the other affrights us. It is not against death we prepare ourselves, it is a thing too momentary. A quarter of an houre of passion without consequence and without annoyance deserves not particular precepts. To say truth, we prepare our selves against the preparations of death. Philosophy teaches us ever to have death before our eyes, to foresee and consider it before it come; then giveth us rules and precautions so to provide, that such foresight and thought hurt us not. So doe phisicians, who cast us into diseases that they may employ their drugges and skill about them. If we have not known how to live, it is injustice to teach us how to die, and deforme the end from all the rest. Have wee knowne how to live constantly and quietly, wee shall know how to die resolutely and repossedly. They may bragge as much as they please. *Tota Philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est*: "The whole life of a philosopher is the meditation of his death." But methinks it is indecde the end, yet not the scope of life. It is her last, it is her extremity, yet not her object. Her selfe must be unto her selfe, her aime, her drift, and her designe. Her direct studie is to order, to direct, and to suffer her selfe

In the number of many other offices which the generall and principall chapter to know how to live containeth, is this speciall article, "to know how to die." And of the easiest, did not our owne feare weigh it downe. To judge them by their profit and by the naked truth, the lessons of simplicity yeeld not much to those which doctrine preacheth to the contrary unto us. Men are different in feeling and diverse i force; they must be directed to their good according to themselves, and by divers waies:

*Quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.*¹

Where I am whirld by winde and wether,
I guest-like straight am carried thither.

I never saw meeke peasant of my neighbours, enter into cogitation or care with what assurance or countenance hee should passe this last houre. Nature teacheth him never to mize on death but when he dieth. And then he hath a better grace in it than Aristotle, whom death perplexed doubly, both by her selfe and by so long a premeditation. Therefore was it Casars opinion, that "the least premeditated death was the happiest and the easiest." *Plus dolet quam necesse est, qui ante dolet quam necesse est*: "He grieves more than he neede, that grieves before he neede." The sharpnesse of this imagination proceeds from our curiosity. Thus we ever hinder our selves, desiring to fore-runne and sway naturall prescriptions. It is but for doctors being in health to fare the worse by it, and to frowne and startle at the image of death. The vulgar sort have neither neede of remedy nor comfort, but when the shock or stroke commeth; and justly considers no more of it than he feleth. And is it not as we say, that the vulgars stupidity and want of apprehension affoorde them this patience in private evils, and this deepe carelesnes of sinister future accidents? That their mind being more grosse, dull and blockish, is lesse penetrable and agitable? In Gods name, if it be so, let us henceforth keepe a schoole of brutality. It is the utmost fruit that Science promises unto us, to which she so gently bringeth her disciples. We shall not want good teachers, interpreters of naturall simplicity. Socrates shall be one; for, as neare as I remember, he speaketh in this sense the judges that determine of his life: "I feare me, my maisters" (saith he), "that if I entreate you not to make me die, I shall confirme the evidence of my accusers, which is, that I professe to have more understanding than others, as having some knowledge more

¹ CATUL. *Elg.* i. 29. 16.

¹ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* i. 15.

secret and hid of things both above and beneath us. I know I have neither frequented nor known death, nor have I seen any body that hath either felt or tried her qualities to instruct me in them. Those who feare her presuppose to know; as for me, I neither know who or what she is, nor what they doe in the other world. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a thing desirable. Yet it is to bee beleaved that if it be a transmigration from one place to another, there is some amendment in going to live with so many worthy famous persons that are deceased, and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupt judges. If it be a consummation of ones being, it is also an amendment and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life as a quiet rest and gentle sleepe, and without dreames. The things I know to be wicked, as to wrong or offend ones neighbour, and to disobey his superiour, be he God or man, I carefully shunne them; such as I know not whether they be good or bad, I cannot feare them. If I goe to my death, and leave you alive, the Gods onely see, whether you or I shall prosper best; and therefore, for my regarde, you shall dispose of it as it shall best please you. But according to my fashion, which is to counsell good and profitable things, this I say, that for your owne conscience you shall doe best to free and discharge mee; except you see further into mine owne cause than my selfe. And judging according to my former actions, both publike and private, according to my intentions; and to the profit, that so many of our citizens, both young and olde, draw dayly from my conversation, and the fruit, all you reape by me, you cannot more justly or duely discharge your selves toward my desertes than by appointing (my poverty considered) that I may live, and at the common charge bee kept, the Prytanco, which for much lesse reasons I have often seene you freely graunt to others. Impute it not to obstinacy or disdain in me, nor take it in ill part, that I, according to custome, proceede not by way of intreatie, and moove you to commiseration. I have both friends and kinsfolkes, being not (as Homer saith) begotten of a blocke or stone, no more than other men, capable to present themselves humbly suing with teares and mourning; and I have three desolate wailing children to move you to pittie. But I should make your citie ashamed of the age I am in, and in that reputation of wisdom, as now I stand in prevention to yeeld unto so base an object countenance. What would the world say of other Athenians? I have

ever admonished such as have heard me speake, never to purchase or redeeme their life by any dishonest or unlawfull act. And in my countries warres, both at Amphipolis, at Potidea, at Delia, and others, in which I have bene, I have shoven by effects how farre I was from warranting my safety by my shame. Moreover, I should interest your duty, and prejudice your calling, and perswade you to foule unlawfull things: for, not my prayers, but the pure and solid reasons of justice, should perswade you. You have sworne to the Gods so to maintain your selves. Not to beleave there were any, might seeme I would suspect, recriminate, or retorte the fault upon you; and my selfe should witness against my selfe, not to beleave in them as I ought, distrusting their conduct, and not meerey remitting my affairs into their hands. I wholly trust and rely on them, and certainly holde that in this they will dispose as it shall bee meetest for you and fittest for me. Honest men, that neither live nor are dead, have no cause at all to feare the Gods." Is not this a childish pleading of an unimaginable courage, and in what necessity employed? Verily it was reason hee should preferre it before that which the great orator Lysias had set downe in writing for him, excellently fashioned in a judiciary style, but unworthy of so noble a criminal. Should a man have heard an humbly-suing voice out of Socrates his mouth? Would that proud vertue have faile in the best of her show? And would his rich and powerfull nature have committed unto arte, and in her highest essay renounced unto truth and sincerity the ornaments of his speech, to adorne and decke him selfe with the embellishment of the figures and fictions of a fore-learned oration? Hee did most wisely, and according to himselfe, not to corrupt the tenure of an incorruptible life, and so sacred an image of human forme, to prolong his decrepitude for one yeere, and wrong the immortal memory of so glorious an end. He ought his life, not to himselfe, but to the worlds example. Had it not bene a publike losse if he had finished the same in some idle, base and obscure manner? Truly so careless and effeminate a consideration of his death deserved posterity should so much more consider the same for him; which it did. And nothing is so just in justice as that which fortune ordained for his commendation. For the Athenians did afterwards detest and abhoire those which had furthered and caused his death, that of all they were loathed and shunned as cursed and excommunicated men; whatsoever they had but touched was held to be polluted;

no man would so much as wash with them in bathes or hot-houses; no man offered them a salutation, much lesse accost or have to doe with them; so that, being in the end no longer able to endure this publike hatred and generall contempt, they all hang'd themselves. If any man thinkes that amongst so many examples I might have chosen for the service of my purpose in Socrates his sayings, I have chosen or handled this but ill; and deemeth this discourse to be raised above common opinions, I have done it wittingly: for I judge otherwise, and hold it to bee a discourse in ranke and sincerity much shorter and lower then vulgar opinions. It representeth in an unartificiall boldnesse and infantine security, the pure impression and first ignorance of nature, because it is credible that we naturally feare paine, but not death, by reason of her. It is a part of our being no lesse essentiall than life. To what end would Nature have else engendered the hate and horror of it, seeing it holdes therein, and with it a ranke of most great profit, to foster the succession and nourish the vicissitude of her works? and that in this universall common-weale it steadeth and serveth more for birth and augmentation, then for losse, decay, or ruine.

*Sic rerum summa novatur.*¹

So doth the summe of all,
By courses rise and fall.

Mille animas una necata dedit.

We thousand soules shall pay
For one soule made away.

The decay of one life is the passage to a thousand other lives. Nature hath imprinted in beasts the care of themselves and of their preservation. They proceede even to the feare of their empairing, to shooke or hurt themselves, and that we should not shackle or beate them, accidents subject to their sense and experience. But that we should kill them, they cannot feare it, nor have they the faculty to imagine or conclude their death. Yet it is reported that they are not scene onely to embrace and endure the same joyfully (most horses neigh in dying, and swannes sing when it seizeth them), but, moreover, they seeke it when they neede it, as by divers examples may be proved in the elephants. Besides, the manner of arguing which Socrates useth here, is it not equally admirable both in simplicity and in vehemence? "Verily, it is much easier to speake as Aristotle and live as Cæsar, than speake and live as Socrates." Therein consists the extreame

degree of difficulty and perfection; arte cannot attaine unto it. Our faculties are not now so addressed; we neither assay nor know them; we invest ourselves with others, and suffer our own to be idle; as by some might be saide of me, that here I have but gathered a nosegay of strange flowes, and have put nothing of mine unto it but the thred to binde them. Certes, I have given unto publike opinion that these borrowed ornaments accompany me, but I meane not they should cover or hide me; it is contrary to mine intention, who would make show of nothing that is not mine owne, yea mine owne by nature. And had I believed myself, at all adventure I had spoken alone. I dayly charge myselfe the more beyond my proposition and first forme, upon the fantasie of time, and through idlesse. If it mis-seeme me, as I thinke it doth, it is no great matter; it may be profitable for some other. Some allkedge Plato, some mention Homer, that never saw them; or, as they say in English, "Many a man speakes of Robin Hood that never shot in his bow;" and I have taken divers passages from others then in their spring. Without paine or sufficiency, having a thousand volumes of bookes about mee where now I write, if I please I may presently borrow from a number of such botcherly-patchcotes (men that I plod not much upon) wherewith to enamell this treatise of Physiognomie. I need but the liminary epistle of a Germane to store me with allegations, and we goe questing that way for a fading greedy glory to cosin and delude the foolish world. These rhapsodies of commonplaces, wherewith so many stuffe their study, serve not greatly but for vulgar subjects, and serve but to shew and not to direct us: a ridiculous fond fruit of learning that Socrates doth so pleasantly enveigh and exagitate against Euthydemus. I have seene bookes made of things neither studied nor ever understood, * author comming to divers of his learned and wise friends in the search of this and that matter, that so hee might compile them into a booke, contenting himselfe for his owne part to have cast the plot and projected the desseigne of it, and by his industry to have bound up the fagot of unknowne provisions; at least is the inke and paper his owne. This may bee saide to be a buying or borrowing and not a making or compiling of a booke. It is to teach men, not that one can make a booke, but to put them out of doubt that hee cannot make it. A president of the law in a place where I was wanted himselfe to have hudled up together two hundred and odd strange places in a presidentiall law case of his, in publishing

¹ LUCR. l. ii. 73.

of which he defaced the glory which others gave him for it : a weake, childish and absurd boasting, in my opinion, for such a subject and for such a man. I doe cleane contrary, and amongst so many borrowings am indeed glad to filch some one, disguising and altering the same to some new service. On hazard, to let men say that it is for lack of understanding its naturall use. I give it some particular addressing of mine own hand, to the end it may be so much lesse meereley strange ; whereas these put their larcenies to publike view and garish shew ; so have they more credit in the lawes then I. We other naturalists suppose that there is a great and incomparable preference betwene the honour of invention and that of allegation ; would I have spoken according to learning, I had spoken sooner, I had written at such times as I was neerer to my studies, when I had more wit and more memory, and should more have trusted the vigor of that age then the imperfection of this had I beene willing to professe writing of bookes. And what if this gratiouse favour, which Fortune hath not long since offered me by the interuersion of this worke, could have befallen me in such a season in lieu of this, where it is equally desirable to possesse and ready to loose ?

Two of mine acquaintance (both notable men in this faculty) have, in my conceit, lost much because they refused to publish themselves at forty yeares of age, to stay untill they were three score. Maturity hath her defects as well as greenenesse, and worse, and as incommodious or unfit is old age as to this kinde of worke as to any other. Whosoever puts his decrepitude under the presse committeth folly, if thereby he hopes to wring out humors that shall not taste of dotage, of foppery, or of drouisnesse. Our spirit becommeth costive and thickens in growing old. Of ignorance I speake sumptuously and plenteously, and of learning meagerly and piteously ; this accessory and accidentally, that expressly and principally ; and purposely I treat of nothing but of nothing, nor of any one science but of un-science. I have chosen the time where the life I have to set forth is all before me, the rest holds more of death ; and of my death onely should I finde it babling, as others doe, I would willingly, in dislodging, give the world advice. Socrates hath beene a perfect patterne in all great qualities, I am vexed that ever he met with so unhandsome and crabbed a body as they say he had, and so dissonant from the beauty of his minde : himselfe so amorous and so besotted on beauty. Nature did him wrong. There is nothing more truly semblable as

the conformity or relation betwene the body and the minde. *Ipsi animi, magni refert, quali in corpore locati sint ; multa enim e corpore existunt quæ acuant mentem, multa quæ obduntant* : " It is of great import in what body the minde is bestowed, for many things arise of the body to sharpen the minde, and many things to dull and rebate it." This man speaks of an unnatural ill-favourednesse and membrall deformity, but we call ill-favourednesse a kinde of unseemelimesse at the first sight, which chiefly lodgeth in the face, and by the colour worketh a dislike in us. A freckle, a blemish, a rude countenance, a sowr looke, proceeding often of some inexplicable cause, may be in well-ordered, comely and compleate limmes. The foulness of face which invested a beauteous minde in my deare friend La Boitie was of this predicament. This superficial ill-favourednesse, which is notwithstanding to the most imperious, is of lesse prejudice unto the state of the minde, and hath small certainty in men's opinion ; the other, by a more proper name called a more substantiall deformity, beareth commonly a deeper inward stroke. Not every shoe of smooth shining leather, but every well-shapen and handsome-made shoe, sheweth the inward and right shape of the foote. As Socrates said of his, that it justly accused so much in his mind had he not corrected the same by institution ; but in so saying, I suppose, that according to his wonted use he did but jest, and so excellent a mind did never frame itselfe ; I cannot often enough repeate how much I esteeme beauty, so powerfull and advantageous a quality is she. He named it a short tyranny, and Plato the privilege of Nature. We have none that exceeds it in credit : she possesseth the chiefe ranke in the commerce of society of men, she presents itselfe forward, she seducteth and pre-occupates our judgement with great authority and wonderfull impression. Phryne had lost her plea, though in the hands of an excellent lawyer, if with opening her garments, by the sodaine flashing of her beauty she had not corrupted her judges ; and I finde that Cyrus, Alexander, and Cæsar, those three masters of the world, have not forgotten or neglected the same in achieving their great affaires ; so hath not the first Scipio. One same word in Greeke importeth faire and good ; and even the Holy Ghost calleth often those good which he meaneth faire. I should willingly maintaine the ranke of the goods as employed the song which Plato saith to have beene triviall, taken from some ancient poet, Health beauty and riches. Aristotle saith

that the right of commanding doth of duty belong to such as are faire, and if haply any be found whose beauty approached to that of the god's images, that veneration is equally due unto them. To one that asked him why the fairest were both longer time and oftener frequented, "This question," quoth he, "ought not to be mooved but by a blinde man." Most and the greatest philosophers paid for their schooling and attained unto wisdome by the intermission of their beauty, and favour their comelines. Not onely in men that serve me, but in beastes also, I consider the same within two inches of goodnesse. Yet methinks that the same feature and manner of the face, and those lineaments by which some argue certaine inward complexions and our future fortunes, is a thing that doth not directly nor simply lodge under the chapter of beauty and ill-favourednesse, no more than all good favours, or cleerenesse of aire doe not alwayes promise health; nor all fogges and stinkes infection in times of the plague. Such as accuse ladies to contradict the beauty by their manners, guesse not alwayes at the truth; for an ill-favoured and ill-composed face may sometimes harbour some aire of probity and trust; as on the contrary I have sometimes read between two faire eyes the threats of a malignant and dangerous ill-boding nature. There are some favourable physiognomies, for in a throng of victorious enemies you shall presently, amidst a multitude of unknowne faces, make choice of one man more than of others to yeeld yourselfe unto and trust your life, and not properly by the consideration of beauty. A man's looke or aire of his face is but a weake warrant, notwithstanding it is of some consideration; and were I to whipe them I would more rudely scourge such as maliciously belie and betray the promises which Nature had characted in their front; and more severely would I punish malicious craft in a debonaire appearance and in a mild promising countenance. It seemeth there be some lucky and well-boding faces, and othersome unlucky and ill-presaging; and I thinke there is some art to distinguish gently-milde faces from naves and simple, the severe from the rude, the malicious from the froward, the disdainfull from the melancholike and other neighbouring qualities. There are some beauties not onely fierce-looking, but also sharpe-working, some others pleasing-sweet and yet wallowishly tastelesse. To prognosticate future successes of them be matters I leave undecided. I have (as elsewhere I noted) taken for my regard this ancient precept, very rawly and simply:

That we cannot erre in following nature; and that the soveraigne document is for a man to conformance himselfe to her. I have not (as Socrates), by the power and vertue of reason, corrected my natural complexions, nor by art hindered mine inclination. Looke how I came into the world, so I goe on: I strive with nothing. My two mistres parts live of their owne kindnesse in peace and good agreement; but my nurse's milke hath (thankes be to God) been indifferently wholesome and temperate. Shall I say thus much by the way? That I see a certaine image of bookish or scholasticall *preud-homme* onely, which is in a manner in use amongst us, held and reputed in greater esteeme than it deserveth, and which is but a servant unto precepts, brought under by hope, and constrained by feare? I love it such as lawes and religions make not, but over-make and authorize; that they may be perceived to have wherewith to uphold herselfe without other aide: sprung up in us of her owne proper roots, by and from the seed of universall reason, imprinted in every man that is not unnaturall. The same reason that reformeth Socrates from his vicious habite, yeelds him obedient both to gods and men that rule and command his city; courageous in his death, not because his soule is immortall, but because he is mortall. A ruinous instruction to all commonweales, and much more harmful than ingenious and subtilie, is that which perswadeth men that onely religious belief, and without manners, sufficeth to content and satisfie divins justice. Custome makes us see an enormous distinction betweene devotion and conscience. I have a favourable apparence, both in forme and in interpretation.

*Quid dixi habere me? Inno habui, Chreme:
Illi tantum attriti corporis ossa vides.*¹

I have; what did I say?

I had what's now away.

Alas, you onely now behold

Bones of a body worne and old.

And which makes a contrary shew to that of Socrates. It hath often betided me, that by the simple credit of my presence and aspect, some that had no knowledge of me have greatly trusted unto it, were it about their owne affaires or mine; and even in forraigne countries, I have thereby reaped singular and rare favours. These twq experiments are haply worthy to be particularly related. A *quidam* gallant determined upon a time to surprise both my house and myselfe. His plot was to come riding alone to my gate, and instantly to

¹ TER. *Heau*, act i, sc. 1.

urge entrance. I knew him by name, and had some reason to trust him, being my neighbour and somewhat allied unto me. I presently caused my gates to be opened, as I do to all men. He comes in all afrighted, his horse out of breath; both much harassed. He entertaines me with this fable: that within halfe a league of my house he was sodainely set upon by an enemy of his whom I knew well, and had heard of their quarrell; that his foe had wondrously put him to his spurs; that being surprised unarmed, and having fewer in his company than the other, he was glad to runne away, and for safety had made haste to come to my house, as to his sanctuary; that he was much perplexed for his men, all which he supposed to be either taken or slaine. I endeavoured friendly to comfort and sincerely to warrant and refresh him. Within a while came galloping foure or five of his souldiers, amazed, as if they had beene out of their wits, hasting to be let in. Shortly after came others, and others, all proper men, well mounted, better armed, to the number of thirty or thereabouts, all seeming distracted for feare, as if the enemy that pursued them had beene at their heeles. This mystery beganne to summon my suspicion. I was not ignorant of the age wherein I lived, nor how much my house might be envied; and had sundry examples of others of my acquaintance that had beene spoiled, beset, and surprised thus and thus. So it is that, perceiving with myselfe, there was nothing to be gotten, though I had begunne to use them kindly, if I continued not, and being unable to rid myselfe of them and cleare my house without danger and spoiling all; as I ever doe, I tooke the plainest and most naturall well-meaning way, and commanded they should be let in and bid welcome. And to say truth, I am by nature little suspicious or mistrustfull. I am easily drawn to admit excuses and uncline to mild interpretations. I take men according to common order, and suppose every one to meane as I doe, and believe these perverse and trecherous inclinations, except I be compelled by some autenticall testimony, no more than monsters or miracles. Besides, I am a man that willingly commit myselfe unto fortune, and carefully cast myselfe into her arms; whereof hitherto I have more just cause to commend myselfe then to complaine, and have found her more circumspect and friendly-carefull of my affaires than I am myselfe. There are certaine actions in my life, the conduct of which may justly be termed difficult, or if any be so disposed, prudent. And of those, suppose the third part of them to be mine owne, truly the other two are richly hers.

We are to blame, and in my conceit we erre, that we doe not sufficiently and so much as we ought, trust the heavens with ourselves, and pretend more in our owne conduct than of right apertaines unto us. Therefore doe our desseignes so often miscarry, and our intents so seldome sort to wished effect. The heavens are angry, and I may say envious of the extension and large privilege we ascribe unto the right of humane wisdom, to the prejudice of theirs: and abridge them so much the more unto us by how much more we endeavour to amplify them. But to come to my former discourse. These gallants kept still on horsebacke in my court, and would not alight; their captaine with me in my hall, who would never have his horse set up, still saying that he would not stay, but must necessarily withdraw himselfe so soon as he had newes of his followers. He saw himselfe master of his enterprise, and nothing was wanting but the execution. He hath since reported very often (for he was no whit scrupulous or afraid to tell this story) that my undaunted lookes, my undismayed countenance, and my liberty of speech made him reject all manner of treasonable intents or trecherous desseignes. What shall I say more? He bids me farewell, calleth for his horse, gets up, and offereth to be gone, his people having continually their eyes fixed upon him, to observe his lookes and see what signe he should make unto them; much amazed to see him begone, and wondring to see him omit and forsake such an advantage. Another time, trusting to a certaine truce or cessation of arms that lately had beene published through our campes in France, as one suspecting no harme, I undertooke a journey from home, through a dangerous and very ticklish country. I had not rid far but I was discovered, and beheld three or foure troupes of horsemen, all severall wayes, made after me, with purpose to entrap me; one of which overtooke mee the third day, where I was round beset and charged by fiftene or twenty gentlemen, who had all vizards and cases, followed aloofe off by a band of argoletiers. I was charged; I yielded; I was taken and immediately drawne into the bosome of a thicke wood that was not far off; there puld from my horse, stripped with all speed, my trunks and cloke-bags rifled, my box taken, my horses, my equipage, and such things as I had, dispersed and shared amongst them. We continued a good while amongst those thorny bushes, contesting and striving about my ransom, which they racked so high that it appeared well I was not much knowne of them. They had long

contestation among themselves for my life. And to say truth, there were many circumstances threatned me of the danger I was in.

*Tunc animis opus, Ænea, tunc pectore firmo.*¹

Of courage then indeed,
Then of stout breast is need.

I ever stood upon the title and privilege of the truce and proclamation made in the king's name, but that availed not: I was content to quit them whatever they had taken from me, which was not to be despised, without promising other ransome. After we had debated the matter to and fro the space of two or three houres, and that no excuses could serve, they set me upon a lame jade, which they knew could never escape them, and committed the particular keeping of my person to fifteene or twenty harquebusiers, and dispersed my people to others of their crew, commanding we should all divers wayes be carried prisoners, and my selfe being gone two or threescore paces from them,

*Jam prece Pollucis, jam Castoris implorata,*²

Pollux and Castors aide,
When I had humbly praide,

behold a sodaine and unexpected alteration took them. I saw their captaine comming towards me, with a cheerful countenance and much milder speeches than before, carefully trudging up and down through all the troupes to find out my goods againe, which as he found al scattred he forced every man to restore them unto me; and even my boxe came to my hands againe. To conclude, the most precious jewell they presented me was in liberty; as for my other things, I cared not greatly at that time. What the true cause of so unlookt-for a change and so sodaine an alteration was, without any apparent impulsion, and of so wonderfull repentance, at such a time, in such an opportunity and such an enterprise, sore-meditated, consulted and effected without controlement, and which through custome and the impiety of times was now become lawfull (for at the first brunt I plainly confessed and genuinely told them what side I was of, where my way lay, and whither I was riding), I verily know not yet, nor can I give any reason for it. The chiefest amongst them unmasked himselfe, told me his name, and repeated divers times unto me that I should acknowledge my deliverance to my countenance, to my boldnesse and constancy of speech, and be be-

holding to them for it, insomuch as they made me unworthy of such a misfortune; and demanded assurance of me for the like curtesie. It may be that the inscrutable goodnesse of God would use this vaine instrument for my preservation; for the next morrow it also shielded me from worse mischiefe or amboscadoes, whereof themselves gently forewarned me. The last is yet living, able to report the whole successe himselfe; the other was slaine not long since. If my countenance had not answered for me, if the ingenuity of mine inward intent might not plainly have been deciphered in mine eyes and voice, surely I could never have continued so long without quarrels or offences: with this indiscrete liberty, to speake freely (be it right or wrong) what ever cometh to my minde, and rashly to judge of things. This fashion may in some sort (and that with reason) seeme uncivill and ill accommodated in our customary manners; but outrageous or malicious, I could never meete with any would so judge it, or that was ever distasted at my liberty if he received the same from my mouth. Words reported againe have as another sound, so another sense. And to say true, I hate nobody; and am so remisse to offend, or slow to wrong any, that for the service of reason it selfe I cannot doe it. And if occasion have at any time urged me in criminall condemnations to doe as others, I have rather beene content to be ameared then to appeare. *Ut magis peccari nolum, quam satis animi ad vindicanda peccata habeam:* "So as I had rather men should not offend, then that I should have courage enough to punish their offences." Some report that Aristotle, being upbraided by some of his friends that he had beene over mercifull toward a wicked man, "I have indeede (quoth he) beene mercifull toward the man, but not toward his wickednesse." Ordinary judgements are exasperated unto punishment by the horror of the crime; and that enmildens mee. The horror of the first murder makes me feare a second; and the ugliness of one cruelty induceth me to detest all manner of imitation of it. To me, that am but a plaine fellow and see no higher then a steeple, may that concerne which was reported of Charillus, king of Sparta: "He cannot be good, since he is not bad to the wicked." Or thus—for Plutarke presents it two wayes, as he doth a thousand other things diversly and contrary—"He must needs be good, since he is so to the wicked." Even as in lawfull actions it grieves me to take any paines about them, when it is with such as are therewith displeased; so, to say truth

¹ VIRG. *ÆN.* l. vi.

² CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 65.

in unlawfull, I make no great conscience to employ myselfe or take paines about them, being with such as consent unto them.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Experience.

THERE is no desire more naturall then that of knowledge. We attempt all means that may bring us unto it. When reason failes us, we employ experience.

*Per varios usus artem experientia fecit,
Exemplo monstrante viam.*¹

By divers proofes experience art hath bred,
Whilst one by one the way examples led.

Which is a meane by much more weake and vile. But truth is of so great consequence that wee ought not disdainie any induction that may bring us unto it. Reason hath so many shapés that wee know not which to take hold of. Experience hath as many. The consequence we seeke to draw from the conference of events is unsure, because they are ever dissemblable. No quality is so universall in this surface of things as variety and diversity. The Greekes, the Latines, and wee, use for the most expresse examples of similitude that of eggs. Some have nevertheless bene found, especially one in Delphos, that knew markes of difference betweene egges, and never tooke one for another; and having divers hennes, could rightly judge which had laid the egge. Dissimilitude doth of it selfe insinuate into our workes, no arte can come neere unto similitude. Neither Perozet nor any other carde maker can so industriously smoothe or whiten the backside of his cardes, but some cunning gamester will distinguish them onely by seeing some other player handle or shuffle them. Resemblance doth not so much make one as difference maketh another. Nature hath bound herselfe to make nothing that may not be dissemblable. Yet doth not the opinion of that man greatly please mee, that supposed by the multitude of lawes to curbe the authority of judges in cutting out their morsels. He perceived not that there is as much liberty and extension in the interpretation of lawes as in their fashion. And those but mocke themselves who thinke to diminish our debates and stay them by calling us to the expresse word of sacred Bible; because our spirit

findes not the field lesse spacious to controule and checke the sense of others then to represent his own, and as if there were as little courage and sharpnesse to close as to invent. Wee see how farre hee was deceived. For we have in France more lawes then all the world besides; yea, more then were needefull to governe all the worlds imagined by Epicurus: *Ut olim flagitiis, sic nunc legibus laboramus*: "As in times past we were sicke of offences, so now are we of lawes." As we have given our judges so large a scope to moote, to opinionate, to suppose, and decide, that there was never so powerfull and so licentious a liberty. What have our lawmakers gained with chusing a hundred thousand kinds of particular cases, and adde as many lawes unto them? That number hath no proportion with the infinite diversity of humane accidents. The multiplying of our inventions shall never come to the variation of examples. Adde a hundred times as many unto them, yet shall it not follow that of events to come there be any one found that in all this infinite number of selected and enregistered events shall meete with one to which he may so exactly joyne and match it, but some circumstance and diversity will remaine that may require a diverse consideration of judgment. There is but little relation betweene our actiōs that are in perpetuall mutation and the fixed and unmoveable lawes. The most to be desired are the rarest, the simplest, and most generall. And yet I believe it were better to have none at all then so infinite a number as we have. Nature gives them ever more happy then those we give our selves. Witness the image of the golden age that poets faine, and the state wherein we see divers nations to live, which have no other. Some there are who to decide any controversie that may rise amongst them, will chuse for judge the first man that by chance shall travell amongst their mountaines: others, that upon a market-day will name some one amongst themselves, who in the place without more wrangling shall determine all their questions. What danger would ensue if the wisest should so decide ours according to occurrences and at the first sight, without being tied to examples and consequences? Let every foote have his owne shooe. Ferdinando, king of Spaine, sending certaine colonies into the Indies, provided wisely that no lawyers or students of the lawes should be carried thither, for feare lest controversies, sutes, or processes should people that new-found world, as a science that of her owne nature engendreth altercation and division,

¹ MARIL. l. i. Ast. 61.

judging with Plato that "lawyers and phisitions are an ill provision for any country." Wherefore is it that our common language, so easie to be understood in all other matters, becommeth so obscure, so harsh, and so hard to bee understood in law cases, bills, contracts, indentures, citations, wills, and testaments? And that hee who so plainly expresseth himselfe, what ever he spake or writ of any other subject, in law matters findes no manner or way to declare himselfe or his meaning that admits not some doubt or contradiction; unlesse it be that the princes of this art, applying themselves with a particular attention to invent and chuse strange, choise, and solemne words, and frame artificiaall cunning clauses, have so plodded and poized every syllable, canvased and sifted so exquisitely every seame and quiddity, that they are now so entangled and so confounded in the infinity of figures and so severall small partitions, that they can no more come within the compasse of any order, or prescription, or certaine understanding. *Confusum est quicquid usque in pulverem sectum est*: "Whatsoever is sliced into very powder is confused."

Whoever hath seene children labouring to reduce a masse of quicke-silver to a certaine number, the more they presse and work the same and strive to force it to their will, so much more they provoke the liberty of that generous metall, which scorneth their arte, and scatteringly disperseth it selfe beyond all imagination. Even so of lawyers, who in subdividing their sottleties or quiddities, teach men to multiply doubts, and by extending and diversifying difficulties, they lengthen and amplifie, they scatter and disperse them. In sowing and retailing of questions they make the world to fructifie and abound in uncertainty, in quarrels, in sutes, and in controversies; as the ground the more it is crumbled, broken, and deeply removed or grugged up, becommeth so much more fertile. *Difficultatem facit doctrina*: "Learning breeds difficulty." We found many doubts in Ulpian, we finde more in Bartolus and Baldus. The trace of this innumerable diversity of opinions should never have been used to adorne posterity and have it put in her head, but rather have beene utterly razed out. I know not what to say to it; but this is scene by experience, that so many interpretations dissipate and confound all truth. Aristotle hath written to bee understood, which, if he could not, much lesse shall another not so learned as he was; and a third, than he who treateth his owne imagination. We open the matter, and spill it in distemping it, Of one sub-

ject we make a thousand, and in multiplying and subdividing we fal againe into the infinity of Epicurus his atomes. It was never scene that two men judged alike of one same thing; and it it is impossible to see two opinions exactly semblable, not onely in divers men, but in any one sane man at severall hours. I commonly find something to doubt of, where the commentary hardly dared to touch, as deeming it so plaine. I stumble sometimes as much in an even smooth path, as some horses that I know who oftner trip in a faire plaine way than in a rough and stony. Who would not say that glosses increase doubts and ignorance, since no booke is to be scene, whether divine or profane, commonly read of all men, whose interpretation dimmes or tarnisheth not the difficulty? The hundred commentary sends him to his succeder more thorny and more crabbed than the first found him. When agreed we amongst ourselves to say, This booke is perfect; there's now nothing to be said against it? This is best seen in our French-peddling law. Authority of law is given to infinite doctors, to infinite arrests, and to as many interpretations. Finde we for all that

ye end of need of interpreters? Is there any advancement or progresse towards tranquillity scene therein? Have we now lesse need of advocates and judges than when this huge masse of law was yet in her first infancy? Cleane contrary: we obscure and bury understanding. We discover it no more but at the mercy of so many courts, barres, or plen-benches. Men mis-acknowledge the naturall infirmity of their minde. She doth but quest and firret, and uncessantly goeth turning, winding, building, and entangling her selfe in hir owne worke, as doe our silke-wormes, and therein stulle hir selfe. *Mus in pice*: "A mouse in pitch." He supposeth to note afarre-off I wot not what apparance of cleerenesse and imaginary truth; but whilst he runneth unto it, so many lets and difficulties crosse his way, so many impeachments and questings start up, that they stray loose and besot him. Not much otherwise than it fortuneth to Æsops dogs, who farre-off discovering some show of a dead body to flote upon the sea, and being unable to approach the same, undertooke to drinke up all the water, that so they might drie up the passage, and were all stifled. To which answereth that which Crates said of Heraclitus his compositions, that they needed a reader who should bee a cunning swimmer, lest the depth and weight of his learning should drowne and swallow him up. It is nothing but a particular weaknesse that makes us contend

with that which others or we ourselves have found in this pursuit of knowledge. A more sufficient man will not be pleased therewith. There is a place for a follower, yea and for ourselves, and more ways to the wood than one. There is no end in our inquisitions—our end is in the other world. It is a signe his wits grow short when he is pleased, or a signe of wearinesse. No generous spirit staves and relies upon himself; he ever pretendeth and goeth beyond his strength. He hath some vagaries beyond his effects. If hee advance not himselfe, presse, settle, shooke, turne, winde, and front himselfe, he is but halfe alive; his pursuits are termelesse and formelesse, his nourishment is admiration, questing, and ambiguity; which Apollo declared sufficiently, alwayes speaking ambiguously, obscurely, and obliquely unto us—not feeding, but busying and amusing us. It is an irregular, uncertaine motion, perpetuall, patternlesse, and without end. His inventions enflame, follow, and interproduce one another.

*Ainsi voit-on en un ruisseau coulant,
Sans fin l'une eau, apres l'autre roulant,
Et tout de rang, d'un eternal conduit,
L'une suit l'autre, et l'une l'autre fuit.
Par celle-cy, celle-là est poussée,
Et celle-cy, par l'autre est devancée:
Tousiours l'eau va dans l'eau, et tousiours est ce
Même ruisseau, et tousiours eau diverse.*

As in a running river we behold
How one wave after th' other still is rold,
And all along as it doth endlessse rise,
Th' one th' other followes, th' one from th'
other flies,
By this wave that is driv'n; and this
again
By th' other is set forward all amaine:
Water in water still, one river still,
Yet divers waters still that river fill.

There's more adoe to enterpret interpretations than to interpret things, and more bookes upon bookes then upon any other subject. We do but interglose ourselves. All swarmeth with commentaries; of authors there is great penury. Is not the chiefeest and most famous knowledge of our ages to know how to understand the wise? Is it not the common and last scope of our study? Our opinions are grafted one upon another. The first serveth as a stock to the second, the second to the third. Thus we ascend from steppe to steppe. Whence it followeth that the highest-mounted hath gotten more honour than merit, for hee is got up but one inch above the shoulders of the last save one. How often, and peradventure foolishly, have I enlarged my booke to speake of himselfe? Foolishly, if it it were but for this reason, that I should have remembred that what I speake of

others they doe the like of me; that those so frequent glances on their workes witness their hart shivereth with the love they beare them, and that the disdainfull churlishnesse wherewith they beate them are but mignardizes and affectations of a motherly favour. Following Aristotle, in whom, both esteeming and dis-esteeming himselfe arise often of an equall aire of arrogance, for mine excuse, that in this I ought to have more liberty than others, forasmuch as of purpose I write both of my selfe and of my writings as of my other actions, that my theame doth turne into it selfe; I wot not whether every man will take it. I have scene in Germany that Luther hath left as many divisions and alterations concerning the doubt of his opinions, yea, and more, than he himselfe moveth about the Holy Scripture. Our contestation is verball. A stone is a body. But he that should insist and urge: And what is a body?—A substance. And what is a substance? and soe go on, should at last bring the respondent to his calpine or wits-end. One word is changed for another word, and often more unknown. I know better what *homo* is then I know what *animal* is, either mortall or reasonable. To answer one doubt they give me three: it is Hydra's head. Socrates demanded of Memnon what vertue was. "There is," answered Memnon, "the vertue of a man, of a woman, of a magistrate, of a private man, of a childe, of an old man. What vertue meane you?" "Yea, marry, this is very well," quoth Socrates; "we were in search of one vertue, and thou bringest me a whole swarme." We propose one question, and we have a whole huddle of them made unto us againe. As no event or forme doth wholly resemble another, so doth it not altogether differ one from another. Oh, ingenious mixture of Nature! If our faces were not like, we could not discern a man from a beast; if they were not unlike, we could not distinguish one man from another man. All things hold by some similitude; every example limpeth; and the relation which is drawne from experience is ever defective and imperfect. Comparisons are, nevertheless, joyned together by some end. So serve the lawes, and so they are sorted and fitted to all our sutes or affairs by some wire-drawn, forced, and collateral interpretation. Since the morall lawes, which respect the particular duty of every man in himselfe, are so hard to be taught and observed as we see they are, it is no wonder if those which governe so many

particulars, are more hard. Consider the forme of this law by which we are ruled : it is a lively testimony of humane imbecility, so much contradiction and so many errors are therein contained. That which we thinke favour or rigour in law (wherein is so much of either, that I wot not well whether we shall so often find indifferency in them, or crazed-infected parts and unjust members of the very body and essence of law). Certaine poore countrymen came even now to tell me in a great haste, that but now in a Forrest of mine they have left a man wounded to death, with a hundred hurts about him, yet breathing, and who for God's sake hath begged a little water and some helpe to raise himselfe at their hands ; but that they durst not come neere him, and ran all away, for feare some officers belonging to the law should meete and catch them, and as they doe with such as they find neere unto a murdered body, so they should be compelled to give an account of this mischance, to their utter undoing, having neither friends nor mony to defend their innocency. What should I have said unto them ? It is most certaine that this office of humanity had brought them to much trouble. How many innocent and guiltlesse men have we seene punished, I say without the judge's fault ? and how many more that were never discovered ? This hath hapned in my time. Certaine men are condemned to death for a murder committed ; the sentence, if not pronounced, at least concluded and determined. This done, the judges are advertised by the officers of a subalternall court, not farre off, that they have certaine prisoners in hold that have directly confessed the foresaid murder, and thereof bring most evident markes and tokens. The question and consultation is now in the former court, whether for all this they might interrupt or should deferre the execution of the sentence pronounced against the first. They consider the novelty of the example and consequence thereof, and how to reconcile the judgement. They conclude that the condemnation hath passed according unto law, and therefore the judges are not subject to repentance. To be short, these miserable wretches are consecrated to the prescriptions of the law. Philip, or some other, provided for such an inconvenience in this manner ; he had by an irrevocable sentence condemned one to pay another a round summe of money for a fine. A while after, the truth being discovered, it was found he had wrongfully condemned him. On one side was the right of the cause, on the other the right of judiciary formes. He is in some sort to

satisfie both parties, suffering the sentence to stand in full power, and with his owne purse recompened the interest of the condemned. But hee was to deale with a reparable accident ; my poore slaves were hanged irreparably. How many condemnations have I seene more criminal than the crime itselfe ? All this put me in minde of those ancient opinions, that hee who will doe right in grosse must needs doe wrong by retale ; and unjustly in small things, that will come to doe justice in great matters. That humane justice is framed according to the modell of physicke, according to which, whatsoever is profitable is also just and honest ; and of that the Stoickes hold that Nature herselfe, in most of her workes, proceedeth against justice ; and of that which the Cyreniaques hold, that there is nothing just of itselfe that customes and lawes frame justice. And the Theodorians, who in a wise man allow as just all manner of theft, sacriledge, and palladise, so he thinke it profitable for him. There is no remedy : I am in that case as Alcibiades was, and if I can otherwise chuse, will never put my selfe unto a man that shall determine of my head, or consent that my honour or life shall depend on the industry or care of mine attorney more then mine innocency. I could willingly adventure my selfe and stand to that law that should as well recompence me for a good deed as punish me for a misdeede, and where I might have a just cause to hope, as reason to feare. Indemnitie is no sufficient coyne for him who doth better than not to trespass. Our law presents us but one of her hands, and that is her left hand. Whosoever goes to law, doth in the end but lose by it. In China, the policy, arts and government of which kingdome, having neither knowledge or commerce with ours, exceed our examples in divers parts of excellency, and whose histories teach me how much more ample and divers the world is than cyther we or our forefathers could ever enter into. The officers appointed by the prince to visite the state of his provinces, as they punish such as abuse their charge, so with great liberality they reward such as have uprightly and honestly behaved themselves in them, or have done anything more than ordinary, and besides the necessity of their duty ; there all present themselves, not onely to warrant themselves, but also to get something—not simply to be paid, but liberally to be rewarded. No judge hath yet, God be thanked, spoken to me as a judge in any cause whatsoever, either mine or another man's, criminal or civill. No prison did ever receive me, no not so much as for recreation to walke in. The very

imagination of one maketh the sight of their outside seeme irkesome and loathsome to mee. I am so besotted unto liberty that should any man forbid me the accesse unto any one corner of the Indies I should in some sort live much discontented. And so long as I shall finde land or open aire elsewhere, I shall never lurke in any place where I must hide myselfe. Oh God, how hardly could I endure the miserable condition of so many men, confined and immured in some corners of this kingdome, barred from entring the chiefest cities, from accesse into courts, from conversing with men, and interdicted the use of common wayes, onely because they have offended our lawes. If those under which I live should but threaten my finger's end, I would presently goe finde out some others, wheresoever it were. All my small wisdome, in these civill and tumultuous warres wherein we now live, doth wholly employ itselfe, that they may not interrupt my liberty to goe and come wherever I list. Lawes are now maintained in credit, not because they are essentially just, but because they are lawes. It is the mysticall foundation of their authority—they have none other—which avails them much; they are often made by fooles; more often by men who, in hatred of equality, have want of equity; but ever by men who are vaine and irresolute authours. There is nothing so grossely and largely offending, nor so ordinarily wronging as the lawes. Whosoever obeyeth them because they are just, obeyes them not justly the way as he ought. Our French lawes doe in some sort, by their irregularity and deformity, lend a helping hand unto the disorder and corruption that is seene in their dispensation and execution. Their behest is so confused, and their command so inconstant, that it in some sort excuseth both the disobedience and the vice of the interpretation, of the administration, and of the observation. Whatsoever then the fruit is we may have of experience, the same which we draw from foraine examples will hardly stead our institution much; if we reape so small profit from that wee have of ourselves, which is most familiar unto us, and truly sufficient to instruct us of what we want. I study myselfe more than any other subject. It is my supernaturall metaphisike, it is my naturall philosophy.

*Qua Deus hanc mundi temperet arte domum,
Qua venit exorians, qua deficit, unde coactis
Cornibus in plenum menstrua luna redit:
Unde salo superant venti, quid flamine caplet
Enrus, et in nubes unde perennis aqua.
Sit ventura dies mundi que subruat arces.*¹

This world's great house by what arte God
doth guide;
From whence the monethly moone doth
rising ride,
How wane, how with clos'd hornes retaine
to pride,
How winds on seas beare sway, what th'
easterne winde
Would have, how still in clouds we water
finde;
If this world's towers to raze a day be
sinde.

Quarite, quos agitat mundi labor:

All this doe you enquire
Whom this worlds travailles tyre.

In this universality I suffer myselfe ignorantly and negligently to be managed by the generall law of the world. I shall sufficiently know it when I shall feele it. My learning cannot make her change her course; she will not diversifie herselfe for me; it were folly to hope it, and greater folly for a man to trouble himselfe about it; since it is necessarily semblable, publicke, and common. The governour's capacity and goodnesse should throughly discharge us of the government's care. Philosophicall inquisitions and contemplations serve but as a nourishment unto our curiosity. With great reason doe philosophers addresse us unto Nature's rules; but they have nought to doe with so sublime a knowledge; they falsifie them, and present her to us with a painted face, too high in colour and overmuch sophisticated; whence arise so many different pourtraits of so uniforme a subject. As she hath given us feete to goe withall, so hath she endowed us with wisdome to direct our life. A wisdome not so ingenious, sturdy, and pompous as that of their invention, but yet easie, quiet and salutarie; and that in him who hath the hap to know how to employ it orderly and sincerely, effecteth very well what the other saith, that is to say, naturally; for a man to commit himselfe most simply unto nature is to doe it most wisely. Oh how soft, how gentle, and how sound a pillow is ignorance and incuriosity to rest a well-composed head upon. I had rather understand myselfe well in myselfe then in Cicero. Out of the experience I have of myselfe I finde sufficient ground to make myselfe wise were I but a good proficient scholler. Whosoever shall commit to memory the excesse or inconvenience of his rage or anger past, and how farre that fit transported him, may see the deformity of that passion better then in Aristotle, and conceive a more just hatred against it; whosoever calleth to minde the dangers he hath escaped, those which have threatned him, and the light occasions that have removed

¹ PROPERT. l. iii. Eleg. iv. 26.

him from one to another state, doth thereby the better prepare himselfe to future alterations and knowledge of his condition. Caesar's life hath no more examples for us then our owne; both imperiall and popular, it is ever a life that all humane accidents regard. Let us but give care unto it, we recorde all that to us that we principally stand in neede of. He that shall call to minde how often and how severall times he hath beene deceived and mis-accompted his owne judgement, is he not a simple gull if he doe not for ever afterward distrust the same? When by other's reason I finde myselfe convicted of a false opinion, I learne not so much what new thing hee hath told me, and this particular ignorance, which were but a small purchase, as in generall I learne mine owne imbecility and weakness, and the treason of my understanding, whence I draw the reformation of all the masse. The like I doe in all my other errors, by which rule I apprehend and feele great profit for and unto my life; I regarde not the species or individuum as a stone whereon I have stumbled; I learne everywhere to feare my going, and endeavour to order the same. To learne that another hath eyther spoken a foolish jest or committed a sottish act is a thing of nothing; a man must learne that he is but a foole: a much more amiable and important instruction. The false steps my memory hath so often put upon me at what time she stood most upon herselfe, have not idly beene lost: she may sweare and warrant me long enough, I shake mine cares at her: the first opposition made in witness of her makes me suspect, and I durst not trust her in a matter of consequence, nor warrant her touching others affaires; and were it not that what I doe for want of memory, others more often doe the same for lacke of faith, I would even in a matter of fact rather take the truth from another's mouth then from mine own. Would every man pry into the effects and circumstances of the passions that sway him as I have done of that whereunto I was allotted, he should see them comming, and would somewhat hinder their course and abate their impetuosity; they doe not alwayes surprise and take hold of us at the first brunt; there are certaine foreshadowings and degrees as forerunners.

*Fluctus uti primò caput cum albescere ponto,
Paulatim sese tollit magis, et altius undas
Erigit, inde imò consurgit ad æthera fundo.
As when at sea, floods first in whitenesse rise,
Sea surgeth softly, and then higher plies
In waves, then from the ground mounts up to
skies,*

Judgement holds in me a presidentiall seate, at least he carefully endeavours to hold it; he suffers my appetites to keep their course, both hatred and love, yea and that I beare unto myselfe, without feeling alteration or corruption. If he can not reforme other parts according to himselfe, at least he will not be deformed by them; he keepes his court apart. That warning-lesson given to all men to know themselves must necessarily be of important effect, since that God of wisdom, knowledge, and light, caused the same to be fixed on the frontispiece of his temple, as containing whatsoever he was to counsell us. Plato saith also that wisdom is nothing but the execution of that ordinance; and Socrates doth distinctly verifie the same in Xenophon. Difficulties and obscurity are not perceived in every science, but by such as have entrance into them, for some degree of intelligence is required to be able to marke that one is ignorant, and wee must knocke at a gate to know whether it be shutte. Whence ensueth this Platonicall subtilty, that neyther those which know have no further to enquire, forso much as they know already; nor they that know not, because to enquire it is necessary they know what they enquire after. Even so in this for a man to know himselfe, that every man is seene so resolute and satisfied, and thinks himselfe sufficiently instructed or skilfull, doth plainly signifie that no man understands anything, as Socrates teacheth Euthydemus. Myselfe, who professe nothing else, finde therein so bottomlesse a depth and infinite variety, that my apprenticeship hath no other fruit than to make me perceive how much more there remaineth for me to learne. To mine owne weakness so often acknowledged I owe this inclination which I beare unto modesty, to the obedience of beliefes prescribed unto me, to a constant coldnesse and moderation of opinions, and hatred of this importunate and quarrellous arrogancy, wholly beleeving and trusting itselfe, a capitall enemy to discipline and verity. Doe but heare them sway and talke. The first fopperies they propose are in the stile that religions and lawes are composed in. *Nihil est turpius quam cognitioni et præceptioni, assertionem approbationemque præcurrere.* "Nothing is more absurd than that avouching and allowance should runne before knowledge and precept." Aristarchus saide that in ancient times there were scarce seven wise men found in the world, and in his time hardly seven ignorant. Have not we more reason to say it in our

dayes than he had? Affirmation and selfe-conceit are manifest signes of foolishnesse. Some one, who a hundred times a day hath had the canvase and beene made a starke coxcombe, shall notwithstanding be seene to stand upon his ergoes, and as presumptuously resolute as before. You would say he hath since some new minde and vigour of understanding infused into him; and that it betides him as to that ancient childe of the earth, who by his falling to the ground and touching his mother still gathered new strength and fresh courage.

— cui cum tetigere parentem,
*Jam defecta vigent renovato robore membra.*¹
Whose failing limmes with strength renew'd
regrow,
When they once touch his mother Earth
below.

Doth not this indocile, blocke-headed asse thinke to reassume a new spirit by undertaking a new disputation? It is by my experience I accuse humane ignorance, which, in mine opinion, is the surest part of the world's schoole. Those that will not conclude it in themselves by so vaine an example as mine or theirs, let them acknowledge it by Socrates, the maister of maisters, for the philosopher Antisthenes was wont to say to his disciples, "Come on, my maisters, let you and me goe to heare Socrates; there shall I be a fellow-disciple with you." And upholding this doctrine of the Stoicks sect, that only vertue sufficed to make a life absolutely happy, and having no need of anything but of Socrates his force and resolution, he added moreover: This long attention I employ in considering my selfe enableth me also to judge indifferently of others; and there are few things whereof I speake more happily and excusably. It often fortuneth me to see and distinguish more exactly the conditions of my friends than themselves do. I have astonied some by the pertinency of mine owne description, and have warned him of himselfe; because I have from mine infancy enured myselfe to view mine owne life in other's lives; I have thereby acquired a studious complexion therein. And when I thinke on it, I suffer few things to escape about me that may in any sort fit the same, whether countenances, humour, or discourses. I studiously consider all I am to eschew and all I ought to follow. So by my friend's productions I discover their inward inclinations; not to marshall or range this infinit variety of so divers and so distracted actions to certaine genders or

chapters, and distinctly to distribute my parcels and divisions into formes and knowne regions."

Sed neque quam multæ species, et nomina quæ sint.

*Est numerus.*¹

But not how many kinds, nor what their names; There is a number of them (and their frames).

The wiser sort speake and declare their fantasies more specially and distinctly, but I who have no further insight then I get from common use, without rule or methode generally present mine owne but gropingly. As in this, I pronounce my sentence by articles, loose and disjoyned; it is a thing cannot be spoken at once and at full. Relation and conformity are not easily found in such base and common minds as ours; wisdom is a solide and compleate frame, every severall piece whereof keepeth his due place and beareth his marke. *Sola sapientia in se tota conversa est*: "Onely wisdom is wholly turned into itselfe." I leave it to artists, and I wot not whether in a matter so confused, so severall and so casuall, they shall come to an end, to range into sides this infinit diversity of visages; and settle our inconstancy and place it in order. I doe not onely find it difficult to combine our actions one unto another; but take every one apart, it is hard by any principall quality to desseigne the same properly, so double, so ambiguous and party-coloured, are they to divers lusters; which in Perseus the Macedonian king was noted for a rare matter, that his spirit fastning itselfe to no kinde of condition; went wandring through every kinde of life, and representing so new-fangled and gadding maners, that he was neyther knowne of himselfe nor of others what kinde of man he was, me thinks may well nigh agree and sute with all the world. And above all, I have seene some other of his coate or humour, to whom (as I suppose) this conclusion might also more properly be applied. No state of mediocrity being ever transported from one extreame to another, by indivinable occasions, no maner of course without crosse and strange contrarieties; no faculty simple, so that the likeliest a man may one day conclude of him, shall be that he affected and laboured to make himselfe knowne by being not to bee knowne. A man had neede of long tough eares to heare himselfe freely judged. And because there be few that can endure to heare it without tingling, those which adventure to undertake it with us,

¹ ANTAUS.

¹ VIRG. *Georg.* l. i. 103.

shew us a singular effect of true friendship. For that is a truly perfect love which, to profit and doe good, feareth not to hurt or offend. I deeme it absurd to censure him in whom bad qualities exceede good conditions. Plato requirerh three parts of him that will examine another's minde : learning, goodwill, and boldnesse. I was once demanded what I would have thought myselfe fit for, had any beene disposed to make use of me, when my yeares would have fitted service :

*Dum melior vires sanguis dabat, æmula nec dum
Temporibus geminis cauebat sparsa senectus.*¹

While better blood gave strength, nor envious
old yeares
Ore-laid with wrinkled temples grew to hoary
haire.

I answered, for nothing. And I willingly excuse myselfe that I can doe nothing which may enthrall me to others. But had my fortune made me a servant, I would have told my maister all truths ; and, had he so wild it, controled his maners—not in grosse, by scholasticall lessons, which I cannot doe : besides, I see no true reformation to ensue in such as know them ; but faire and softly, and with every opportunity observing them, and simply and naturally judging them distinctly by the eye. Making him directly to perceive how and in what degree he is in the common opinion ; opposing myselfe against his flatterers and sycophants. There is none of us but would be worse then kings if, as they are, we were continually corrupted with that rascally kinde of people. But what, if Alexander, that mighty king and great philosopher, could not beware of them ? I should have had sufficient fidelity, judgement and liberty for that. It would be a namelesse office, otherwise it should lose both effect and grace ; and is a part which cannot indifferently belong to all. For truth itselfe hath not the priviledge to be employed at all times and in every kinde ; be her use never so noble, it hath his circumscriptions and limits. It often cometh to passe, the world standing as it doth, that truth is whispered into princes' cares, not onely without fruit, but hurtfully and therewithall unjustly. And no man shall make me beleve but that a hallowed admonition may bee viciously applied and abusively employed ; and that the interest of the substance should not sometimes yeelde to the interest of the forge. For such a purpose and mystery I would have an unrepining man and one contented with his owne fortune :

Quod sit, esse velit, nihilque malit :¹

Willing to be as him you see,
Or rather nothing else to be :

And borne of meane degree ; forsomuch as on the one side hee should not have cause to feare, lively and neerely to touch his maister's heart, thereby not to lose the cause of his preferment ; and on the other side, being of a low condition, he should have more easie communication with all sorts of people, which I would have in one man alone ; for, to impart the priviledge of such liberty and familiarity unto many would beget a hurtfull irreverence. Yea, and of that man I would above all things require trusty and assured silence. A king is not to bee credited when for his glory he boasteth of his constancy in attending his enemy's encounter, if for his good amendment and profit he cannot endure the liberty of his friend's words, which have no other working power then to pinch his learning ; the rest of their effect remaining in his owne hands. Now, there is not any condition of men that hath more neede of true, sincerely-free and open-hearted advertisementes then princes. They undergoe a publike life, and must applaude the opinion of so many spectators, that if they be once enured to have that concealed from them which diverteth them from their course, they at unawares and insensibly finde themselves deeply engaged in the hatred and detestation of their subjects, many times for occasions, which had they beene forewarned, and in time gently reformed, they might no doubt have eschewed to no interest or prejudice of their private delights. Favorits doe commonly respect themselves more than their masters ; and surely it toucheth their freehold, forsomuch as in good truth the greatest part of true friendship's offices are towards their sovereigne in a crabbed and dangerous essay ; so that there is not onely required much affection and liberty, but also an undanted courage. To conclude, all this gallemary which I huddle up here is but a register of my lives-essayes, which in regard of the internall health are sufficiently exemplary to take the instruction against the haire. But concerning bodily health, no man is able to bring more profitale experience then myselfe, who present the same pure, sincere, and in no sort corrupted or altered, either by art or selfe-willed opinion. Experience in her owne precinct may justly be compared to physicke, unto which reason giveth place. Tiberius was wont to say that whosoever had lived twenty yeares should

¹ VIRG. *Æn.* l. v. 415.

¹ MART. l. x. *Epig.* xlviii. 12.

be able to answer himselfe of all such things as were either wholesome or hurtfull for him, and know how to live and order his body without phisicke; which he per-adventure had learned of Socrates, who industriously advising his disciples (as a study of chiefe consequence) to study their health, told them, more-over, that it was very hard if a man of understanding, heedfully observing his exercises, his eating and drinking, should not better than any phisition discerne and distinguish such things as were either good or bad or indifferent for him. Yet doth phisicke make open profession alwayes to have experience for the touchstone of her operation. And Plato had reason to say that to be a good phisitian it were requisite that he who should undertake that profession had past through all such diseases as hee will adventure to cure, and knowne or felt all the accidents and circumstances he is to judge of. It is reason themselves should first have the pox if they will know how to cure them in others. I should surely trust such a one better than any else. Others but guide us, as one who, sitting in his chaire, paints seas, rockes, shelves and havens upon a board, and makes the modell of a tall ship to saile in all safety; but put him to it in earnest, he knowes not what to doe nor where to begin. They make even such a description of our infirmities as doth a towne-crier, who crieth a lost horse, or dog, and describeth his haire, his stature, his eares, with other markes and tokens; but bring either unto him, he knowes him not. Oh God, that phisicke would one day afford me some good and perceptible helpe, how earnestly would I exclaime:

Tandem efficaci do manus scientie,

I yeeld, I yeeld at length,
To knowledge of chiefe strength.

The arts that promise to keepe our body and minde in good health promise much unto us, but therewith there is none performeth lesse what they promise; and in our dayes such as make profession of these arts amongst us doe lesse then all others shew their effects. The most may be said of them is that they sell medicinable drugs; but that they are physicians, no man can truly say it. I have lived long enough to yeeld an account of the usage that hath brought mee to this day. If any bee disposed to taste of it, as his taster I have given him an assay. Loe here some articles, digested as memory shall store me with them. I have no fashion, but hath varied according to accidents; I onely register those I have most bene acquainted with, and hitherto possesse me most. My forme

of life is ever alike, both in sicknesse and in health: one same bed, the same houres, the same meate, the same drinke doth serve me. I adde nothing to them but the moderation of more or lesse, according to my strength or appetite. My health is to keepe my accustomed state free from care and trouble. I see that sicknesse doth on the one side in some sort divert me from it, and if I beleve phisicians, they on the other side will turne me from it; so that both by fortune and by art I am cleane out of my right bias. I beleve nothing more certainly then this, that I cannot be offended by the use of things which I have so long accustomed. It is in the hands of custome to give our life what forme it pleaseth, in that it can doe all in all. It is drinke of Circes diversifieth our nature as she thinkes good. How many nations neere bordering upon us imagine the feare of the serene or night-calm to be but a jest, which so apparently doth blast and hurt us, and whereof our mariners, our water-men and our countrey-men make but a laughing-stocke? You make a Germane sicke if you lay him upon a mattras, as you distemper an Italian upon a fether-bed, and a Frenchman to lay him in a bed without curtaines, or lodge him in a chamber without a fire. A Spaniard cannot well brooke to feede after our fashion, nor we endure to drinke as the Swizzers. A Germane pleased me well at Augusta to raile against the commodity of our chimnies, using the same reasons or arguments that wee ordinarily employ in condemning their stoves. For, to say truth, the same close-smothered heate and the smell of that oft-heated matter whereof they are composed, fumeth in the heads of such as are not accustomed unto them; not so with me. But on the other side, that heate being equally dispersed, constant and universal, without flame or blazing, without smoake, and without that wind which the tonnells of our chimnies bring us, may many wayes be compared unto ours. Why doe we not imitate the Romanes architecture?

It is reported that in ancient times they made no fire in their houses, but without and at the foote of them; whence by tonnells, which were convaied through their thickest walls, and contrived neere and about all such places as they would have warmed; so that the heat was convaied into every part of the house, which I have seene manifestly described in some place of Seneca, though I cannot well remember where. This Germane, hearing me commend the beauties and commodities of this city (which truly deserveth great commendation), beganne to pity mee, be-

cause I was shortly to goe from it. And the first inconvenience he urged me withall was the heavinesse in the head which chimnies in other places would cause me. He had heard some other body complaine of it, and therefore alledged the same against me, being wont by custome to perceive it in such as came to him. All heat comming from fire doth weaken and dull me; yet said Evenus, that fire was the best sauce of life. I rather allow and embrace any other manner or way to escape cold. Wee feare our wines when they are low; whe Portugall the fume of it is counted delicious, and is the drinke of princes. To conclude, each severall nation hath divers customes, fashions and usages, which to some others are not onely unknowne and strange, but savage, barbarous, and wondrous. What shall we doe unto that people that admit no witness except printed; that will not believe men if not printed in bookes, nor credit truth unless it be of competent age? We dignifie our fopperies when we put them to the presse. It is another manner of weight for him to say, I have seene it, then if you say I have heard it reported. But I, who misbelieve no more the mouth than the hand of men, and know that men write as indiscreetly as they speake unadvisedly, and esteeme of this present age as of another past, alledge as willingly a friend of mine as Aulus Gellius or Macrobius, and what my selfe have seene as that they have written. And as they accompt vertue to be nothing greater by being longer, so deeme I truth to be nothing wiser by being more aged. I often say it is meeer folly that makes us runne after strange and scholasticall examples. The fertility of them is now equall unto that of Homer and Platoe's time. But is it not that we rather seeke the honour of allegations than the truth of discourses, as if it were more to borrow our proofes from out the shop of Vascosan or Plantin, then from that we dayly see in our village. Or verily that wee have not the wit to blanch, sift out, or make that to prevaile which passeth before us, and forcibly judge of it to draw the same into example. For if we say that authority failes us to adde credit unto our testimony, we speake from the purpose. Forsomuch as in my conceit, could we but finde out their true light, Natures greatest miracles and the most wonderfull examples, namely, upon the subject of humane actions, may be drawne and formed from most ordinary, most common and most knowne things. Now concerning my subject, omitting the examples I know by bookes, and that which Aristotle speaketh of Alaron of Argos,

that he would travell all over the scorching sands of Lybia without drinking, a gentleman, who hath worthily acquitted himselfe of many honourable charges, reported where I was, that in the parching heate of summer hee had travelled from Madrid to Lisbon without ever drinking. His age respected, he is in very good and healthy plight, and hath nothing extraordinary in the course or custome of his life, saving (as himselfe hath told me) that he can very well continue two or three months, yea a whole yeare, without any manner of beverage. He sometimes finds himselfe thirsty, but lets that passe, and holds that it is an appetit which will easily and of itselfe languish away; and if he drinke at any time it is more for a caprice or humor than for any need or pleasure. Loe here one of another key. It is not long since that I found one of the wisest men of France (among those of so meane fortune) studying hard in the corner of a great hall, which for that purpose was hung about with tapistry, and round about him a disordered rable of his servants, groomes and lackeys, prattling, playing and hoyting; who told me (as Seneca in a manner saith of himselfe) that he learned and profited much by that hurly-burly or tintinnare, as if beaten with that confused noyse he did so much the better recall and close himselfe into himselfe for serious contemplation; and that the said tempestuous rumours did strike and repercusse his thoughts inward. Whilst he was a scholler in Padua his study was ever placed so neere the jangling of bells, the rattling of coaches, and rumbling tumults of the market-place, that for the service of his study he was faine not onely to frame and enure himselfe to contemne, but to make good use of that turbulent noyse. Socrates answered Alcibiades, who wondered how he could endure the continuall tittle-tattle and uncessant scoulding of his wife, Even as those who are accustomed to heare the ordinary creaking of the squeaking wheelces of wells. My selfe am cleane contrary, for I have a tender braine, and easie to take snuffe in the nose or to be transported. If my minde be busie alone, the least stirring, yea, the buzzing of a flie doth trouble and distemper the same. Seneca in his youth, having earnestly undertaken to follow the example of Sextius, to feed on nothing that were taken dead, could with pleasure (as himselfe averreth) live so a whole yeere; and left it onely because he would not be suspected to borrow this rule from some new religions that instituted the same. He therewithall followed some precepts of Attalus, not to lie upon any kinde of cur-

pets or bedding that would yeeld under one ; and untill he grew very aged he never used but such as were very hard and unyeelding to the body. What the custome of his dayes makes him accompt rudenesse, ours makes us esteeme wantonnesse. Behold the difference betwene my varlets life and mine. The Indians have nothing further from my forme and strength. Well I wot that I have hertofore taken boyes from begging, and that went roguing up and down to serve me, hoping to doe some good upon them, who have within a little while after left me, my fare and my livery, onely that they might without controule or cheeke follow their former idle loytring life. One of which I found not long since gathering of muskles in a common sincke for his dinner, whom (doe what I could) I was never able, neyther with entreaty to reclaime, nor by threatening to withdraw from the sweetnesse he found in want, and delight he felt in roguing lazinesse. Even vagabondine rogues, as well as rich men, have their magnificences and voluptuousnesse, and (as some say) their dignities, preheminenes and politike orders. They are effects of custome and use ; and what is bred in the bone will never out of the flesh. Both which have power to enure and fashion us, not onely to what forme they please (therefore, say the wise, ought we to be addressed to the best, and it will immediately seeme easie unto us), but also to change and variation. Which is the noblest and most profitable of their apprenticesages ? The best of my corporall complexions is that I am flexible and little opiniative. I have certaine inclinations, more proper and ordinary, and more pleasing than others. But with small adoe and without compulsion, I can easily leave them and embrace the contrary. A young man should trouble his rules to stirre up his vigor, and take heed he suffer not the same to grow faint, sluggish, or testy ; for there is no course of life so weake and sottish as that which is managed by order, methode, and discipline.

*Ad primum lapidem vectari cum placet, hora
Sumitur ex libro, si prurit frictus oculi
Angulus, inspecta genasi colligria querit.*¹

List he to ride in coach but to Mile End,
By th' almanacke he doth the houre attend ;
If his eye-corner itch, the remedy,
He sets from calculation of nativity.

If he beleewe me he shall often give himselfe unto all manner of excesse ; otherwise the least disorder will utterly overthrow him, and so make him unfit and unwelcome in all conversation. The most contrary

quality in an honest man is nice delicatenesse, and to bee tied to one certaine particular fashion. It is particular, if it be not supple and pliable. It is a kinde of reproach, through impuissance, not to doe or not to dare what one sees his other companions doe or dare. Let such men keepe their kitchin. It is undecent in all other men, but vicious and intolerable in one professing armes, who (as Philcemen said) should fashion himselfe to all manner of inequality and diversity of life. Although I have (as much as might bee) beene inured to liberty and fashioned to indifferency, yet in growing aged I have through carelesnesse relied more upon certaine formes (my age is now exempted from institution, and hath not any thing else to look unto but to maintaine it selfe) which custome hath already, without thinking on it, certaine things so wel imprinted her character in me, that I deeme it a kind of excesse to leave them. And without long practise I can neither sleepe by day, nor cate betwene meales, nor break my fast, nor goe to bed without some intermission (as of three hours after supper), nor get children but before I fall asleepe, and that never standing, nor beare mine owne sweate, nor quench my thirst either with cleere water or wine alone, nor continue long bare-headed, nor have mine hair cut after dinner. And I could as hardly spare my gloves as my shirt, or forbear washing of my hands both in the morning and rising from the table ; or lye in a bed without a testerne and curtaines about is of most necessary things. I could dine without a table-cloth, but hardly without a cleane napkin, as Germans commonly doe ; I foule and sully them more than either they or the Italians, and I seldome use eyther spoone or forke. I am sory we follow not a custome which, according to the example of kings, I have seene begunne by some, that upon every course or change of dish, as we have shift of cleane trenchers, so we might have change of cleane napkins. We read that that laborious soldier Marius, growing olde, grew more nicely delicate in his drinking, and would taste no drinke except in a peculiar cuppe of his. As for me, I observe a kinde of like methode in glasses, and of one certaine forme, and drinke not willingly in a common glasse, no more than of one ordinary hand. I mislike all manner of metall in regard of a bright transparent matter : let mine eyes also have taste of what I drinke according to their capacity. I am beholding to custome for many such nicenesses and singularities. Nature hath also on the other side bestowed this upon me, that I cannot wel brooke two full

meales in one day without surcharging my stomache, nor the meere abstinence of one without filling my selfe with winde, drying my mouth, and dulling my appetite; and I doe finde great offence by a long serene or night-calme. For some yeeres since, in the out-roads or night-services that happen in times of warre, which many times continue all night, five or sixe houres after my stomache begins to qualme, my head feeleth a violent aking, so that I can hardly hold out till morning without vomiting. When others goe to breakefast, I goe to sleepe, and within a while after I shall be as fresh and jolly as before. I ever thought that the serene never fell but in the shutting in of night, but having in these latter yeeres long time frequented very familiarly the conversation with a gentleman possessed with this opinion, that it is more sharpe and dangerous about the declination of the sunne, an hour or two before it set, which he carefully escheweth, and despiseth that which falls at night, hee hath gone about to perswade and imprint into me, not onely his discourse, but also his conceit. What if the very doubt and inquisition woundeth our imagination and changeth us? Such as altogether yeelde to these bendings draw the whole ruine upon themselves. And I bewaile divers gentlemen, who being young and in perfect health, have by the ignorant foolishnes of their physicians brought themselves into consumptions and other lingering diseases, and, as it were, in physicks fetters. Were it not much better to be troubled with a rheume, than for ever through discustome, in an action of so great use and consequence, lose the commerce and conversation of common life? Oh, yrkesome learning! Oh, science full of molestation, that wasteth us the sweetest houres of the day! Let us extend our possessions unto the utmost means. A man shall at last, in opinionating himselfe, harden and enure himselfe for it, and so correct his complexion, as did Cæsars the falling sicknesse, with contemning and corrupting the same. A man should apply himselfe to the best rules, but not subject himselfe unto them: except to such (if any there be) that duty and thraldome unto them be profitable. Both kings and philosophers obey nature, and goe to the stooles, and so doe ladies. Publike lives are due unto ceremony; mine, which is obscure and private, enjoyeth all naturall dispensations. To be a souldier and a Gascoyne are qualities somewhat subject to indiscretion. And I am both. Therefore will I say this much of this action, that it is requisite we should remit the same unto certaine prescribed night-houres, and by custome (as I have

done) force and subject our selves unto it; but not (as I have done), growing in yeeres, strictly tie himselfe to the care of a particular convenient place, and of a commodious aiax or easie close-stooles for that purpose, and make it troublesome with long sitting and nice observation. Nevertheless, in homeliest matters and fowlest offices, is it not in some sort excusable to require more care and cleanness? *Natura homo mundum et elegans animal est*: "By nature man is a cleanly and neate creature."

Of all naturall actions, there is none wherein I am more loath to be troubled or interrupted when I am at it. I have seene divers great men and souldiers much troubled and vexed with their bellies untune and disorder, when at untimely houres it calleth upon them; whilst mine and my selfe never misse to call one upon another at our appointment, which is as soone as I get out of my bed, except some urgent business or violent sicknesse trouble me. Therefore, as I saide, I iudge no place where sicke men may better seate themselves in security then quietly and wisht to hold themselves in that course of life wherein they have been brought up and habituated. Any change or variation astonieth and distempereth. Will any beleve that chestnuts can hurt a Perigordin or a Luquois, or that milke or whit-meates are hurtfull unto a mountaine dwelling people, whom if one seeke to divert from their naturall diet, he shall not onely prescribe them a new but a contrary forme of life—a change which healthy man can hardly endure? Appoint a Briton of threescore yeeres of age to drink water; put a seaman or mariner into a stove; forbid a lackey of Basque to walke; you bring them out of their element, you deprive them of all motion, and in the end of aire, of light, and life.

— *an vivere tanti est* ! *

Doe we reckon it so deare,
Onely living to be here?

*Cocimur à suetis animum suspendere rebas;
Atque ut vivamus, vivere desinimus:*

From things erst us'd we must suspend our minde,

We leave to live that we may live by kinde.

*Hos superesse reor quibus et spirabilis aer,
Et lux qua regimur, redditur ipsa gravis.*

Doe I thinke they live longer whom doth grieve
Both aire they breathe and light whereby they live.

If they doe no other good, at least they doe this, that betimes they prepare their

* SEN. *Epist.* 92. * COR. GAL. *Eleg.* i. 255.

patients unto death, by little undermining and cutting-off the use of life. Both in health and in sickness I have willingly seconded and given my selfe over to those appetites that pressed me. I allow great authority to my desires and propensions. I love not to cure one evil by another mischief. I hate those remedies that importune more than sickness. To be subject to the cholike, and to be tied to abstaine from the pleasure I have in eating of oysters, are two mischiefs for one. The disease pincheth us the one side, the rule on the other. Since we are ever in danger to misdoe, let us rather hazard our selves to follow pleasure. Most men doe contrary and thinke nothing profitable that is not painful; facility is by them suspected. Mine appetite hath in divers things very happily accomodated and ranged itselfe to the health of my stomacke. Being yong, acrimony and tartnesse in sawces did greatly delight me, but my stomacke being since glutted therewith, my taste hath likewise seconded the same. Wine hurts the sick; it is the first thing that with an invincible distaste brings my mouth out of taste. Whatsoever I receive unwillingly or distastefully, hurts me, whereas nothing doth, whereon I feed with hunger and relish. I never received harme by any action that was very pleasing unto me. And yet I have made all medicinall conclusions largely to yeeld to my pleasures. And when I was yong—

*Quem circumcervans huc atque huc serpe Cupido
Fulgebat crocina splendidus in tunica*—

About whom Cupid sprung here and there,
Shined in the saffron coate which he did weare—

I have as licentious and inconsiderately as any other furthered all such desires as possessed me;

*Et militavi non sine gloria.*²

A souldier of loves hoast,
I was not without boast.

More notwithstanding in continuation and holding out, then by snatches or by stealth.

Sex me vix meminisse sustinuisse vices.

I scarce remember past
Six courses I could last.

It is surely a wonder accompanied with unhappinesse, to confesse how young and weak I was brought under its subjection. Nay, shall I not blush to tell it? It was long before the age of choice or yeeres of discretion; I was so young, as I remember nothing before. And fitly may my fortune

bee compared to that of Quatilla, who remembered not her maydenhead.

*Inde tragus celeresque pili, mirandaque matri
Barba mea.*

Thence goats-hesnesse, haire over-soone, a beard
To make my mother wonder and afeard.

Physitians commonly enfold and joyne their rules unto profit, according to the violence of sharpe desires or earnest longings, that incidently follow the sicke; no longing desire can be imagined so strange and vicious, but nature will apply herselfe unto it. And then how easie is it to content ones fantasie. In mine opinion, this part importeth all in all; at least more and beyond all other. The most grievous and ordinary evils are those which fancy chargeth us withall. That Spanish saying doth every way please me: *Defienda me Dios de mi*: "God defend me from my selfe." Being sicke, I am sory I have not some desire may give me the contentment to satiate and cloy the same; scarcely would a medicine divert me from it. So doe I when I am in health: I hardly see any thing left to be hoped or wished for. It is pity a man should bee so weakened and enlanguished that he hath nothing left him but wishing. The art of physicke is not so resolute, that whatsoever wee doe, we shall be void of all authority to doe it. Shee changeth and she varieth according to climats; according to the moones; according to Fernelius, and according to Scala. If your physitian thinke it not good that you sleepe, that you drinke wine, or eat such and such meates, care not you for that; I will finde you another that shall not be of his opinion. The diversity of physicall arguments and medicinall opinions embraceth all manner of formes. I saw a miserable sicke man, for the infinite desire he had to recover, ready to burst, yea and to die with thirst; who not long since another physitian mocked, utterly condemning the others counsell as hurtfull for him. Had not hee bestowed his labour well? A man of that coate is lately dead of the stone, who during the time of his sickness used extreame abstinence to withstand his evil; his fellows affirm that, contrary, his long fasting had withered and dried him up, and so concocted the gravell in his kidnies. I have found that in my hurts and other sicknesses, earnest talking distempers and hurts me as much as any disorder I commit. My voice costs me deare, and wearieth me; for I have it lowd, shrill and forced, so that, when I have had occasion to entertaine the eares of great men about weighty affaires, I have often troubled them with care how

¹ CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 131.

² HOR. *Car.* l. iii. *Od.* xxvi. 2.

to moderate my voice. This story deserveth to be remembered and to divert me. A certaine man in one of the Greeke schooles spake very lowde, as I doe; the maister of the ceremonies sent him word he should speake lower: "Let him (quoth he) send me the tune or key in which he would have me speake." The other replied, that he should take his tune from his eares to whom he spake. It was well said, so he understood himselfe: speake according as you have to doe with your auditory. For if one say, let it suffice that he heareth you, or govern yourself by him; I do not thinke he had reason to say so. The tune or motion of the voyce hath some expression or signification of my meaning. It is in me to direct the same, that so I may the better represent myselfe. There is a voyce to instruct, one to flatter, and another to chide. I will not onely have my voyce come to him, but peradventure to wound and pierce him. When I brawle and rate my lackey with a sharpe and piercing tune, were it fit he should come to me and say, "Master, speake softly, I understand and heare you very well?" *Est quædam vox ad auditum accommodata non magnitudine sed proprietate*: "There is a kinde of voyce well applied to the hearing, not by the greatnesse of it, but by the proprietie." The word is halfe his that speaketh and halfe his that harkeneth unto it. The hearer ought to prepare himselfe to the motion or bound it taketh. As betwene those that play at tennis, he who keeps the hazard doth prepare stand, stirre and march, according as he perceives him who stands at the house, to looke, stand, remoove and strike the ball, and according to the stroake. Experience hath also taught me this, that we lose ourselves with impatience. Evils have their life, their limits, their diseases and their health. The constitution of diseases is framed by the patterne of the constitution of living creatures. They have their fortune limited even at their birth, and their dayes allotted them. He that shall imperiously goe about, or by compulsion (contrary to their courses) to abridge them, doth lengthen and multiply them; and instead of appeasing, doth harsell and wring them. I am of Crantors opinion, that a man must neither obstinately nor frantickely oppose himselfe against evils; nor through demissenesse of courage faintly yeeld unto them, but according to their condition and onrs naturally incline to them. A man must give sicknesses their passage. And I finde that they stay least with me, because I allow them their swing, and let them doe what they list. And contrary to common received rules, I have without ayde or art

ridde myselfe of some that are deemed the most obstinately lingring and unremovably obstinate. Let nature worke; let hir have hir will; she knoweth what she hath to doe, and understands hir selfe better then we do. But such a one died of it, wil you say; so shal you doubtlesse; if not of that, yet of some other disease. And how many have wee seene die when they have had a whole colledge of physitions round about their bed, and looking in their excrements? Example is a bright looking-glasse, universall and for all shapes to looke into. If it be a lushious or taste-pleasing portion, take it hardily; it is ever so much present ease. So it be delicious and sweetly tasting, I will stand much upon the name or colour of it. Pleasure is one of the chieftest kinds of profit. I have suffered rheumes, gowty defluxions, relaxions, pantings of the heart, megreimes and other such-like accidents, to grow old in me, and die their naturall death; all which have left me when I halfe enured and framed my selfe to foster them. They are better conjured by curtesie then by bragging or threats. We must gently obey and endure the lawes of our condition. We are subject to grow aged, to become weake and to fall sicke, in spight of all physicke. It is the first lesson the Mexicans give their children; when they come out of their mothers wombes, they thus salute them: "My childe, thou art come into the world to suffer; therefore suffer and hold thy peace." It is injustice for one to grieve, that any thing hath befallen to any one, which may happen to all men. *Indignare, si quid in te inique proprie constitutum est*: "Then take it ill, if any thing be decreed unjustly against thee alone." Look on an aged man, who sueth unto God to maintaine him in perfect, full and vigorous health; that is to say, he will be pleased to make him young again:

*Stulte quid hæc frustra votis puerilibus optas!*¹

Foole, why dost thou in vaine desire,
With childish prayers thus t'aspire?

Is it not folly? His condition will not beare it. The gowt, the stone, the gravell, and indigestion are symptoms or effects of long-continued yeares; as heats, raines and winds, are incident to long voyages. Plato cannot beleeve that *Æsculapius* troubled himselfe with good rules and diet to provide for the preservation of life, in a weake, wasted, and corrupted body; being unprofitable for his country, inconvenient for his vocation, and unfit to get sound and sturdy children; and deeme not that care

¹ OVID, *Trist.* l. iii. *Eleg.* viii. 11.

inconvenient unto divine justice and heavenly wisdom, which is to direct all things unto profit. My good sir, the matter is at an end. You cannot be recovered; for the most, you can be but tampered withall, and somewhat underpropt, and for some houres have your misery prolonged.

*Non secus instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam
Diversis contra nititur objicibus,
Donec certa dies, omni compage soluta,
Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium.*¹

So he that would an instant ruine stay,
With divers props strives it underlay,
'Till all the frame dissolved a certaine day,
'The props with th' edifice doth oversway.

A man must learne to endure that patiently which he cannot avoyde conveniently. Our life is composed, as is the harmony of the world, of contrary things; so of divers tunes, some pleasant, some harsh, some sharpe, some flat, some low, and some high. What would that musitian say that should love but some one of them? He ought to know how to use them severally and how to entermingle them. So should we both of goods and evils which are consubstantiall to our life; our being cannot subsist without this commixture, whereto one side is no lesse necessary than the other. To goe about to kicke against natural necessity were to represent the folly of Ctesiphon, who undertooke to strike or wince with his mule. I consult but little about the alterations which I feele, for these kinde of men are advantageous when they hold you at their mercy; they glut your eares with their prognostications, and surprising me heretofore, when by my sicknesse I was brought very low and weake, they have injuriously handled me with their doctrines, positions, prescriptions, magistrall fopperies, and prosopopeyall gravity; sometimes threatning me with great paine and smart, and other times menacing me with neere and unavoydable death; all which did indeede moove, stirre and touch me neere, but could not dismay or remooove me from my place or resolution; if my judgement be thereby neither changed nor troubled, it was at least hindred; it is ever in agitation and combating. Now I entreate my imagination as gently as I can, and were it in my power I would cleane discharge it of all paine and contestation. A man must further help, flatter, and (if he can) cozen and deceive it. My spirit is fit for that office: there is no want of apparances everywhere. Did he perswade as he preacheth hee should successfully ayde me. Shall I give you an example? He

tells me it is for my good that I am troubled with the gravell, that the compositions of my age must naturally suffer some leake or flaw; it is time they begin to relent and gainesay themselves: it is a common necessity, and it had beene no new wonder for me. That way I pay the reward due unto age, and I could have no better reckoning of it. That such company ought to comfort me, being fallen into the most ordinary accident incident to men of my dayes. I everywhere see some afflicted with the same kinde of evil, whose society is honourable unto mee, forsomuch as it commonly possesseth the better sort of men, and whose essence hath a certaine nobility and dignity connexed unto it; that of men tormented therewith, few are better cheape quit of it, and yet it costs them the paine of a troublesome dyet, tedious regimen, and daily loathsome taking of some medicinall drugges and physycall potions; whereas I meerey owe it to my good fortune; for some ordinary broths made of eringos or sea-holme, and burstwort, which twice or thrice I have swallowed downe at the request of some ladies, who, more kindly then my disease is unkind, ofred me the moity of theirs, have equally seemed unto me as easie to take as unprofitable in operation. They must pay a thousand vowes unto Æsculapius, and as many crownes to their physicion, for an easie profluvion or abundant running of gravell, which I often receive by the benefit of Nature. Let mee be in any company, the decency of my countenance is thereby nothing troubled, and I can hold my water full tenn houres and if neede be as long as any man that is in perfect health. The feare of this evil, saith he, did heretofore affright thee when yet it was unknowne to thee. The cries and despair of those who through their impatience exasperate the same, bred a horror of it in thee. It is an evil that comes and fals into those limmes by and with which thou hast most offended. Thou art a man of conscience:

*Quæ venit indigne pœna, dolenda venit.*²

The paine that comes without desert,
Comes to us with more grieve and smart.

Consider but how milde the punishment is in respect of others, and how favourable. Consider his slownesse in coming, hee only incommodeth that state and encumbeth that season of thy life which (all things considered) is now become barren and lost, having as it were by way of composition, given place unto the sensual

¹ COR. II. AL. Eleg. 173.

² OVID. F. 1st. v. 2.

licentiousnesse and wanton pleasures of thy youth. The feare and pittie men have of this evill may serve thee as a cause of glory; a quality whereof, if thy judgement be purified and thy discourse perfectly sound, thy friends doe notwithstanding discover some sparkes in thy complexion. It is some pleasure for a man to heare other say of him, Loe there a patterne of true fortitude; loe there a mirrour of matchlesse patience. Thou art seene to sweate with labour, to grow pale and wanne, to wax red, to quake and tremble, to cast and vomit blood, to endure strange contractions, to brooke convulsions, to trill downe brackish and great teares, to make thicke, muddy, blacke, bloody, and fearefull urine, or to have it stopt by some sharpe or rugged stone, which pricketh and cruelly wringeth the necke of the yarde, entertaining in the meanwhile the bystanders with an ordinary and undaunted countenance, by pawses jesting and by entermissions dallying with thy servants, keeping a part in a continued discourse, with words now and then excusing thy griefe and abating thy painefull sufferance. Dost thou remember those men of former ages, who, to keep their vertue in breath and exercise, did with such greedinesse seeke after evils? Suppose Nature driveth and brings thee unto that glorious schoole into which thou hast never come of thine owne accord and free will. If thou tell me it is a dangerous and mortall evill, what others are not so? For it is a kinde of physicall cousenage to except any, and so they goe directly unto death; what matter is it whether they goe by accident unto it, and easily slide on either hand toward the way that leadeth us thereunto? But thou diest not because thou art sicke; thou diest because thou art living. Death is able to kill thee without the helpe of any sickness; sicknesses have to some prolonged their death, who have lived the longer, inasmuch as they imagined they were still dying; seeing it is of wounds as of diseases, that some are medicinall and wholesome. The chollike is often no lesse long-lived than you; many are seene in whom it hath continued even from their infancy unto their extreamest age, who had they not forsaken her company, she was like to have assisted them further. You oftner kill her than she doth you. And if she did present thee with the image of neer-imminent death, were it not a kinde office for a man of that age to reduce it unto the cogitations of his end? And which is worse, thou hast no longer cause to bee cured; thus and howsoever common necessity calls for thee against the first day. Consider but

how artificially and how mildly she brings thee in distaste with life and out of liking with the world, not forcing thee with a tyrannicall subjection as infinit other diseases doe, wherewith thou seest old men possessed, which continually hold them fettered and ensnared, and without release of weaknesse nor intermission of paines but by advertisements and instructions, reprised by intervalles, entermixing certaine pawses of rest, as if it were to give thee meane at thy ease to meditate and repeate her lesson; to give thee leisure and ability to judge soundly, and like a man of a courage to take a resolution, she presents thee with the state of thy condition perfect, both in good and evill, and in one same day sometimes a most pleasing, sometimes a most intolerable life. If thou embrace not death, at least thou shakest her by the hand once a month, whereby thou hast more cause to hope that she will one day surprise thee without threatening; and that being so often brought into the haven, supposing to be still in thy accustomed state, one morning at unawares, both thyselfe and thy confidence shall be transported over. A man hath no reason to complaine against those diseases which so equally divide time with health. I am beholding to Fortune that she so often assailes mee with one same kinde of weapon: she by long use doth fashion and enure mee unto it, harden and habituate mee thereunto: I now know within a little which way and how I shall be quit. For want of naturall memory I frame some of paper, and when some new symptome or accident commeth to my evill I set it downe in writing, whence it proceedeth that having now (in a manner) passed over and through all sorts of examples, if any astonishment threaten me, running and turning over these my loose memorialles (as Sibyllaes leaves) I misse no more to finde to comfort me with some favourable prognostication in my former past experience. Custome doth also serve mee to hope the better hereafter; for the conduct of this distribution having so long bene constituted, it is to be supposed that Nature will not change this course, and no other worse accident shall follow then that I feele. Moreover, the condition of this disease is not ill seeming to my ready and sodaine complexion. When it but faintly assailes mee it makes mee afraid, because it is like to continue long; but naturally it hath certaine vigorous and violent excesses; it doth violently shake me for one or two dayes. My reines have continued a whole age without alteration, another is now well-nigh come, that they have changed state. Evils as well as goods

have their periods; this accident is happily come to his last. Age weakeneth the heat of my stomacke, his digestion being thereby lesse perfect hee sendeth this crude matter to my reines. Why may not, at a certaine revolution, the heat of my reines be likewise enfebled, so that they may no longer putrifie my fleagme, and Nature addresse herselfe to finde some other course of purgation? Yeares have evidently made me drie up certaine rheumes, and why not these excrements that minister matter to the stone or gravell? But is there anything so pleasant in respect of this sodaine change when by an extreme pain I come by the voyding of my stone, to recover, as from a lightning, the faire sunneshine of health; so free and full, as it happeneth in our sodaine and most violent chollicks? Is there anything in this paine suffered that may be counterpoised to the sweet pleasure of so ready an amendment? By how much more health seemeth fairer unto me after sickness, so neere and so contiguous, that I may know them in presence one of another, in their richest ornaments; wherein they attyre themselves avy, as it were confront and counterchecke one another. Even as the Stoickes say, that vices were profitably brought in, to give esteeme and make head unto vertue; so may we with better reason and bold conjecture affirme that Nature hath lent us griefe and paine, for the honour of pleasure and service of indolency. When Socrates (after he had his yrons or fetters taken from him) felt the pleasure or tickling of that itching which their weight and rubbing had caused in his legges, he rejoyced to consider the neere affinity that was between paine and pleasure; how they combined together by a necessary bond, so that at times they enterengender and succeed one another; and cry out to good Æsop, that he should from that consideration have taken a proper body unto a quaint fable. The worst I see in other diseases is, that they are not so grievous in their effect as in their issue. A man is a whole yeare to recover himselfe; ever full of weaknesse, alwayes full of feare.

There is so much hazard and so many degrees before one can be brought to safety, that hee is never at an end. Before you can leave off your coverchiefe and then your nightcap, before you can brooke the ayre againe or have leave to drinke wine, or lye with your wife, or eate melons, it is much if you fall not into some relapse or new misery. The gravell hath this priviledge, that it is cleane carried away; whereas other maladies leave ever some impression and alteration, which leaveth the

body susceptible or undertaking of some new infirmity, and they lend one another their hands. Such are to be excused, as are contented with the possession they have over us, without extending the same, and without introducing their sequell; but courteous, kind and gracious are those, whose passage brings us some profitable consequence. Since I have had the stone-chollick, I finde myselfe discharged of other accidents; more (as methinks) then I was before, and never had ague since. I argue that the extreme and frequent vomits I endure, purge me; and on the other side, the distastes and strange abstinences I tolerate, digest my offending humours; and Nature voydeth in these stones and gravell whatsoever is superfluous and hurtfull in her. Let no man tell me that it is a medicine too deere sold; for, what availe so many loathsome pills, stincking potions, cauterizings, incisions, sweatings, setons, dyets, and so divers fashions of curing, which, because we are not able to undergoe their violence and brooke their importunity, doe often bring us unto our graves? And therefore, when I am surprised, I take it as physicke; and when I am free, I take it as a constant and full deliverance. Lo here another particular favour of my disease, which is, that he in a manner keeps his play apart, and lets me keepe mine owne; or else I wait but courage to doe it. In his greatest emotion I have held out tenne houres on horsebacke with him. Doe but endure, you neede no other rule or regimen. Play, dally, dyne, runne, be gamesome, do this, and if you can doe the other thing, your disorder and debauching will rather availe than hurt it. Say thus much to one that hath the pox, or to one that hath the gowt, or to one that is belly-broken or cod-burst. Other infirmities have more universall bonds, torment farre otherwise our actions, pervert all our order, and engage all the state of mans life unto their consideration. Whereas this doth only twitch and pinch the skin, it neyther medleth with your understanding, nor with your will, tongue, feete, or hands, but leaves them all in your disposition; it rather rouzeth and awaketh you, then deterre and drouzy you. The mind is wounded by the burning of a fever, suppressed by an epilepsie, confounded by a migraine, and in conclusion astonished and dismayed by all the diseases that touch or wound the whole masse of his body and its noblest parts. This never medleth with it. If therefore it go ill with it, his be the blame; she bewrayeth, she forsaketh, and she displaceth her selfe. None but fools will be perswaded that this hard, gretty and

massie body, which is concocted and petrified in our kidneis, may be dissolved by drinks. And therefore after it is stirred there is no way but to give it passage; for if you doe not he will take it himselfe. This other peculiar commodity I observe, that it is an infirmity wherein we have but little to divine. We are dispensed from the trouble whereinto other maladies cast us, by the uncertainty of their causes, conditions, and progresses—a trouble infinitely painfull. We have no need of doctorall consultations or collegiall interpretations. Our senses tell us where it is and what it is. By and with such arguments, forcible or weake (as Cicero doth the infirmity of his old age), I endeavour to lull asleepe and study to amuse my imagination, and supple or annoint her sores. If they grow worse to-morrow, to-morrow we shall provide for new remedies or escapes. That this is true, loe afterward againe, haply the light motion wrings pure blood out of my veines. And what of that? I omit not to stirre as before, and with a youthfull and insolent heate ride after my hounds; and find that I have great reason of so important an accident, which costs me but a deafe heavinesse and dumble alteration in that part. It is some great stone that wasteth and consumeth the substance of my kidneis and my life, which I avoyde by little and little; not without some naturall pleasure, as an excrescent now superfluous and troublesome. And feele I something to shake? Except not that I amuse my selfe to feele my pulse, or looke into my urine, thereby to finde or take some tedious prevention. I shall come time enough to feele the smart, without lengthening the same with the paine of feare. Who feareth to suffer, suffereth already, because he feareth.

Seeing the doubt and ignorance of those who will and doe meddle with expounding the drifts and shifts of nature, with her internal progress; and so many false prognostications of their arte should make us understand her means infinitely unknowne. There is great uncertainty, variety and obscurity in that shee promiseth and menaceth us. Except old age, which is an undoubted signe of death approaching, of all other accidents, I see few signes of future things whereon we may ground our divination. I onely judge my selfe by true-feeling sense, and not by discourse. To what end, since I will adde nothing thereunto except attention and patience? Will you know what I gaine by it? Behold those who doe otherwise, and who depend on so many diverse perswasions and counsels, how oft imagination presseth

them without the body. I have divers times, being in safety and free from all dangerous accidents, taken pleasure to communicate them unto physicians, as but then comming upon me. I endured the arrest or doome of their horrible conclusions, and remained

such the more bounden unto God for his grace, and better instructed of the vanity of this arte. Nothing ought so much to be recommended unto youth as activity and vigilancy. Our life is nothing but motion, I am hardly shaken, and am slow in all things, be it to rise, to goe to bed, or to my meales. Seaven of the clocke in the morning is to me an early houre; and where I may command, I neither dine before eleven, nor sup till after six. I have heretofore imputed the of agues or maladies, wheremto I faine, to the lumpish heaviness or drowzy dullnesse which my

sleeping had caused me, and ever it hath kept me from falling asleepe againe in the morning. Plato condemnes more the excessse of sleeping then the surfeit of drinking. I love to be hard and alone, yea and without a woman by me, after the kingly manner; somewhat well and warme covered. I never had my bed warmed, but since I have thought to be an old man, if need require, I have clothes given me to warme my feete and my stomacke. Great Scipio was taxed to be a sluggard or heavy sleeper (in my conceit) for no other cause but that men were offended; hee onely should be the man in whom no fault might justly be found. If there be any curiosity in my behaviour or manner of life, it is rather about my going to bed then any thing else; but if neede bee, I generally yeeld and accommodate my selfe unto necessity, as well and as quietly, as any other whosoever. Sleeping hath possessed a great part of my life; and as old as I am, I can sleepe eight or nine houres together. I doe with profit withdraw my selfe from this sluggish propension, and evidently finde my selfe better by it. Indeede, I somewhat feeble the stroke of alteration, but in three dayes it is past. And I see few that live with lesse (when need is), and that more constantly exercise themselves, nor whom toying and labour offend lesse. My body is capable of a firme agitation, so it be not vehement and sodaine. I avoide violent exercises, and which induce mee to sweate; my limbs will sooner be wearied then heated. I can stand a whole day long, and am not become weary with walking. Since my first age, I ever loved rather to ride then walke upon paved streets. Going afoote, I shall dirty myselfe up to the waste; and little men, going amongst our streets, are subject (for want of presen-

tial apparence) to be justled or elbowed. I love to take my rest, be it sitting or lying-along, with my legs as high or higher then my seate. No profession or occupation is more pleasing then the military; a profession or exercise both noble in execution (for the strongest, most generous and proudest of all vertues, is true valour) and noble in its cause. No utility, either more just or universall then the protection of the repose or defence of the greatnesse of ones country. The company and dayly conversation of so many noble, young, and active men, cannot but bee well-pleasing to you: the dayly and ordinary sight of so divers tragical spectacles; the liberty and uncontrolled freedom of that artlesse and unaffected conversation, masculine and ceremonious manner of life; the hourly variety of a thousand ever-changing and differing actions; the courageous and minde-stirring harmony of warlike musicke, which at once entertaineth with delight and enflameth with longing, both your eares and your minde; the imminent and matchlesse honour of that exercise; yea the very sharpnesse and difficulty of it, which Plato esteemeth so little, that in his imaginary commonwealth he imparteth the same both to women and to children. As a voluntary souldier or adventurous knight you enter the lists, the bands or particular hazards, according as your selfe judge of their successes or importance; and you see when your life may therein be excusably employed.

*Pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.*¹

And nobly it doth come in minde,
To die in armes may honour finde.

Basely to feare common dangers, that concerne so numberlesse a multitude, and not to dare what so many sorts of men dare, yea whole nations together, is onely incident to base, craven, and milke-sop hearts, company and good fellowship doth harden and encourage children. If some chance to exceed and outgoe you in knowledge, in experience, in grace, in strength, in fortune, you have third and collateral causes to blame and take hold-of; but to yeeld to them in constancy of minde and resolution of courage, you have none but your selfe to find fault with. Death is much more abject, languishing, grisly, and painefull in a downebed, then in a field combate; and agues, catarrhs or apoplexies, as painefull and mortall as an harquebusado. He that should be made undantly to beare the accidents of common life, should not need to bumbast his courage, to become a man

at armes. *Vivere, mi Lucilli, militare est.*² "Friend mine, to live is to goe on warfare." I cannot remember that ever I was scabbed, yet is itching one of natures sweetest gratifications, and as ready at hand. But repentance doth over-importunately attend on it. I exercise the same in mine eares (and by fits) which within doe often itch. I was borne with all my senses sound, almost in perfection. My stomacke is commodiously good, and so is my head; both which, together with my winde, maintaine themselves athwart my agues. I have out-lived that age to which some nations have not without some reason prescribed for a just end unto life, that they allowed not a man to exceede the same. I have notwithstanding some remyses or intermissions yet, though unconstant and short, so sound and neate that there is little difference between them and the health and indolency of my youth. I speake not of youthly vigor and chearefull blithnesse; there is no reason they should follow me beyond their limits:

*Non hæc amplius est liminis, aut aquæ
Cælestis, patiens latus.*³

These sides cannot still sustaine
Lying without doores, showing raine.

My visage and eyes doe presently discover me. Thence begin all my changes, and somewhat sharper then they are in effect. I often move my friends to pitty ere I feele the cause of it. My looking-glasse doth not amaze me, for even in my youth it hath divers times befallne me so to put on a dusky looke, a wan colour, a troubled behaviour and of ill presage, without any great accident; so that physicians perceiving no inward cause to answer this outward alteration, ascribed the same to the secret minde or some concealed passion, which inwardly gnawed and consumed me. They were deceived; were my body directly by me, as is my minde, we should march a little more at our ease. I had it then, not onely exempted from all trouble, but also full of satisfaction and blithnesse, as it is most commonly, partly by its owne complexion, and partly by its owne desseigne:

*Nec titiant artus agræ contagia mentis,*³

Nor doth sicke mindes infection
Pollute strong joynts complexion.

I am of opinion that this her temperature hath often raised my body from his fallings: he is often suppressed, whereas she, if not lasciviously wanton, at least in quiet and

¹ SEN. *Epist.* 96, f.

² HOR. *Car.* l. iii. *Od.* x. 15.

³ OVID. *Trist.* l. iii. *Eleg.* viii. 25.

reposed estate. I had a quartan ague which held me foure or five moneths, and had altogether disvisaged and altered my countenance, yet my minde held ever out, not onely peaceably but pleasantly. So I feele no paine or smart; weakenesse and languishing doe not greatly perplex me. I see divers corporall defailances, the onely naming of which breede a kind of horror, and which I would feare lesse then a thousand passions and agitations of the mind which I see in use. I resolve to runne no more; it sufficeth me to goe-on faire and softly; nor doe I complaine of their naturall decadence or emparing that possesseth me.

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus ?

Who wonders a swolne throat to see,
In those about the Alpes that be ?

No more then I grieve that my continuance is not as long and sound as that of an oake. I have no cause to finde fault with my imagination. I have in my life had very few thoughts or cares that have so much as interrupted the course of my sleepe, except of desire to awaken without dismay or afflicting me. I seldome dreame, and when I doe, it is of extravagant things and chymeras, commonly produced of pleasant conceits, rather ridiculous then sorrowfull. And thinke it true that dreames are the true interpreters of our inclinations; but great skill is required to sort and understand them.

Res quæ in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident,

Quæque agunt vigilantes, agitantque ea sicut in somno accidunt

Minus mirandum est.

It is no wonder if the things which we
Care for, use, thinke, doe oft, or waking see,
Unto us sleeping represented be.

Plato saith, moreover, that it is the office of wisdom to draw divining instructions from them against future times. Wherein I see nothing but the wonderfull experience that Socrates, Xenophon, and Aristotle relate of them—men of unreprouvable authority. Histories report that the inhabitants of the Atlantique Isles never dreame, who feed on nothing that hath bene slaine; which I adde, because it is peradventure the occasion they dreame not. Pythagoras ordained therefore a certaine methode of feeding, that dreames might be sorted of some purpose. Mine are tender, and cause no agitation of body or expression of voice in me. I have in my dayes seen many strangely stirred with them. Then the philosopher walked in dreaming; as did Pericles his boy,

went upon the tiles and tops of houses. I stand not much on nice choice of meates at the table, and commonly begin with the first and neereest dish, and leape not willingly from one taste to another. Multitude of dishes and variety of services displease me as much as any other throng. I am easily pleased with few messes, and hate the opinion of Favorinus, that at a banquet you must have that dish whereon you feed hungerly taken from you, and ever have a new one set in the place; and that it is a niggardly supper if all the guests be not glutted with pinions and rumps of divers kinds of fowle, and that onely the dainty bird beccafico or snapping deserveth to bee eaten whole at one morsell. I feele much upon salt eates, and love to have my bread somewhat fresh, and mine owne baker makes none other for my bord, against the fashion of my country. In my youth my overseers had much a doe to reforme the refusal I made of such meats as youth doth commonly love best; as sweetmeats, comets and marchpanes. My tutor was wont to finde great fault with my loathing of such dainties, as a kinde of squeamish delicacy. And to say truth, it is nothing but a difficulty of taste, where it once is applied. Whosoever remooveth from a child a certaine particular or obstinate affection to browne bread, to bacon, or to garlike, taketh friandise from him. There are some that make it a labour and thinke it a patience to regret a good piece of powdred beefe, or a good gemmon of bakon, amongst partridges. Are not they wise men in the meantime? It is the chiefe dainty of all dainties; it is the taste of nice effeminate fortune that wil be distasted with ordinary and usual things. *Per quæ luxuria diuitiarum ladio ludit;*¹ "Whereby the lavishnesse of plenty plays with tedious pleasure." To forbear to make good chaire, because another doth it, for one to have care of his feeding, is the essence of that vice.

*Si modica canere times olus omne patella.*¹

If in a sorry dish to sup

You brooke not all th' hearbe pottage up.

Indeece there is this difference, that it is better for one to tye his desires unto thin easiest to be gotten, yet is it a vice to tie himselfe to any strictnesse. I was heretofore wont to name a kinsman of mine overdelicate, because whilst hee lived in our gallies, he had unlearnt and left to lie upon a bedde and to strippe himselfe to goe to bedde. Had I any male children I should willingly wish them my fortune. That good

father it pleased God to allot me (who hath nothing of mee but thankfulness for his goodnesse, which indeed is as great as great may be) even from my cradle sent mee to be brought up in a poor village of his, where he kept me so long as I sucked, and somewhat longer, breeding me after the meanest and simplest common fashion. *Magna pars libertatis est bene moratus venter*: "A mannerly belly is a great part of a man's liberty." Never take unto yourselfe, and much lesse never give your wives the charge of your children's breeding or education. Let fortune frame them under the popular and naturall lawes; let custome enure them to frugality and breed them to hardnesse, that they may rather descend from sharpnesse than ascend unto it. His conceipt aymed also at another end, to acquaint and re-ally me with that people and condition of men that have most need of us; and thought I was rather bound to respect those which extend their armes unto me than such as turne their backe toward me. And that was the reason he chose no other gossips to hold me at the font than men of abject and base fortune, that so I might the more be bound and tied unto them. His purpose hath not altogether succeeded ill. I willingly give and accost myselfe unto the meaner sort, whether it be because there is more glory gotten by them, or through some naturall compassion, which in me is infinitely powerfull. The faction which I condemne in our civill warres I shall more sharply condemne when it prospers and flourisheth. I shall in some sort be reconciled unto it when I see it miserably depressed and overwhelmed. Oh how willingly doe I remember that worthy humour of Chelonis, daughter and wife to King of Sparta. Whilste Cleombrotus, her husband, in the tumultuous disorders of his city, had the upper hand of Leonidas her father, she played the part of a good daughter, allying herself with her father in his exile and in his misery, mainly opposing herselfe against the conquerour. Did fortune turne, so changed she her minde, courageously taking her husband's part, whom she never forsooke, whithersoever his ruine or distresse carried him; having (in my seeming) no other choise than to follow that side where she might doe most good, where she was most wanted, and where she might shew herselfe most truly pittifull. I doe more naturally incline toward the example of Flaminius, who more and rather yeelded to such as had need of him than to those who might doe him good,

than I bend unto that of Pyrrhus, who was ever wont demissely to stoope and yeeld to the mighty, and insolently to grow proud over the weake. Long sitting at meales doth much weary and distemper me, for be it for want of better countenance and entertainment, or that I used myselfe unto it when I was a child, I fefde as long as I sitte at the table; and therefore, being in mine owne house, though my board be but short and that wee use not to sit long, I doe not commonly sit downe with the first, but a pretty while after others, according to the forme of Augustus, yet I imitate him not in his rising before others. Contrary, I love to sit a great while after, and to heare some discourse or table-talk, alwayes provided I beare not a part myselfe, for if my belly be full I shall soone be weary and hurt myselfe with talking, and I finde the exercise of lowde-speaking and contesting before meate very pleasant and wholesome. The ancient Grecians and Romanes had better reason than wee, allotting unto feeding, which is a principall action of man's life (if any other extraordinary businesse did not let or divert them from it), divers houres, and the best part of the night, eating and drinking more leisurely than we doe, who passe and runne-over all our actions in post-haste, and extending this naturall pleasure unto more leisure and use, entermixing therewith divers profitable and mind-pleasing offices of civill conversation. Such as have care of me may easily steale from me whatsoever they imagine may be hurtfull for me, inasmuch as about my feeding I never desire or find fault with that I see not. That proverb is verified in me: What eye seeth not, the heart rueth not; but if a dish or anything else be once set before me, they lose their labour that goe about to tell me of abstinence; so that when I am disposed to fast I must be sequestred from eaters, and have no more set before me than may serve for a stinted and regular collation; for if I but sit downe at a set table I forget my resolution. If I chance to bidde my cooke change the dressing of some kinde of meate or dish, all my men know I inferre my appetite is wallowish and my stomache out of order, and I shall hardly touch it. I live all manner of flesh or fowle but greene roasted and raw sodden, namely, such as may beare it without danger, and love to have them thoroughly mortified, and in divers of them the very alteration of their smell. Onely hardnesse or toughnesse of meate doth generally molest me, of all other qualities I am as carelesse and can as well brooke them as any man that ever I knew, so that (contrary to re-

ceived opinion) even amongst fishes I shall finde some both too new and over-hard and firme; it is not the fault or want of teeth, which I ever had as perfectly sound and compleate as any other man, and which but now, being so olde, beginne to threaten me. I have from my infancy learnt to rubbe them with my napkin, both in the morning when I rise and sitting down and rising from the table. God doth them a grace from whom by little and little he doth subtract their life. It is the onely benefit of old age. Their last death shall be so much the lesse full, languishing and painefull, it shall then kill but one halfe or a quarter of a man. Even now I lost one of my teeth, which of itselfe fell out without struggling or paine: it was the naturall terme of its continuance. That part of my being, with divers others, are already dead and mortified in mee, others of the most active, halfe dead, and which during the vigor of my age held the first ranke. Thus I sinke and scape from my selfe. What foolishness will it be in my understanding to feele the start of that fall, already so advanced, as it were perfectly whole? I hope it not; verily I receive a speciaall comfort in thinking on my death, and that it shall be of the most just and naturall, and cannot now require or hope other favor of destiny concerning that then unlawfull. Men perswade themselves that, as heretofore, they have had a higher stature, so their lives were longer; but they are deceived, for Solon, of those ancient times, though he were of an exceeding high stature, his life continued but seventy yeeres. Shal I, that have so much and so universally adored that ἀριστον μέτρον, a meane is best, of former times, and have overtaken a meane measure for the most perfect, therefore pretend a most prodigious and unmeasurable life? Whatsoever commeth contrary to Nature's course may be combersome, but what comes according to her should ever please. *Omnia que secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis*: "All things are to be accompted good that are done according to nature." And therefore, saith Plato, is that death violent which is caused either by wounds or sicknesses; but that of all others the easiest and in some sort delicious which surpriseth us by meanes of age. *Vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas*: "A forcible violence takes their life from the young, but a ripe maturity from the old." Death entermedleth and everywhere confounds itself with our life; declination doth preoccupate her houre and insinuate itselfe in the very course of our advancement. I have pictures of mine owne that were drawne when I was

five-and-twenty, and others being thirty yeeres of age, which I often compare with such as were made by me as I am now at this instant. How many times doe I say I am no more my selfe; how much is my present image further from those then from that of my decesse? It is an over-great abuse unto nature to dragge and hurrie her so faine that she must be forced to give us over, and abandon our conduct, our eyes, our teeth, our legges and the rest, to the mercy of a forraigne help and legged assistance; and to put our selves into the hands of art, weary to follow us. I am not over-much or greedily desirous of sallets or of fruits, except melons. My father hated all manner of sawces; I love them all. Over-much eating doth hurt and distemper me, but for the quality I have yet no certaine knowledge that any meate offends me; I never observe either a full or waned moone, nor make a difference betweene the spring time or autumn. There are certaine inconstant and unknowne motions in us; for (by way of example) I have heretofore found redish-roots to be very good for mee, then very hurtfull, and now againe very well agreeing with my stomacke. In divers other things I feele my appetit to change, and my stomacke to diversifie from time to time. I have altered my course of drinking, sometimes from white to claret wine, and then from claret to white againe.

I am very fraind and gluttonous of fish, and keepe my shroving dayes upon fish dayes, and my feasts upon fasting-dayes. I believe as some others doe, that fish is of lighter digestion than flesh. As I make it a consener to eate flesh upon a fish day, so doth my taste to eate fish and flesh together. The diversity betweene them seemes to mee over-distant. Even from my youth I was wont now and then to steale some repast, either that I might sharpen my stomacke against the next day for (as Epicurus was wont to fast, and made but sparing meales, thereby to accustome his voluptuousnesse to neglect plenty; I, contrary to him, to enure my sensuality to speed the better, and more merrily to make use of plenty) or else I fasted, the better to maintaine my vigor for the service or performance of some bodily or mentall action; for both are strangely dulled and idled in me, through over-much fulnesse and repleteness. And above all, I hate that foolish combination of so sound and bucksome a goddesse with that indigested and belching god, all puffed with the fume of his liquor) or to recover my crazed stomake, or because I wanted some good company. And I say as Epicurus said, that a man should not so

much respect what he eateth as with whom he eateth; and commend Chilon, that he would not promise to come to Periander's feast before he knew certainly who were the other bidden guests. No viands are so sweetly pleasing, no sauce so tastefull, as that which is drawne from conversable and mutuall society. I thinke it wholesome to eate more leisurely, and lesse in quality, and to feede oftner; but I will have appetit and hunger to be endeared. I should finde no pleasure, after a phisicall maner, to swallow three or foure forced and spare meales a day. Who can assure me, if I have a good taste or stomacke in the morning, that I shall have it againe at supper? Let us old men, let us, I say, take the first convenient time that commeth; let us leave hopes and prognostikes unto almanacke makers. The extreame fruit of my health is pleasure; let us hold fast on the present, and to us knowne. I eschew constancy in these lawes of fasting. Whoso will have a forme to serve him, let him avoyd continuance of it; but we harden ourselves unto it, and thereunto wholly apply our forces: sixe moneths after, you shall finde your stomacke so enured unto it, that you shall have gotten nothing but this, to have lost the liberty to use it otherwise without damage. I use to goe with my legges and thighs no more covered in summer than in winter, for I never weare but one paire of single silke stockings. For the easing of my rheume and helpe of my chollike, I have of late used to keepe my head and belly warme. My infirmities did in a few dayes habituate themselves thereunto, and disdained my ordinary provisions: from a single night-cappe I came to a double coverchief, and from a bonnet to a lined and quilted hat. The bumbasting of my doublet serves me now for no more use then a stonacher; it is a thing of nothing, unlesse I adde a hare or a vulture's skin to it, and some warme wrapping about my head. Follow this gradation, and you shall goe a faire pace. I will do no such thing. If I durst I could find in my hart to revoke the beginning I have given unto it. Fall you into any new inconvenience? This reformation will no longer avale you. You are so accustomed unto it that you are driven to seeke some new one. So are they overthrowne that suffer themselves with forced formalities or strict rules to be intangled, and do superstitiously constrain themselves unto them: they have need of more, and of more after that; they never come to an end. It is much more commodious both for our businessse and for our pleasure (as did our forefathers) to lose our dinner, and deferre

making of good cheere unto the houre of withdrawing and of rest, without interrupting the day: so was I wont to doe heretofore. I have for my health found out since my experience, that on the contrary it is better to dine, and that one shall digest better being awake. Whether I be in health or in sicknesse, I am not much subject to be thrifty; indeede my mouth is somewhat dry, but without thirst. And commonly I use not to drinke, but when with eating I am forced to desire it, and that is when I have eaten well. For a man of an ordinary stature I drinke indifferent much. In sommer, and at a hungry meale, I not onely exceede the limits of Augustus, who dranke but precisely three times; but, not to offend the rule of Democritus, who forbade us to stay at foure as an unlucky number, if need be, I come to five; three demisextiers, or thereabouts. I like little glasses best; and I love to empty my glasse, which some others dislike, as a thing unseemely. Sometimes, and that very often, I temper my wine one halfe and many times three parts with water; and when I am in mine owne house, from an antient custome which my father's physitian ordained both for him and himselfe, looke what quantity of wine is thought will serve mee a meale, the same is commonly tempered two, or three houres before it be served up, and so kept in the cellar. It is reported that Cranaus, king of the Athenians, was the first that invented the mingling of wine with water. Whether it were profitable or no, I will not now dispute or stand upon. I thinke it more decent and more wholesome that children should drinke no wine untill they be past the age of sixteene or eightene yeares. The most usuall and common forme of life is the best: each particularity doth in mine opinion impugne it. And I should as much detest a Germane that should put water in his wine, as a Frenchman that should drinke it pure. Publike custome giveth law unto such things. I feare a foggy and thicke ayre, and shunne smoke more than death (the first thing I began to repaire when I came to be maister of mine owne house, was the chimnies and privies, which in most of our buildings is a generall and intollerable fault); and of the mischiefes and difficulties attending on warre, there is none I hate more than in hot-sweltring wether to ride up and downe all the day long in smoky dust, as many times as our souldiers are faine to doe. I have a free and easie respiration, and doe most commonly passe over my mures and colds without offence to my lungs, or without coughing. The sultry heate of summer is more offensive to me

than the sharpnesse of winter ; for, besides the incommodity of heat, which is lesse to bee remedied than the inconvenience of cold, and besides the force of the sunne's beames, which strike into the head, mine eyes are much offended with any kinde of glittering or sparkling light, so that I cannot well sit at dinner over against a cleare-burning fire. To allay or dim the whiteness of paper, when I was most given to reading, I was wont to lay a piece of greene glasse upon my booke, and was thereby much eased. Hitherto I never used spectacles, nor know not what they meane ; and can yet see as farre as ever I could, and as any another man ; true it is, that when night comes, I begin to perceive a dimmes and weakenesse in reading, the continuall exercise whereof, and specially by night, was ever somewhat troublesome unto mine eyes. Loc here a steppe-backe, and that very sensible. I shall recoyle no more from a second to a third, and from a third to a fourth, so gently, that before I feele the declination and age of my sight I must be starke blinde. So artificially doe the fates untwist our lives-thread. Yet am I in doubt that my hearing is about to become thicke, and you shall see that I shall have lost it halfe when yet I shall finde fault with their voyces that speake unto me. The minde must be strained to a high pitch to make it perceive how it declineth. My going is yet very nimble, quicke, and stout ; and I wot not which of the two I can more hardly stay at one instant, eyther my minde or my body. I must like that preacher well that can tie mine attention to a whole sermon. In places of ceremonies, where every man doth so nicely stand upon countenance, where I have seene ladies hold their eyes so steady, I could never so hold out, but some part of mine would ever be gadding ; although I be sitting there, I am not well settled. As Chrysippus the philosopher's chamber-maide saide of hir master, that he was never drunke but in his legges ; for whosoever he sate, he was ever accustomed to be wagging with them ; and this she saide at what time store of wine had made his companions cuppe-shotten, and yet he felt no alteration, but continued sober in minde ; it might likewise have beene said of me, that even from mine infancy I had either folly or quicksilver in my teete, so much stirring and naturall inconstancy have I in them where ever I place them. It is unmanerlinesse and prejudiciall unto health, yea and to pleasure also, to feede grossely and greedily as I doe. I shall sometimes through haste bite my tongue and fingers' ends. Diogenes meeting with a childe that did

eat so, gave his tutor a whirret on the eare. There were men in Rome that as others teach youth to go with a good grace, so they taught men to chew with decency. I doe sometimes lose the leisure to speake, which is so pleasing an entertainment at the table, provided they be discourses short, witty, and pleasant. There is a kinde of jealousie and envy betweene our pleasures, and they often shoocke and hinder one another. Alcibiades, a man very exquisitely skilfull in making good cheere, inhibited all manner of musicke at tables, because it should not hinder the delight of discourses, for the reason which Plato affords him, that it is a custome of popular or base men to call for minstrels or singers at feasts, and an argument they want witty or good discourses and pleasing entertainment, wherewith men of conceipt and understanding know how to enterleast and entertaine themselves. Varro requireth this at a banquet, an assembly of persons, faire, goodly, and handsome of presence, affable and delightfull in conversation, which must not be dumbe nor dull, sullaine nor slovenly, cleanness and neatnesse in meates, and faire wether. A good minde-pleasing table-entertainment is not a little voluptuous feast, nor a meanly artificiall banquet. Neither great or sterne commanders in warres, nor famous or strict philosophers, have disdained the use or knowledge of it. My imagination hath bequeathed three of them to the keeping of my memory onely, which fortune did at severall times yeld exceedingly delightsome unto me. My present state doth now exclude me from them ; for every one, according to the good temper of body or mind wherein he finds himselfe, addeth either principall grace or taste unto them. My selfe, who but grovell on the ground, hate that kind of humane wisdom which would make us disclaimefull and enemies of the bodie's reformation. I deeme it an equall injustice either to take naturall sensualities against the hart, or to take them too neere the hart. Xerxes was a ninny-hammer, who, enwrapped and given to all humane voluptuousnesse, proposed rewards for those that should devise such as he had never heard of. And hee is not much behind him in sottishnesse that goeth about to abridge those which Nature hath devised for him. One should neither follow nor avoyd them, but receive them. I receive them somewhat more amply and graciously, and rather am contented to follow naturall inclination. We need not exaggerate their inanity, it will sufficiently be felt and doth sufficiently produce it selfe. God-mercy our weake, crazed, and joy-

diminishing spirit, which makes us distaste both them and himselfe. Hee treateth both himselfe and whatsoever he receiveth, sometimes forward and other-times backward, according as himself is either insatiate, vagabond, new fangled, or variable,

*Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis accescit.*¹

In no sweete vessell all you poure,
In such a vessell soone will sowre,

My selfe, who brag so curiously to embrace and particularly to allow the commodities of life, whensoever I look precisely into it, finde nothing therein but winde. But what? We are nothing but winde. And the very winde also, more wisely then we loveth to bluster and to be in agitation, and is pleased with his owne offices, without desiring stability or solidity, qualities that be not his owne. The meere pleasures of imagination, as well as displeasure (say some) are the greatest, as the ballance of Critolaus did expresse. It is no wonder she composeth them at her pleasure, and cuts them out of the whole cloath. I see dayly some notable presidents of it, and peradventure to be desired. But I, that am of a commixt condition, homely and plaine, cannot so thoroughly bite on that onely and so simple object, but shall grossely and carelessly give myselfe over to the present delights of the generall and humane law, intellectuallly sensible and sensibly-intectuall. The Cirenaique philosophers are of opinion that as griefes, so corporall pleasures are more powerfull, and as double, so more just. There are some (as Aristotle saith) who, with a savage kinde of stupidity, will seeme distastefull or squeamish of them. Some others I know that doe it out of ambition. Why renounce they not also breathing? Why live they not of their own, and refuse light, because it cometh of gratuity and costs them neither invention nor vigor. That Mars, or Pallas, or Mercurie should nourish them to see, instead of Ceres, Venus, or Bacchus? Will they not seek for the quadrature of the circle even upon their wives? I hate that we should be commanded to have our minds in the clouds whilst our bodies are sitting at the table; yet would I not have the minde to be fastned thereunto, nor wallow upon it, nor lie along thereon, but apply it selfe and sit at it. Aristippus defended but the body, as if wee had no soule; Zeno embraced but the soule, as if we had no body; both viciously. Pythagoras (say they) hath followed a philosophie all in contemplation; Socrates altogether in

manners and in action; Plato hath found a mediocrity between both. But they say so by way of discourse, for the true temperance is found in Socrates, and Plato is more Socratical then Pythagorical, and it becomes him best. When I dance, I dance; and when I sleepe, I sleepe; and when I am solitarie walking in a faire orchard, if my thoughts have a while entertained themselves with strange occurrences, I doe another while bring them to walke with mee in the orchard, and to be partakers of that solitarinesse and of my selfe. Nature hath like a kinde mother observed this, that such actions as shee for our necessities hath enjoyned unto us should also be voluptuous unto us, and doth not onely by reason but also by appetite en-vite us unto them; it were injustice to corrupt her rules. When I behold Caesar and Alexander in the thickest of their wondrous great labours so absolutely to enjoy humane and corporall pleasures, I say not that they release thereby their minde, but rather strengthen the same, submitting by vigor of courage their violent occupation and laborious thoughts to the customary use of ordinary life. Wise had they beene had they beleaved that that was their ordinary vocation and this their extraordinary. What egregious fookes are we! Hee hath past his life in idlenesse, say we; alas! I have done nothing this day. What; have you not lived? It is not onely the fundamentall, but the noblest of your occupations. Had I beene placed or thought fit for the managing of great affaires, I would have shewed what I could have performed. Have you knowen how to meditate and manage your life. you have accomplished the greatest worke of all. For a man to shew and exploit himselfe Nature hath no neede of fortune; she equally shewes herselfe upon all grounds, in all sutes, before and behinde, as it were without curteines, welt, or gard. Have you knowen how to compose your manners? You have done more than he who hath composed booke. Have you knowen how to take rest? You have done more than he who hath taken empires and citties. The glorious masterpiece of man is to live to the repulse. All other things—as to raigne, to governe, to hoard up treasure, to thrive, and to build—are for the most part but appendices and supports therunto. It is to thee a great pleasure to see a generall of an armie at the roote of a breach, which ere long intendeth to charge or enter, all whole, undistracted, and carelessly to prepare him selfe, while he sits at dinner with his friends about him, to talke of any matter. And I am delighted to see Brutus, having both heaven and earth conspired against him and the

¹ HOR. l. i. *Epist.* ii. 54.

liberty of Rome, by stealthe to take some hours of the night from his other cares, and walking of the round, in al security to reade, to note, and abbreviate Polibi^{us}. It is for base and petty minds, dulled and overwhelmed with the weight of affaires, to be ignorant how to leave them, and not to know how to free themselves from them, nor how to leave² and take them againe.

*O fortes peioraque passi,
Mecum sepe viri, nunc vino pellite curas,
Cras ingens iterabimus aquor.*¹

Valiant compeeres, who oft have worse endured
With me, let now with wine your cares be cured:
To-morrow we againe
Will launch into the maine.

Whether it be in jest or earnest that the Sorbonicall or theological wine and their feasts or gaudy dayes are now come to be proverbially jested at, I think there is some reason that by how much more profitably and seriously they have bestowed the morning in the exercise of their schooles, so much more commodiously and pleasantly should they dine at noone. A cleare conscience to have well employed and industriously have spent the other houres is a perfect seasoning and savory condiment of tables. So have wise men lived. And that inimitable contention unto vertue which so amazeth us in both Catoes, their so strictly-severe humour, even unto importunity, hath thus mildly submitted my selfe, and taken pleasure in the lawes of humane condition and in Venus and Bacchus, according to their sects precepts, which require a perfectly wise man to be fully expert and skilfull in the true use of sensualities, as in all other duties or devoirs belonging to life. *Cui cor sapiat ei et sapiat palatus*: "Let his palate be savoury whose heart is savoury." Easie-yeelding and facility doth, in my conceit, greatly honour and is best besitting a magnanimous and noble minde. Epaminondas thought it no scorne to thrust himselfe amongst the boyes of his citie and dance with them, yea, and to sing and play, and with attention busie himselfe, were it in things that might derogate from the honor and reputation of his glorious victories, and from the perfect reformation of manners that was in him. And amongst so infinite admirable actions of Scipio the grand father, a man worthy to be esteemed of heavenly race, nothing addeth so much grace unto him as to see him carelesly to dallie and childishly to trifle in gathering and chosing of cockle-shells, and play at cost castle along the sea-shore with his friend

Lelius; and if it were fowle weather, amusing and solacing himselfe to represent in writing and comedies the most popular and base actions of men. And having his head continually busied with that wonderfull enterprise against Hannibal and Affricke, yet hee still visited the schooles in Sicily, and frequented the lectures of philosophy, arming his enemies teeth at Rome with envy and spite. Nor any thing more remarkable in Socrates, then when, being old and crazed, hee would spare so much time as to be instructed in the art of dancing and playing upon instruments, and thought the time well bestowed; who, notwithstanding, hath been seen to continue a whole day and night in an extasie or trance, yea even standing on his feet in presence of all the Greeke armie, as it were surprised and ravished by some deep and minde-distracting thought. He hath bene noted to be the first amongst so infinite valiant men in the army headlong to rush out to helpe and bring off Alcibiades, engaged and enthronged by his enemies, to cover him with his body, and by maine force of armes and courage bring him off from the rout; and in the Deliane battell to save and disengage Xenophon, who was beaten from his horse; and in the midst of all the Athenian people, wounded, as it were, with so unworthy a spectacle, headlong present himselfe to the first man to recover Theramenes from out the hands of the officers and satellites of the thirty tyrants of Athens, who were leading him to his death, and never desisted from his bold attempt until hee met with Theramenes himselfe, though hee were followed and assailed with two more. He hath bene scene (provoked thereunto by a matchlesse beauty, wherewith he was richly endowed by nature) at any time of neede to maintaine severe continency. Hee hath continually bene noted to march to the warres on foote, to breake the ice with his bare feete, to weare one same garment in summer and winter, to exceed all his companions in patience of any labour or travell, to eat no more or otherwise at any banquet then at his ordinary. He hath bene scene seven-and-twenty yeares together, with one same undismaid countenance, patiently to beare and endure hunger, poverty, the in-dolency and stubbornesse of his children, the frowardnes and scratchings of his wife; and in the end malicious detraction, tyranny, enprysonment, shakles, and poysson. But was that man envited to drinke to him by duty of civility? He was also the man of the army to whom the advantage thereof remained. And yet he refused not, nor disdained to play for nuts with children, nor

¹ HOR. *Car.* l. i. *Od.* vii. 30.

² CIC. *Fin.* l. ii.

to run with them upon a hobby-horse, wherein he had a very good grace; for all actions (saith philosophy) doe equally beseeeme well and honour a wise man. Wee have good ground and reason, and should never be weary to present the image of this incomparable man unto all pateries and formes of perfections. There are very few examples of life absolutely full and pure; and our instruction is gently wronged in that it hath certaine weak, defective, and unperfect formes proposed unto it, scarcely good for any good use, which divert and draw us backe, and may rather be termed corrupters then correcters. Man is easily deceived. One may more easily goe by the sides, where extremity serveth as bound, as a stay and as a guide, then by the mid-way, which is open and wide, and more according unto art then according unto nature, but therewithall lesse nobly and with lesse commendation. The greatnesse of the minde is not so much to drawe up and hale forward, as to know how to range, direct, and circumscribe it selfe. It holdeth for great whatever is sufficient, and sheweth her height in loving meane things better then eminent. There is nothing so goodly, so faire, and so lawfull, as to play the man well and duely; nor science so hard and difficult as to know how to live this life well. And of all the infirmities we have the most savage is to despise our being. Whoso will sequester or distract his minde, let him hardily doe it, if he can, at what time his body is not well at ease, thereby to discharge it from that contagion. And elsewhere contrary, that she may assist and favour him, and not refuse to be partaker of his naturall pleasures, and conjugally be pleased with them; adding thereunto, if shee be the wiser, moderation, lest through indiscretion they might be confounded with pleasure. Intemperance is the plague of sensuality, and temperance is not her scourge, but rather her seasoning. Eudoxus, who thereon established his chiefe felicity, and his companions that raised the same to so high a pitch by meanes of temperance, which in them was very singular and exemplar, savoured the same in her most gracious sweetness. I enjoyne my mind, with a looke equally regular, to behold both sorrow and voluptuousnesse: *Eodem enim vitio est effusio animi in lætitia, quo in dolore contractio*; ¹ "As faulty is the enlarging of the minde in mirth, as the contracting it in griefe;" and equally constant, but the one merrily and the other severely; and according to that shee may bring unto it, to

be as carefull to extinguish the one, as diligent to quench the other. To have a perfect insight into a good, drawes with it an absolute insight into evil; and sorrow hath in her tender beginning something that is unavoydable, and voluptuousnesse in her excessive end something that is evitable. Plato coupleth them together, and would have it to bee the equall office of fortitude to combat against sorrowes, and fight against the immoderate and charming blandishments of sensuality. They are two fontaines, at which whoso draweth, whence, when, and as much as he needeth, be it a city, be it a man, bee it a beast, he is very happy. The first must be taken for physicke and necessity, and more sparingly; the second for thirst, but not unto drunkennesse. Paine, voluptuousnesse, love and hate, are the first passions a childe feeleth; if reason approach, and they apply themselves unto it, that is vertue. I have a dictionary severally and wholly to my selfe. I passe the time when it is foule and incommodious; when it is faire and good I will not passe it. I runne it over againe, and take hold of it. A man should runne the badde, and settle himselfe in the good. This vulgar phrase of passe time and to passe the time, represents the custome of those wise men who thinke to have no better account of their life then to passe it over and escape it; to passe it over and bawke it, and so much as in them lyeth to ignore and avoyd it, as a thing of an yrkesome, tedious, and to bee disdained quality. But I know it to bee otherwise, and finde it to be both praisable and commodious, yea in her last declination, where I hold it. And Nature hath put the same into our hands, furnished with such and so favourable circumstances that if it presse and molest us, or if unprofitably it escape us, we must blame our selves. *Stulti vita ingrata est, trepida est, tota in futurum fertur*.¹ "A fooles life is all pleasant, all fearefull, all fond of the future." I therefore prepare and compose my selfe to forgoe and lose it without grudging; but as a thing that is loseable and transitory by its owne condition, not as troublesome and importunate. Nor besemes it a man to bee grieved when he dieth, except they be such as please themselves to live still. There is a kinde of husbandry in knowing how to enjoy it. I enjoy it double to others; for the measure in jovissance dependeth more or lesse on the application we lend it; especially at this instant, that I perceive mine to be short in time, I wil extend it in weight; I wil stay the readines of her

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qm.* l. iv.¹ Sen. *Epist.* 15.

flight by the promptitude of my holdfast by it, and by the vigor of custome recompence the haste of her fleeting. According as the possession of life is more short, I must endeavour to make it more profound and full. Other men feele the sweetnesse of contentment and prosperity. I feele it as well as they, but it is not in passing and gliding; yet should it be studied, tasted and ruminated, thereby to yeeld it condigne thanks, that it pleased to grant the same unto us. They enjoy other pleasures, as that of sleepe, without knowing them; to the end that sleepe should not dully and unfeelingly escape me, and that I might better taste and be acquainted with it, I have heretofore found it good to bee troubled and interrupted in the same. I have a kinde of contentment to consult with my selfe, which consultation I doe superficially runne over, but considerably sound the same, and apply my reason to entertaine and receive it, which is now become froward, peevish and distasted. Doe I finde my selfe in some quiet moode? Is there any sensuality that tickles me? I doe not suffer the same to busie itselfe or dally about senses, but associate my mind unto it. Not to engage or plunge it selfe therein, but therein to take delight; not to lose, but therein to finde it selfe. And for her part I employ her to view herselfe in that prosperous state, to ponder and esteeme the good fortune she hath, and to amplifie the same. She measureth how much she is beholding unto God, for that she is at rest with her conscience, and free from other intestine passions, and hath in her body her natural disposition; orderly and competently enjoying certaine flattering and effeminate functions, with which it pleaseth him of his grace to recompence the griefs wherewith his justice at his pleasure smiteth us. Oh, how avails it it unto her to be so seated, that wher-ever she casteth her eyes, the heavens are calme round about her, and no desire, no feare, or doubt, troubleth the ayre before her; here is no difficulty, either past, or present, or to come, over which her imagination passeth not without offence. This consideration takes a great lustre from the comparison of different conditions. Thus doe I in a thousand shapes propose unto myselfe those to whom either fortune or their owne error doth transport and torment; and these nearer, who so slackly and incuriously receive their good fortune. They are men which indeed passe their time; they overpasse the present and that which they possesse, thereby to serve their hopes with shadows and vaine images, which fancy sets before them.

*Morte obita quales fama est volitare figuras
Aut quæ sepius deludunt somnia sensus.¹*

Such walking shapes we say, when men are dead,
Dreames, whereby sleeping senses are misse-
led.

Which hasten and prolong their flight according as they are followed. The fruit and scope of their pursuit is to pursue. As Alexander said, that "the end of his travell was to travell."

*Nil actum credens cum quid superesset
agendum.²*

Who thought that nought was done
When ought remain'd undone.

As for me, then, I love my selfe and cherish it, such as it hath pleased God to graunt it us. I desire not hee should speake of the necessity of eating and drinking; and I would thinke to offend no lesse excusably, in desiring it should have it double. *Sapiens divitiarum naturalium quesitor acerrimus:* "A wise man is a most eager and earnest searcher of those things that are natural." Not that we should sustaine ourselves by only putting a little of that druggie into our mouth wherewith Epime-nedes was wont to allay hunger, and yet maintained him-selfe. Nor that wee should insensibly produce children at our fingers endes or at our heeles, but rather (speaking with reverence) that wee might with pleasure and voluptuousnesse produce them both at our heeles and fingers endes. Nor that the body should be voyde of desire and without tickling delight. They are ungratefull and impious complaints. I cheerefully and thankfully, and with a good heart, accept what nature hath created for me, and am therewith well pleased and am proud of it. Great wrong is offered unto that great and all-puissant Giver, to refuse his gift, which is so absolutely good; and disannul or disfigure the same, since hee made all perfectly good. *Omnia quæ secundum naturam sunt, estimatione digna sunt:*³ "All things that are according to nature, are worthy to be esteemed." Of philosophies opinions I more willingly embrace those which are the most solide, and that is to say such as are most humane and most ours. My discourses are suitable to my manners—low and humble. She then brings forth a childe well pleasing me, when she betakes herselfe to her quiddities and ergoes, to perswade us, that it is a barbarous aliance to marry what is divine with that which is terrestriall; wedde reasonable with

¹ VILG. *Æn.* l. x. 641.

² LUCAN. l. ii. 656.

³ SEN. *Epist.* 119.

⁴ CIC. *Fin. Bon.* l. iii.

unreasonable; combine severe with indulgent, and couple honest with dishonest; that voluptuousness is a brutall quality, unworthy the taste of a wise man. The onely pleasure he drawes from the enjoying of a faire young bride is the delight of his conscience, by performing an action according unto order, as to put on his bootes for a profitable riding. Oh that his followers had no more right, or sinewes, or pith, or joyce, at the dismaydening of their wives than they have in his lesson. It is not that which Socrates, both his and our master, saith hee valueth rightly as hee ought corporal voluptuousness; but he preferreth that of the minde, as having more force, more constancy, facility, variety and dignity. This according to him goeth nothing alone, he is not so phantastical, but onely first. For him temperance is a moderatrix, and not an adversary of sensualities. Nature is a gentle guide, yet not more gentle then prudent and just. *Intrandum est in rerum naturam, et penitus quid ea postulet, pervidendum*: "Wee must enter into the nature of things, and thoroughly see what shee inwardly requires." I quest after her track; we have confounded her with artificiall traces, and that academically and peripateticall *summum bonum* or soveraigne felicity, which is to live according to her rules. By this reason becommeth difficult to be limited, and hard to be expounded. And that of the Stoicks, cousin germane to the other, which is to yeeld unto nature. Is it not an error to esteeme some actions lesse worthy forso much as they are necessary? Yet shall they never remove out of my head that it is not a most convenient marriage to wedde pleasure unto necessity, with which (saith an antient writer) the gods doe ever complot and consent.

To what end doe wee by a divorce dismember a frame contexted with so mutuall, coherent and brotherly correspondency. Contrariwise, let us repaire and renew the same by interchangeable offices, that the spirit may awake and quicken the dullesse of the body, and the body stay the lightnesse of the spirit, and settle and fixe the same. *Qui velut summum bonum, laudat animæ naturam, et tanquam malum, naturam carnis accusat, profecto et animam carnaliter appetit, et carnem incarnaliter fugit; quoniam id vanitate sentis humana, non veritate divina*: "He that praiseth the nature of the soul as his principall good, and accuseth nature of the flesh as evill, assuredly he both carnally affecteth the soule

and carnally escheweth the flesh, since he is of this mind not by divine verity, but humane vanity." There is no part or parcel unworthy of our care in that present which God hath bestowed upon us. We are accountable even for the least haire of it. And it is no commission for fashions sake for any man to direct man according to his condition; it is expresse, naturall, and principall, and the Creator hath seriously and severely given the same unto us. Onely authority is of force with men of common reach and understanding, and is of more weight in a strange language. But here let us charge againe. *Stultitie proprium quis non diverit, ignare et contumaciter facere que facienda sunt; et alio corpus impellere, alio animum, distrahere inter diversissimos motus*: "Who will not call it a property of folly to doe sloathfully and forwardly what is to be done, and one way to drive the body and another way the minde, and himselfe to be distracted into most divers motions?" Which the better to see let such a man one day tell you the amusements and imaginations which he puts into his owne head, and for which he diverteth his thoughts for a good repast, and bewaileth the houre he employeth in feeding himselfe; you shall finde there is nothing so wallowish in all the messes of your table as is that goodly entertainment of the minde (it were often better for us to be sound asleepe, than awake unto that we doe), and you shall find that his discourses and intentions are not worth your meanest dish. Suppose they were the entranings of Archimedes himselfe, and what of that? I here touch not nor doe I blend with that rabble or raskality of men, as wee are, nor with that vanity of desires and cogitations which divert us, onely those venerable mindes which through a fervency of devotion and earnestnesse of religion, elevated to a constant and conscientious meditation of heavenly-divine things, and which, by the violence of a lively and vertue of a vehement hope, preoccupied the use of eternall soule-saving nourishment; the finall end, only stay and last scope of Christian desires; the onely constant delight and incorruptible pleasure; disdaine to rely on our necessitous, fleeting, and ambiguous commodities; and easily resigne the care and use of sensual and temporall feeding unto the body. It is a privileged study. Super-celestiall opinions and under-terrestriall manners are things that amongst us I have ever seene to be of singular accord. Æsop, that famous man, saw his master pisse as he was walking; what (said hee) must we not, &c.,

¹ Ctc. *Fin. Bon.* I v.

² *Aug. Verb. Apostol. Ser.* xiii. c. 6.

when we are running? Let us husband time as well as wee can, yet shall we employ much of it both idly and ill; as if our minde had not other houres enough to doe hir businesse without disassociating hir selfe from the body in that little space which shee needeth for her necessity. They will be exempted from them and escape man. It is meere folly; insteade of transforming themselves into angels, they transchange themselves into beastes; in lieu of advancing, they abase themselves. Such transcending humours affright me as much as steepy, high, and inaccessible places; and I finde nothing so hard to be digested in Socrates his life as his extasies and communication with Diemones; nothing so humane in Plato as that which they say hee is called divine; and of our sciences those which are raised and extolled for the highest seem to me the most basest and terrestriall. I finde nothing so humble and mortall in Alexanders life as his concepts about his immortalization. Philotas by his answer quipped at him very pleasantly and wittily. Hee had by a letter congratulated with him, and rejoyced that the oracle of Jupiter Hammon had placed him amongst the gods; to whom he answered, that in respect and consideration of him he was very glad; but yet there was some cause those men should be pittied that were to live with a man and obey him who outwent others, and would not bee contented with the state and condition of mortall man.

— *Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas.*¹

Since thou lesse then the Gods
Bear'st thee, thou rul'st with ods.

¹ HOR. CAR. l. iii. Od. 6.

The quaint inscription wherewith the Athenians honored the comming of Pompey into their city agreeth well and is conformable to my meaning.

*D'autant tu es Dieu, comme
Tu te reconnais homme.*¹

So farre a God thou maiest accompted be
As thou a man doest reacknowledge thee.

It is an absolute perfection, and as it were divine for a man to know how to enjoy his being loyally. We seeke for other conditions because we understand not the use of ours, and goe out of our selves forsomuch as we know not what abiding there is. We may long enough get upon stilts, for be wee upon them, yet must we goe with our owne legges; and sit we upon the highest throne of the world, yet sit we upon our owne taile. The best and most commendable lives and best pleasing men are (in my conceit) those which with order are fitted, and with decorum are ranged to the common mould and humane model, but without wonder or extravagancy. Now hath old age need to be handled more tenderly. Let us recommend it unto that God who is the protector of health and fountaine of all wisdom, but blithe and sociall:

*Frui paratis et valido mihi
Latet dones; et precor integra
Cum mente, nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec cithara carentem.*²

Apollo graunt enjoy the health I may
That I have got, and with sound minde, I pray;
Nor that I may with shame spend my old yeares,
Nor wanting musicke to delight mine cares.

¹ PLUT. Vit. Pomp.

² HOR. CAR. l. i. Od. xxxi. 17.



GLOSSARY.

[Numbers i. ii. indicate the column in a page. Citation from Florio, showing the context in which a word is used, immediately follows the citation of the page referring to it. Citations from Montaigne's text are marked *M.*]

A

- Abuttings** (in the phrase 'tennons and abuttings'), boundaries, 267, i.: 'let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tennons and abattinges of heate and of cold,' . . . *les tenants et aboutissants de la chaleur, du froid.*—*M.* *Les tenants et aboutissants* of a piece of land are the adjacent pieces bordering it on every side. So, figuratively to know about anything '*tous les tenants et aboutissants*' meant to know it thoroughly.
- Accrease**, addition by growth, 31, i.
- Agnize**, reformoite, 491, i.: 'I hate to correct and agnize myself.' *Je hais à me reconnoistre.*—*M.*
- Ajax**, 557, ii. Sir John Harrington in 1596, recommending in a pamphlet the improvement of the old cesspool accommodation known as 'a jakes' by the formation of water-closets, called his book, by a play on words, 'The Metamorphosis of Ajax.' The name of Ajax then came to be applied in a way unforeseen by the poets.
- Alias**, in its Latin sense of 'at another time,' is applied here to one who was living at another time, 28, ii.: 'our phrase (of the dead) *quondam, alias, or late* such a one.'
- A loofe off**, at a distance, 62, i.: *loof* is *luff*, steering to windward to avoid being driven on a lee shore. Of the word *lof* in Layamon, Sir Frederick Madden pointed out that it occurs several times, 'and always as a substantive, applied to some part of the ship, the agency of which was to alter its course.' In the Latin text of the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris the word is given as English for *dracena*—'*perrexerunt igitur audacter, obliquando tamen dracenam, id est loof, acsi vellent adire Calesiam.*' It may have been named, from its broad paddle on a stem of oar, after a leaf, which is in Netherlandish *loof*, in North Frisian *lof* and *luf*, in Danish *løv*.
- Amated**, deprived of power, 106, i.: 'he will be much amazed, he will be much amated.' The French *mat* is of the same root as the German *matt*, whatever is deprived of its power, deadened. To deaden gold by depriving it of its brilliancy is in French *amahir*. The word is confined to such a sense in modern French, but it has many kindred in the Indo-European languages. It is in Italian *matto*, and in English *mad*; and the *check mate* of chess is corrupted from '*Shah mat*,' 'the King is dead.'
- Amphibologie**, ambiguity, arrangement of words so that they may be taken

in two senses, 60, ii. : 'amphibologie of words.' The word is used in French, but Montaigne here wrote *imposture*.

Ancient, ensign-bearer; also ensign, from which (through *enseigne*, *ancien*) the word is a corruption; 24, ii.

Apaid, satisfied, 257, ii. Latin *pacatus*. **Appay**, 265, i.

Argo-lettiers, mounted men-at-arms carrying bows, freebooters, 69, ii. The French word is *argoulets*, to the shaping of which *arcus*, a bow, no doubt contributes. When the bow was succeeded by the arquebus, the companies of argoulets became companies of *arquebusiers à cheval*. After 1585 they were known as *dragons*, dragoons, from the dragon on the flags of Marshal Brissac, who organized them in the wars of Piedmont.

Asper, a small silver coin among the Turks, 122, ii. : 'For ten aspers you shall daily find some among them (the Turks) who will give themselves a deep gash with the scimitarie.' Littré says that *nummus asper* was the name given by the Latins to money rough from the mint, not yet smoothed down by use. The later Greeks took the word as meaning money, applied it only to silver money, and used it also to mean silvery white.

Asters, stars, 42, i.

Astonieth, striketh all power out of, 169, i. : 'drunkenness astonieth the body;' 236, i. : 'benumme and astonish.' To astonish is to strike as with thunder.

Attach, tack on to and hold fast, 145, i. : 'fear and trembling began to attach them.' The word passed into French from Celtic, and has like origin with our *tack*, a small nail.

Attediate, weary, 480, ii.

Auditorio, hearing, 115, ii. Montaigne wrote *audience*.

A vie, used frequently as equivalent to the French *à l'envi*, to one's wish, with an undersense of surpassing others, 299, ii.; 306, i.; 454, ii.; 467, i.; 509, i.; 536, ii.; 562, i.

B

Babion, baboon, 218, i.

Bandels, swathing-bands, 272, i.

Bandy, contend, beat to and fro; so, to bandie at tennis; 117, i. : 'to bandy for that partie which is irksome unto us;' 121, i. : 'we must oppose and bandy against it.' *Il faut opposer et bander contre.*—*M.* 151, i. : 'if all her sinnewes bandy not.' Formed figuratively from bind. As 'banner' is from the old German band, a strip of cloth, so a 'band' was the flag followed by a company of men at arms, and the name was applied then to the company itself. The troop enters into contest, beats to and fro, and so the bandying begins.

Bardels, saddles of coarse cloth stuffed with hair, 145, ii. : 'saddles or bardels.' Italian *barda*, caparison of a horse, from Arabic *bardahet*, a long stuffed saddle-cloth placed under the hard saddle on the backs of sumpter horses. The word *bard* extended afterwards to the protecting plates of iron armour placed on the breast of a war-horse, while the bardel was the woven saddle-cloth.

Bawdrike-wise, belt-wise, 77, ii. Old High German *balderich*, from *bals*, a belt.

Bedrell, bedridden, 29, i. : 'crazed, bedrell, or decrepit.'

Bemolted, softened in tone, 510, i. : 'some of Platoes dialogues bemolted with a fantastical vanity.' *B mol* is a sign in music, like a small *b* placed before a note to indicate that it is to be lowered in tone. Hence *bémol* was taken to mean any notes soft and sweet to the ear.

Beray, befoul, 434, i. : 'this is as they say to beray the panier and then put it on your head.' The transition is from rays to streaks, from streaks to smears. See the old English use of the word in Ralph's speech at the end of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*.

Besmoiled, 438, i.: 'all besmeared and besmoiled.' Besmoiled is of the same origin as besmeared, both being derived from the conception of fat or grease. Thus, to smear is to spread grease; to smelt is to liquefy by making soft or oily.

Bewraiet, discloseth, in sense of disclosing evil, 431, i. *Bewray* is from the First English *wirgan*, to accuse; *betray*, from Latin *tradere*, to deliver up.

Bies, turnings aside, 370, i.: 'without reckoning the bies or amours in his youth.'

Blanche, strip off peel or covering, as in blanching almonds. That is the sense here; but it means of course also to whiten; 532, ii.: 'they are but verball wiles which beguile us, but forsomuch it may be profitable I will not otherwise blanch them'—*ie ne les veulx pas aultrement espelucher*.—*M.*

Blancke, the white mark in the butt on which the eye is fixed, and at which the shaft is aimed, 282, i.: 'vices when they steal away from out the sight and knowledge of human justice, remaine ever as a blancke before Divine justice.' . . . *demeurent tousiours en butte d la divine*.—*M.*

Blear, dim the eyes as with dust thrown before them, 46, i.; 97, i.; 473, i.: 'blear ignorant men as we are.' So Milton's 'blear illusion' (*comus*). From Celtic *pluar*, dust, was formed a Teutonic word, *pler*, for magical illusions. 'Prestigia, pler vor den Augen.'

Bob, thrust or jerk, 353, ii.: (of a soldier struck down in the heat of battle) 'in falling he makes a moe or bob at us.' . . . *qu'il nous fait la moue en tombant*.—*M.* It may be a thrust on the mind with a taunt, 'I have drawn blood at one's brains with a bitter bob' (*Alexander and Campaspe*); or a stroke on the body, 'got the fooles head under his arme, and bob'd his nose' (*Armin's Nest of Ninnies*). The word so used is probably of Celtic origin; but in French *faire la bob* was equivalent to *faire la moue*, and meant only an expression of contempt, from the old French *bobu*, a stupid fellow, which Diez associates with the Latin *balbus*. Florio did not mean to extend the thought in adding a word; his 'bob' was like his 'moe,' the thrust of contempt.

Boot-haling, hauling in of booty, 365, i.: 'soldiers returning from forage or boot-haling.'

Bouge, budge, stir, 136, i.: 'he could not be moved to bouge from his place;' 141, ii.: 'stay for them and bouge not.' French *bouger*, to stir. Spelt as now in 141, i.: 'stand without budging.'

Brables, incoherent talk, quarreling, 169, i.: 'eyes swim, cries, kickups, brables grow.' Brabble, babble, and blab, are forms akin to the imitative barbar for speech without meaning, whence nations whose speech was bar-bar were called barbarian; strife was called baret; the battle of words over buying and selling was called bargaining; and trade itself, with its old noises of repudiation and asseveration intermixed with oaths, in which, it was said, 'God himself is wounded for a penny,' was called baret.

Bransles, regular movements from side to side, as of a clock pendulum; to-and-fro movement, then stir generally; 514, i.: 'observe, saith one, the motions and bransles of the heavens,' . . . *les bransles du ciel*.—*M.* Littré says that *brandiller*, to shake to and fro, is equivalent to *branler*, except that it has a diminutive sense, and can be used playfully as *branler* cannot, and he derives both from *brandir*, to wave, as a brand or sword is waved, and the sword is a brand as shaped by burning in the smithy.

Bumbasting, artificial padding, 68, ii. In Florio's time men's nether garments were padded extravagantly round the hips with cotton wadding, named bombast, from Italian *bombás* and *bombagio*, Latin *bombyx*.

Burstwort, mossy saxifrage, 560, ii.: *herbe du Turc*.—*M.* From First English *burst*, a bristle.

Byase, bias, slope towards, or inclination, 69, i.; 90, i.; 278, i. French *biais*, obliquity. Diez derives it from Low Latin *bifax* or *bifacius*, two-faced, from which the passage is easy to the sense of obliquity, and observes that *biais* also

was first used only as an adjective. One who is biassed in judgment has an incline established in his mind down which all arguments will naturally run. Arguing against the bias is rolling a stone uphill.

C

- Calipine**, note-book, digest of information kept for private use, 548, ii. : 'should at last bring the respondent to his calipine or wits' end,' . . . *acculerait enfin le respondant au bout de son Calepin*.—*M.* (to the end of his calepin, his little stock of information). 'Put that into your calepin,' was a French phrase, bidding a man add something to his stock of ready knowledge. 'That's not in his calepin,' meant that it was not included in his knowledge book. The word was derived from the name of a learned Italian, Ambrogio Calepino, who died in 1511, and was the author of a polyglot vocabulary.
- Calivers**, culverins, 458, ii., a long piece of ordnance, named in old French, for its likeness to *coluber* (an adder), *couleuvrin*.
- Calthrops**, heel traps, iron instruments beset with four sharp spikes, of which those pointing upwards wounded the feet of men or horses crossing ground on which they had been strewn; 203, i. : 'they had scattered certain calthrops under the water alongst a dyke,' . . . *chausse-trappes*.—*M.* *Cal* is from *calx*, the heel, through French or Italian, and *-throp* or *-trap*, a corrupted form of *trappe*. The word was more commonly written *calthrop*, also *caltrap*.
- Cappings**, removals of the cap in courtesy, 325, i.
- Caske**, casque, 202, ii., Spanish and Italian *casco*, the skull, peel, shell, or other envelopment made to be broken, through *quassicare*, from *quassare*; whence the French *casser*.
- Cassiered**, cashiered, dismissed from service, broken, 375, i. : (Caesar's) 'ninth legion having mutinied neere unto Placentia, he presently cassiered the same.' From the French *casser*. See preceding note on *Caske*.
- Casting-counters**, mechanical aids in reckoning, 477, ii. : 'we judge of him, not according to his worth, but after the manner of casting-counters, according to the prerogative of his rank,' or row. Calculations were made with counters upon tables like chess-tables; a counter on the row of squares representing tens was rated at ten times the worth of a counter having precisely the same intrinsic value, but in the rank or row of the units. Our Chancellor of the Exchequer presides over a finance department named from the old custom of working out accounts upon a checkered cloth, like an *eschequier* or chess-board.
- Caters**, catarrhs, 415, ii. : (the temperance) 'which caters bestowe upon us, and which I am beholden to my chollicke is' (not temperance).
- Cawcy**, causeway, 467, i. : 'the cawcy or highway which is yet to bee seene in Peru.' French *chaussée*. Montaigne uses the single word *chemin*.
- Centeniers**, centurions, officers over a hundred men, 377, ii. Montaigne's word. Latin *centenarius*, from *centum*, a hundred; French *centenier*.
- Charge**, load, burden, 2, ii. : 'charging him . . . with . . . contumelious speeches;' 202, ii. : (of armours) 'we are rather charged than covered by them;' 269, i. : 'our occupations charge us.' The word is represented by Low Latin *caricare*, to load a cart or car. So a dish or a horse was called a charger because carrying a burden, and a carrack was a ship of burden.
- Cheape**, price, market; good cheape, at good price or market; 146, i.; 412, ii.; 170, ii. : 'and to say truth, they have it better cheape.' So Cheapside, market side, and the sites of different divisions of the old market are indicated by Bread Street, Milk Street, Fish Street, Wood Street, &c. First English *ceapian* was to market, to buy; and as the old barbarous way of buying was by asking too much and offering too little, then squabbling over the mean to be discovered in long course of time, to cheapen came to be equivalent to lowering of price.

Cheverill, pliable, tender, as kid leather, 407, i.: 'were there any one of so tender or cheverill a conscience;' 528, i.: 'I wot not whether some cheverill judge or other will be avenged of them.' Here the adjective is inserted by Florio. Montaigne tells of three country people who had been foolishly pretending visions and spirit talk: '*Ces pauvres diables sont à cette heure en prison: et porteront volontiers la peine de la sottise commune, et ne sçais si quelque juge se vengera sur'eux de la sienne.*' In this folly of the magistrate who takes too seriously the folly of the people, there is, in fact, a want of pliability. The thinness and weakness of kid leather, its over-delicacy for the uses of a working life, make the essence of the parallel here, as well as in the other place where it is used by Florio. But the common reference was to the elasticity of kid, as in the Old Lady's suggestion to Anne Boleyn of the gifts which

the capacity
Of your soft cheveril conscience would receive
If you might please to stretch it.—Shakespeare's *King Henry VIII.*

The word is from the French *chevreuil*, Latin *capreolus*, from *capra*.

Chock, violent contact, shock, 29, i.: 'The chocke of an hog,' . . . *choqué par un pourceau*.—*M.* French *souche*, the thick base of a tree trunk, was Norman *chouque*, Italian *zocco*, and is associated by Diez with the Latin *soccus*, as the footsole or base of support to the wood. *Chac*, says Littré, takes its first sense from the stroke of the axe on the thick base of the tree trunk.

Chuff-penny, miserly, 288, ii.: 'an old covetous chuff-penny wretch.' 'Chuff' was a word of contempt commonly applied to avaricious citizens. It was probably taken contemptuously from trade, and allied, as chaffer is, to cheap. *Chouf* was an old High German form answering to English *cheap*, and Dutch *koef*; and *choufari* was a shopkeeper. Chuff-penny would thus mean bargainer about a penny (see *CHEAPE*). There is a provincial English use of the word 'chuff,' as adjective for an abrupt and snappish surliness; the manner of one who is driving a miserly bargain.

Cingling, binding with a cincture, 122, i.: 'what pinching, what girding, what cingling,' . . . *quelle gehenne ne souffrent elles, guindées et cinglées*.—*M.* Latin *cingere*, to gird.

Cleane, complete, completely, 14, i.: 'the cleane strength of a horse;' 70, i.: 'cleane out of fashion with us.'

Climates, regions, 274, i.: 'They seeke and searche the climates of the sky;' 411, i.: 'in my climates.' Greek *κλίμα*, from *κλίω*, to incline, is taken to indicate the bend of the earth from the equator to the poles, divided on maps and charts into regions by lines parallel to the equator, every such region being called a climate. Hence the word climate came afterwards to mean a region in which temperature and corresponding conditions of the earth were nearly similar. This accords with its first meaning; and it was then taken to mean any defined region, as when Montaigne applies it to regions of the sky, and also to the country round about his house.

Cog, to trick, deceive, 306, i.: 'they lie, they cog and deceive one another.' Welsh *coeg*, empty; *coggio*, to make empty, to trick.

Colour, outward appearance, pretext or feigned reason, 42, ii. There are remains in modern English of this old use of the word, as in an appearance 'under false colours,' or giving 'some colour' to an assertion. Also 'colourable,' in 'a colourable excuse,' used like favourable, comfortable, in the active sense of giving favour, comfort, colour. Usually the sense of words so formed is passive.

Comfortable, strengthening each other, 85, ii.: 'the comfortable loves of Harmodius and Aristogiton,' . . . *les salutaires amours*.—*M.* Latin *con* and *fortis*. We have taken the word from the French *confort*, and returned it to France with a new breadth of meaning, in which the fortitude is drawn from all that adds a natural sense of ease to our wellbeing.

Compromitted, compromised, 537, ii.: 'they seem to have compromised this necessitie.'

Conicatch, entrap the simple-minded, 95, ii.: 'gull and conicatch us;' cunny-catching, 197, ii.; conicatched, 311, i. In the class of gulls, pigeons, and other simple animals of whom it is easy to make prey, the cony, or rabbit, had a prominent place in Elizabethan English. Sharpers had several cant terms drawn from the warren, and writers under Elizabeth and James I. instructed the public with pamphlets upon the devices of the London conicatchers; for in those days there was wit also in swindling.

Conventicles, small meetings, a word usually confined to meetings which are secret and unlawful; 372, ii.: 'certaine conspiracies and conventicles.' Latin *conventiculum*, a small assembly, from *convenire*, to come together. Contempt could be associated with the use of a diminutive.

Conversation, way of life together, intercourse of all kinds, 86, i.: (for friendship) 'a long conversation is required.' Latin *conversare* is frequentative of *convertere*, to turn, to return. The passive form of *conversare*, from which our word comes, means in its first sense 'to be frequently returned,' so, to live with, be conversant with, in frequent exchange of the offices of life. The sense of the word 'conversation' was not limited to exchange of speech.

Corrupted, broken up, lost with me, 426, i.: 'a dogge, a horse, a hare, a glasse, and what not, were corrupted in my losse,' . . . *tenoient en compte en ma perte*.—*M.* *Con*, with, and *rumpere*, to break.

Cost castle, a game, 571, i.: 'play at cost-castle along the sea shore,' . . . *jouer à cornichon*.—*M.* *Cornichon* was an old name for the jack at bowls. *Cornichon va devant* is described by Littré as a race in which the players have to pick up with the utmost speed different objects as they run. Some such pause for a stoop may have been to accost castle in the English game; or it may have been a game of throwing stones at stones on the sea shore.

Cousin, cozen, deceive by show of kindness, 42, ii.; 150, i.; 463, ii. *Cousiner* was used seriously in French for treating any one with familiar kindness, as a cousin or blood relation (consanguineous). Great people cousined small people in kindly familiarity of intercourse. Small people cousined great people not seldom to win favour for their personal advantage. Cousining became thus an art of the parasite, and came to mean with us the way of fraud through show of an affectionate familiarity.

Cranes, leather bands confining a hawk to its perch, 128, ii.: 'a hawk for her wing, not for her cranes or bells,' . . . *oyseau de son aile, non de ses longes et sonnettes*.—*M.*

Cranke, brisk, with quick turns of liveliness, 472, i.: 'I feele myself more lusty and cranke for the victory I gaine over myself.' When Milton associates 'quips and cranks and wanton wiles' with the innocent vivacity of youth, quip, crank, and wanton are all words that suggest a swift movement and sudden turns of play. Quip (Welsh *chroip*) is a word imitative of brisk movement through the air, as in the sound of a whip. Crank, also Celtic, means a twist, and is so applied to a crank in machinery; and wanton is from *gwantan*, to separate or run off, as in *Dwr-gwent*, Derwent, winding water. 'Lusty and crank' would thus mean full of enjoyment and quick turns of lively thought.

Crinches, cringes, bendings, 478, ii.: formed from 'crank.'

Crompt-backe, crook-backed, 351, ii. In First English the word answering to German *krumm*, crooked, was spelt *crimp* and *crumb*. It had the same addition of *p* or *b* in Old and Middle High German.

Crotesco, grotesque, 83, i.: 'antique Boscage or Crotesco works.' Montaigne wrote *crotesques*, the boscage (foliated ornament) was added by Florio. From Latin *crypta* (Greek *κρυπτή*, a concealed underground chamber, a vault), came *crypta*, *erupta*, and Italian *grotta*. Grotesque work was that which imitated

the fantastic painting on the walls of ancient cities hidden below ground. At first there was no association of a comic purpose with such works.

Cunne, know, 335, i.: 'I was found ignorant . . . what it was to cunne wine.' First English *cunnan*, to know.

D

Debauches, irregularities, 500, i. *Balke*, *balca*, *balcho*, and *balco* occur in several Indo-European languages and dialects with the sense of a beam, or of a furrow thrown up by the plough. It appeared in old French as *bauche*, and a *de banche* was a turning out of the usual straight line, as when a plough diverges from the straight line of the furrow, or the beams are laid unevenly in building. The sense of beam caused *bauche* to mean in old French a building, workshop; and Littré follows Diez in suggesting that *debauch* is therefore the drawing away from the place of work.

Debonarety, gentle kindness, 408, i. French *debonnaire* was formed of the words *de bon aire*, in which the word *aire* was not derived from the Latin *air*, but a wholly different word, signifying outward appearance, manner, fashion. It is the word used by us when we speak of one who gives himself airs, or has an air of patronage. In old French, *air* and *aire*, both masculine, were distinguished by their spelling, atmospheric air being *air*, and manner *aire*. *Aire*, Littré suggests, was a name in old French for a nest of the great birds of prey on the flat summits of the rocks. Falconers calling their birds *de bon aire* of a good nest, of good extraction, when they showed good quality, may have begun the use of the word in suggestion of the manners of the well-born, men as well as birds; well-born, that is to say, born surrounded by the best aids to a noble life.

Debordement, excess, outbreak, 490, i. Any escape from within bounds, the image being taken from a stream that overflows its borders.

Deffailance, default, 186, ii. French, *défaillance*.

Demisse, humble, submissive, 2, i.

Despited, despised, 140, i. Latin *despicere*, to look down upon.

Dew-guard, formal address, 448, ii.: 'a beck is as good as a dew-guard.' Florio interpolates this saying. *Dieu vous garde*, God have you in his keeping. *Que Dieu vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde* was the formula with which French kings ended their letters.

Discourse, consideration (not here involving speech), 20, i. From *dis* and *currere*, to run, to run over the several points of any subject.

Distempering, separating and spreading out as with a liquid, 547, i.: 'we open the matter and spill it in distempering it.' Distemper is separation of what has been already tempered or blended. With *dis* in the sense of opposition, distemper is disturbance of the right tempering or mixing of the several humours, upon whose relations to one another in the body a man's 'temper' and his physical wellbeing were said to depend.

Domifications, framing of astrological houses, 286, i.

Duckets, ducats, 42, ii.

Dumpish, with mind overcast, 243, i.: 'in a deep study and dumpish.' *Dumps* and *dumpish* were at first serious words, derived probably from the image of overhanging cloud or vapour, and allied to the German *dampf*, vapour. *Dumpfe*, in Middle German, meant difficulty of breathing, breathlessness, choking, from a verb *dimphen*, to steam or smoke. This gave the form *dumpfic*, Low German *dumpig*, English *dummy*. From choking by vapour or smoke came the image of the sense of choking caused by grief. Sad strains of music used to be seriously called dumps:

- Visit by night your lady's chamber window
With some sweet concert; to their instruments
Tune a deploring dump. *The Gentleman of Verona*, act iii. sc. 2,

E

Embambuized, befooled, cajoled, 116, ii.: *embabouinée*.—*M.* *Emba-bouiner* is probably to treat as a baby, who is familiarly compared to the baboon—'ah! le petit babouin!'—as the baboon for his inarticulate utterances received his name from the *babine*, or baby. In Florio's word the *m* precedes the *b*, as in Italian *bambino*. Littré says of the word *embabouiner* that *Babui-nare* signified, in the fourteenth century, adornment of miniatures. Here perhaps work about a little thing suggested the familiar comparison.

Emboist, exhausted by the chase, 217, ii.: 'when the stag begins to be emboist, and finds his strength to fail him,' . . . *se sentant hors d'haleine et de force*.—*M.* This is sometimes a corruption of embosked, hidden in the bushes; but as here used it is another term of the chase defined by Turberville as 'having the mouth full of foam,' probably from *bouche*, the mouth, *emboucher*. 'Im-bosh' was used also as a noun to mean the foam dropping from the mouth of the hunted deer, and left on his track. So Shakespeare speaks of Timon's tomb,

Which once a day with his embossed froth
The sea shall cover.

Empair, impair, 32, ii.; 36, i.

Empeach, impede, 140, i.: French *empêcher*, from *impedicare*; *in*, and *pedica*, a net.

Enabled, strengthened, 443, ii.: 'enabled by opinion, and endeared by dearnes.'

Entercaprings, associated movements, 42, i.: 'changes and entercaprings (of the music of the spheres).' *Coupsures et nuances*.—*M.* To caper in the sense of dancing is a word taken from the skipping of the goat on the mountains, or the sportiveness of the kid. Latin *caper*, Italian *caprio*, the goat; *capriolo*, the kid. Florio, however, has made his word out of *coupsures*. Montaigne's *coupsures et nuances* are breaks and gradual changes; Florio has rightly translated the *nuances* into changes, and he evidently means his entercaprings to represent *coupsures*. Since we do speak, he might say, of *cutting capers*, *caperings* are *coupsures*.

Enterkill, inter-kill, using inter as in inter-necine, 25, ii. . . . *entretenir*.—*M.*

Entreated, treated, 2, i.

Enure, inure, accustom, 31, ii.

Equipage, added furnishing, 35, ii.: 'The maske must as well be taken from things as from men. . . . Happie is that death which takes all leasure from the preparations of such an equipage.' . . . *de tel equipage*.—*M.* In its first sense equipage means any tackle, furnishing, &c., necessary for the outfit of a sea-going vessel, from *esquif*, a ship. All secondary senses that involve the supply of outside furnishings are taken from the first sense of the equipment of a ship.

Ergoes, 'therefores' introducing logical conclusions, 552, i.: 'to stand upon his ergoes.'

Eringos, seaholme, *corygium maritimum*, 560, ii.: 'eringos or seaholme.' The eringo was formerly eaten as a delicacy, and supposed to promote amorous thoughts. So Falstaff says, in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 'Let the sky rain potatoes; let it thunder to the tune of *Green Sleeves*; hail kissing comfits, and snow eringoes; let there come a tempest of provocation.'

Error, wandering course, 25, ii.: 'beyond the error of our discourse.'

Esquino, an American plant (*Smilax china*, L.), of which the root was used as a sudorific, 393, i.: 'those nations from which we have the wood guaiacum, the sarsapareilla, and the wood esquino,' . . . *le bois d'esquino*.—*M.* Florio writes 'the wood desquino,' and calls guaiacum a wood instead of a gum, where Montaigne writes only 'gayac.'

Essay, exact weighing, originally equivalent to assay, 26, ii.: 'to death do I refer the essay of my studies' fruit.' . . . Greek, *εἰςάγιον*, a weighing; Latin *exagium*, *exigere*, *exactum*; whence our 'exact.' Italian *assaggiare*, French *assayer* and *essay*, English *essay* and *essay*.

Estriges, ostriches, 459, i.: 461, i.

Evitated, avoided, 470, i.: 'making myself to be evitated.'

Exploit (to), to obtain the produce from, 21, i.; 48, i.; 405, ii. French *exploiter*, from *explicare*, unravel, and bring to its end; through a supposed frequentative, *exploitare*.

Exinanition, extreme emptiness, 473, i.: 'extenuate and subtilize them even unto exinanition or evacuation.' Intensive of inanition, from *inanis*, empty.

F

Fadge, succeed to one's wish (the word enforced the sense of pleasure in success), 89, ii.: 'divine poesie doth nowhere fadge so well,' . . . *la poesie ne rid point ailleurs*.—*M.* 329, ii.: 'if I have other direction than my genuine and free will, I am nothing worth, and I can never fadge well;' 400, i.: 'it fadgeth not.' First English *fagen*, fain, glad; old High German *fagen*, to do as one wills, to please oneself.

Farced, stuffed with seasoning, 157, ii.: 'his viandes were so exquisitely farced.' Hence English 'force-meat;' Latin *farcire*; French *farcir*.

Fardle, tie into a fardel or burden, 278, i.: 'fardle up a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of man's wisdom.' It is supposed that French *fard au*, Italian *fardello*, a burden, came from an Arabic word *fard*, meaning a dress; thence dresses as baggage, and thence anything that had to be carried on the back of man or beast.

Fast and Loose, 473, i.: 'Our common phrase of playing fast and loose is derived from the old trick of a man's coming loose from ropes in which he had been fast bound. It is still common in the streets, though some ingenious jugglers have contrived to give it novelty and fashion by high charges for the privilege of seeing it. The reference to it in the text is very clear. 'Methinks this implication and entangling of speech, wherewith they doe so much importune us, may fitly be compared unto jugler's play of fast and loose; their nimbleness combats and forceth our senses, but it nothing shaketh our belief: take away their juggling, what they doe is but base, common, and slight.'

Fets, fetches, 112, i.

Fierceness, pride, 69, ii. French *fiercé*.

Fine, end, 285, i.

Flead, flayed, 122, i.

Flearing, tittering, 427, i.: 'what astonished, flearing, and confused mumpes and mowes doth this dotage stir up in our visages.' From a Scandinavian word, *fjira*, to titter. Whence the common use of the word to express mockery. Florio uses the word only as a sign of imbecility.

Flurting, mocking playfully, trifling, 151, ii.: 'Diogenes flurting at Alexander.' First English, *fleardian*, to trifle; *fleard*, a piece of folly.

Fond-hardy, foolhardy, foolishly bold, 159, i., 285, ii.; fond-hardily, 347, i. *Fond*, in its original sense of foolish, and French *hardi*, bold.

Friandise, 565, ii., delight in dainty food. French *frire*, to fry.

G

Gaillardise, gaiety that defies convention, 349, i.: 'thin the branches of this over-spreading tree too much abounding in rankness and gaillardise'

Qu'on chant et l'on dise
 Quelque gaillardise,
 Qui nous scandalise
 En nous égayant.—*Béranger*.

Diez suggests that this French word is of Celtic origin. Cymric, *gall*, force; Gaelic, *garlach*, courage.

Galliotte, a small galley, 458, ii.

Gallymafy, hash or stew made of the meat left from yesterday's dinner, 136, ii.: 'a gallymafy of divers articles. French *galimafree*. So *galimatias*, for a confused oration. The origin of the word is unknown. One has been invented in the story of a lawyer who had to plead in a suit about the cock of a man named Matthew, and in whose confused speech the frequently recurring *Gallus Mathias*, became *Galli Mathias*.

Genuity, nature, 42, ii.: 'hate vices of their own genuity.' Montaigne wrote . . . *de leur propre contexture*, 94, ii.: 'could not imagine a genuity so pure and simple,' where Montaigne's word was *naïveté*. Ingenuity is genuity, natural contexture within us.

Girds, jibes, 206, i.: 'sharpe quips and witty girds.' A gird was a stroke of wit as with a yard or rod.

Gives, gyves, fetters, 33, i.; engived, 202, ii. From the Celtic. Irish *geibheal*, a fetter, bondage. Irish *geibhim*, I obtain; *gabh*, I take. Compare, says Professor Skeat, the Latin *capere*.

Glaives, swords, 271, ii.: 'striking the air with thair glaives.' French *glaive*, Latin *gladius*.

Glorious, boastful, 23, ii.

Gourmandise, sharply reproach, 155, ii.: 'the wiser sort doth gourmandise and command evil,' *Les sages gourmandent et commandent le mal*.—*M.* *Gourmand* has for first sense to eat like a dainty glutton; but its second sense, taken from such a glutton's quarrelling and grumbling over his food, is confined to the idea of lively or sharp reproach in tones of command. Thus, we can read that

La vertu qui n'admet que de sages plaisirs
 Semble d'un ton trop dur gourmander nos desirs.—*Louis Racine*.

Grupped up, grubbed up, 547, i.: 'the ground the more it is crumbled, broken, and deeply removed or grupped up, becommeth so much the more fertile.' Grup and grub are, like grab, from gripe; First English *gripan*, to seize.

Guidon, pennon-bearer, from the name of the small banner itself. The guidon, according to Markham, is inferior to the standard, being the first colour any commander of horse can let fly in the field. It was generally of damask, fringed, and usually three feet in breadth near the staff, lessening by degrees towards the bottom, where it was by a slit divided into two peaks. It might be charged with the armorial bearings of its owner.—*Grosce's Military Antiquities*.

H

Hab or nab, have or not have, 185, ii.; 481, ii. The First English negative of *habban*, to have, was *nabban*, not to have.

Handy-dandy, slipped unseen from one hand to another, 478, ii.: 'they take holde of you and presently steale the advantage of your interpretation from you. It was that which I was about to say: It was just my conceit: If I have not so exprest it, it is but for want of speech. Handy-dandy, what is this?' *Dade* is applied to the first tottering steps of a child. So Drayton—

No sooner brought to dade, but from her mother trips.

Thence doddle and toddle. Nasal pronunciation gives for dade, *dande*, leading-strings; *dandle*, to toss or nurse an infant by moving to and fro. French

dandel. ner, to rock or jog. Handy-dandy (which hand will you have?) is a game in which anything is shaken unseen from hand to hand, before one guesses in which hand it is left. A handy-dandy is still a phrase in Shropshire for money slipped from hand to hand.

Hardest, boldest, 2, ii.

Hardly, hardily, boldly, from *hardiment*, in many places, 68, i. : 76, ii. : 289, i. : 387, i. Florio writes also hardily, but very seldom. In a few cases I have changed 'hardly' to 'hardily,' where the use of the word was equivocal.

Harsell, torment, disquiet by small but frequent attacks, 559, i. (of evils): 'he that shall imperiously goe about . . . to abridge them, doth lengthen and multiply them; and instead of appeasing, doth harsell and wring them.' . . . *les harcelles, au lieu de les apaiser*.—*M.* French *harceler*. Littré derives the word from old French *harce*, diminutive of *hart*, a switch; so that the first sense of the torment would be many small strokes with a switch. Diez derives the word from *herse*, a harrow.

Harquebusada, a shot from an arquebus, 145, i.

Hazard, the court in tennis at which the player receives the ball; 'the house,' the court from which the ball is struck, 559, i.: 'between those that play at tennis, he who keeps the hazard doth prepare stand, stirre and march, according as he perceives him who stands at the house to looke, stand, remooove and strike the ball, and according to the stroake.'

Heteroclite, out of rule, thence odd, ridiculous, 474, i.: 'a more constant gullishnesse, or more heteroclite insipidity. Heteroclite, from *ἕτερος*, other, and *κλίω*, to bend, is originally a name in grammar for a flexion that is right but eccentric. The word was next applied to other variations from the ordinary rules, and then it was familiarly applied to anything ridiculous for its unlikeness to the usual way of life.

Hodge-pot, a confused mixture; originally chopped beef shaken together in a pot with chopped vegetables of several kinds and other seasoning, and set over the fire without adding water, 209, ii.: 'with store of choice and quaint words, and wyre drawne phrases, they huddle up and make a hodge-pot of a laboured textuere of . . . reports.' Old Flemish *huts-pot*, from *hutsen*, to shake; French *hoche-pot*; English *hodge-pot*, *holch-potch*, *hodge-podge*.

Hoe, a cry in the chase for stopping, 315, i.: 'there is no hoe with him.' This use of 'Ho!' was very common; 'out of all hoe,' would mean beyond all hearing of any call to stop. So in Greene's *Fryer Bacon*, 'he once loved the fair maid of Fresingfield out of all hoe.'

Hoisted, hoisted, 417, i.: 'hoisted full sails.' The verb is hoise, from the old Dutch *hyssen*, to hoist; whence French *hisser*. Professor Skeat points out that it is not related to the French *hausser*. The final *t* comes from the use of the past participle.

Holbard, halbert, an axe with a long handle.

Huddle up, bring together; used by Florio of things brought together as in a bundle, and not necessarily with any undue sense of confusion, 115, i.: 'I do but huddle up the arguments or chief heads;' 115, ii.: 'exquisite and choice words, huddled up and ranged to a just and smother cadence;' 209, ii., see extract under HODGE-POT. A huddle; 278, i.: 'he that should fardle up a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of man's wisdom.' The root may be in First English *hydan*, to hide, meaning what is put under one cover. So we get bundle from bind, and there also in popular phrase introduce the idea of confusion, when we speak of things bundled together. There is a Middle High German word *hudel*, from *hader*, old High German *hadara*, rags and shreds.

Hugger-mugger, with a mind to act in the dark, secret, 402, i.: (to the suggestion sent from Germany that Arminius might be poisoned, the answer of Tiberius was, that) 'the people of Rome were accustomed to be revenged on their enemies by open courses, with weapons in hand; not by subtle sleights,

nor in hugger-mugger.' The word is pure Scandinavian; old Icelandic *hugr*, the mind, genitive *hugar*, and *mugga*, mistiness. Thus *hugar-angr* was grief of mind; *hugar-klaþr*, strength of mind, and so forth. So Polonius was interred secretly in hugger-mugger. And in the *Mirror for Magistrates* we read how

most that most things knew
In hugger-mugger, uttered what they durst.

The secondary idea of confusion comes no doubt from the sense of action in the mist, or without known motive.

Hull, drift with sails down, and no impulse but that of the waves on the hull of the vessel, 507, i.: 'it is not a miraculous conversion that so doth wave and hull them to and fro;' 521, i.: 'oh seely weake barke, whom both waves, windes, and pilot hull and tosse to so contrary desseignes.'

Hurliburlies, confused cries and shocks of battle, 89, i.: 'changes, innovations, new fangles and hurli-burlies of his time.' Florio here puts the four words for two in Montaigne, *remuements et nouuelletes*; 377, ii.: 'in which hurli-burle' (tumult and insurrection that arose between two armies while their generals were in parley) 'Cæsar found himself to have a great advantage over his enemies;' 525, ii.: 'so confused a hurly-burly.' In French *hurler*, is first to howl as a wolf or a dog, then comes to mean any sharp cries of anger or distress. *Hurli* represents, therefore, the din of passionate cries in the contest, and *bourreler* is to put to such pains as those of the *bourreau*, the executioner, who dispatched his victims by fire and by sword. Thus the combination *hurli-bourreler* included the cries of passionate attack, cries of the wounded, hacking, slaying, burning, all the passion and the cruelty of war. The combination seems to have been invented by the Englishmen in France in the old days of occupation and strife, and to have been re-introduced into France from England in the trivial form *hurluburly*, of which Littré only suggests that it may have been a coinage of fancy.

Hurring, roaring as fire on the hearth, 365, ii.: 'as when a faggot flame with hurring sound.' The word is mimetic, a sound represented by prolongation of r-r-r. . . . 'R is the dog's letter, and hurreth in the sound.'—Ben Jonson's *English Grammar*.

Hyne boy, a hind, a peasant boy in service, 170, i.: 'a certaine waine, or hyne boy.' First English *hina*, a domestic.

I

Idle, 94, ii.: 'no occupation but idle.' 'Idle' is here adjective to 'occupation.' Montaigne wrote '*nulles occupations qu'oïsfives*.' If it were not clear on other grounds, it might be shown from this passage that Shakespeare in act ii. scene 1 of *The Tempest*, was following Florio, and led by the construction of his sentence to write, 'no occupation; all men idle, all.'

Impeach, hinder, 17, i.; 21, ii. French *empêcher*.

Imperverseth, makes more strongly resistant, 483, i.: 'prayers winne me, menaces reject me, favours relent me, feare imperverseth me,' . . . *la crainte me roidit*.—M. So Shakespeare in *Cymbeline* with a like use of *im* augmentative, 'yet this imperseverant thing loves him in any despight.'

Indifferently, impartially, not disposed differently towards one and another, 552, i.: 'to judge indifferently of others.'

Injure, speak injuriously, swear at, 97, ii.

Instantly, urgently, 8, ii.

Institution, training, 59, i. (Montaigne's word); 63, i.: 'institution of children.'

Its, used in three places, 416, ii. Florio commonly uses *his* or *her*. The use of the word *its* in formal writing was hardly begun when this book first appeared.

J

Jovissance, enjoyment, 27, ii.; 84, ii.; 111, ii.; 154, ii.; 499, i. French *jouissance*.

Jubeting, hooting, 216, i.: 'the earnestness of showing, jubeting, and hollowing,' . . . *l'ardeur de ces huées*.—*M.* Montaigne's *huée* was the old cry of the peasantry after a wolf, whence our 'hue and cry.' Florio represented it by three words, of which 'jubeting' may be a corruption of the word itself, with the *t* added, as in hoot.

K

Kae, call, 'kae me, kae thee,' call (or invite) me, and I will call (or invite) thee.

But the saying may have had its origin in reference to an exchange of combings or scratchings—'claw me, and I'll claw thee'; and *cae* may be comb; 443, i., where Florio applies the phrase to an exchange of unfriendly attentions.

Kon thanks, recognize with thanks, 181, i.: 'I kon him thanks;,' 478, ii.: 'to kon you no thanks.' The expression is an old one, formerly common. It was used by Chaucer. *Kon* is from First English *cunnan*, to ken or know, to be able for.

L

Labile, flowing, 309, ii.: 'Pythagoras, that each thing or matter was ever gliding and labile.' Latin *labi*, to flow.

Larves, ghosts, 24, ii.: 'Larves, Hobgoblins, Robbin good-feltores.' Latin *larva*, a mask.

Lecture, reading, 66, ii.: 'in my lecture I often perceive.'

Let, hindrance, 67, i.; 517, i.

Liew, lieu, place, 46, i.

Lithernesse, softness, pliancy, weakness, 486, i.: 'as for me, I depart from it partly for conscience sake . . . partly from lithernesse; 498, ii.: 'the lithernesse of our wives.' First English *lithe*, tender, pliable.

Loggerheads, dunces, blockheads, 444, i.: 'one hath often the worst bargains at the hands of such sluggish loggerheads.' The loggerhead has a head like a log, the blockhead a head like a block. Professor Skeat says that a block of wood that regulates the running of a line is called in whale ships a loggerhead.

Lowring, frowning, 288, ii.: 'lowring vexation.' In First English *hleor* was the cheek or face, from which we get in two several senses leer and lour.

M

Male, bag, mail, 154, i.: 'carried his male himself.' French *malle*, old High German *malaha*, Gaelic *mala*.

Mamockes, small pieces of flesh, 96, i.: 'teare him in mamockes;,' 241, ii.: 'such mamockes of flesh.' Diminutive of an old Gothic word for flesh. 'Mammo' is used for flesh in Ulfilas: 'in the body of his flesh' (Coloss. i. 22).

Manutention, maintenance, 48, ii. The word used by Montaigne.

Maquorelage, practice of seduction, 190, ii.: 'flattery, murder, treason, maquorelage, and what not;,' 270, ii. French *maquerceau*, is a habitual seducer.

Marchpanes, sweet biscuits of sugar and blanched almonds in equal quantities, pounded with a few spoonfuls of rose-water, and baked together, then garnished

with comfits and ornamental conceits. The paste of marchpane was used for making castles and other devices in confectionery, and such castles were sometimes playfully bombarded with sugar-plums, 565, ii. Marchpane was called i. the Latin of the Middle Ages *martii panis*. The *pane* is *panis*, bread. It has been guessed that the sweetmeat was named after Marcus Apicius, the Roman epicure; or after the god Mars, and therefore stamped with a castle. The *march* may be only the Teutonic *mark* or *march*, a sign; from the practice of stamping images upon it.

Meacocke, an effeminate coward, especially as husband, 167, i.: 'a dastardly meacocke.' . . . *poltron*.—*M*. It has been suggested that a henpecked husband was a meekcock! 'Ock' may be a diminutive suffix, and the word=the colloquial form, 'sofie.' In Gaelic, *maighneach* is a hare.

Meere, pure, unmixed, 473, i.: 'meerely-believed Aristotle' (i.e., Aristotle with whom no other authority was taken). Latin *merus*.

Megrim, intermittent pain in one half or part of the head, especially the brow and temple, 130, i. French *migraine*. Formed by dropping the first syllable from hemisranium; Gr. *ek huparva*, half the cranium.

Mignardizes, delicate ways, 548, ii.: 'mignardizes and affectations of motherly favour.' A variation of *mignon* (anglicised minion), with a touch of depreciation for the affectation of fine airs implied in change to the suffix *-ard*. Allied to the German *minne* and the Celtic *mion*, love.

Mines, minas, 102, i.: 'he had ten Attike mines awarded him.' An Attic mine contained a hundred drachms, each drachm containing nearly as much silver as a franc, or tenpence.

Minion, one loved, a favourite, 284, i.: 'Archelaus, . . . to whom Socrates was disciple and minion.' See MIGNARDIZES.

Moe, mouth, 353, ii.: 'in falling he makes a moe or bob at us.' **Mowes**, mouths, 98, i.: 'making mowes at them,' . . . *leur faisant la moue*.—*M*. 427, i.: 'mumps and mowes.' French *moue*, the mouth.

Moultred, mouldered, 475, i.

Moytie, moiety, half, 98, ii.

Mumps, mumbings, 427, i.: 'what astonished, fearing, and confused mumps and mowes doth this dotage stir up in our visages.' From *mum*, the sound made with closed lips; whence in like manner, mumble, to speak indistinctly without fully opening the mouth.

Mumme-chance, a game of chance with cards or dice at which silence had to be kept, whatever the losses, 294, i.: 'casting lots, or mumme-chance,' . . . *jeu de des et de sort*.—*M*.

Munite, to provide munition for, 142, i.: 'to munite castles.' Latin *munire*, to defend.

Murre, a violent cold with hoarseness, 533, i.: (with the poor) 'a pleurisie but a cold or murre,' . . . *un pleuresis, c'est un morfondement*.—*M*. The English word seems to be an abridgment of the French, which expressed in word the phrase 'catching one's death of cold.'

N

Nacre, a kind of mussel, *Pinna marina*, bivalve of the family Aviculidae. 241, ii.: 'the shell-fish called a nacre liveth even so with the pinnote, which is a little creature like unto a crab-fish, and as his porter or usher waits upon him, attending the opening of the nacre, which he continually keeps gaping until he see some little fish enter in, fit for their turn, then he creeps into the nacre, and leaves not pinching his quicke flesh until he makes him close his shell, and so they both together, fast in their hold, devour their prey.' *Nacre* means also mother-of-pearl, and is from the Persian *nakar*, ornament of divers colours.

Namely, especially; as in German *namentlich*; something to be particularized by naming, 23, ii.; 48, i.; 63, ii.; 66, i.; 74, i.; 77, ii.; 82, ii.; 182, i.; 210, i.; 369, i.; 374, ii.; 375, ii.; 378, ii.; &c.

Netifie, make neat, 482, ii.: 'it is then no convenient time for a man to wash and netifie himselfe when he is assailed by a violent fever.' French *net*. Montaigne's words were, *se laver et descrasser*.

New fangles, new ways of taking things, 89, i.; 219, ii.: 'new fangles of Luther;' 463, i.: 'our new fangles and our arts.' From new, and *fangen*, past participle of First English *fon*, to catch, *fangel*, ready to catch. The suffix -el, says Professor Skeat, 'is the same as in *sprec-ol*, fond of speaking, talkative,' &c.

Nonchion (here a verb), take refreshment between meals, 149, i.: 'they used to break their fast, and nonchion between meals' (where the fast said to be broken is that between meals, not that of the night's sleep), . . . *ils faisoient collation entre les repas*.—*M.* Spelt nunchions, 171, i. Nancheon is literally *nón*, or noon, drink, *nón* being First English for noon, and First English *scencan*, meaning to pour out. The transition form was *nonechenche*. *None* meant originally the ninth hour, 3 P.M.; but when the church service of that hour was transferred to midday, its name went with it. Luncheon differs wholly in origin from nancheon; a lunch being equivalent to a hunch, or big piece of bread. Professor Skeat quotes the translation of *caribot* in Cotgrave's French Dictionary, 'a luncheon, a big piece of bread.'

Nuzzled, nursled, 66, i.: 'it agreeth not with reason that a childe be alwaies nuzzled, cockered, dandled.' This variation of spelling may possibly be associated with an image of bending over the child and cuddling it, nose to nose.

O

Offend, strike at, 96, i.: (victor binds prisoner's arms) 'for fear he might offend him.' Latin *offendere*, used in its first sense.

Onely, simple, sole, 2, i.: 'the onely reverence.'

Oppugned, fought against, 137, i. Latin *oppugnare*.

Ought, owed, 84, i.: 'the affection he ought his children;' 54, ii.: 'he ought his life, not to himself;' 253, ii.: 'Cicero . . . who ought all he had unto learning.' First English *dgan*, to owe or own, past *dhte*. The difference between owe and own (etymologically) is only that in one word the infinitive ending in *n* has been dropped, and in the other it has been retained. Ought is the old past, therefore common to both words.

Outlopes, wanderings out, 206, ii.: (as a bird)

Outlopes sometimes he doth assay,
But very short and as he may.

From First English *hledpan*, to leap or run, and the allied words in other Teutonic languages, came various words with the sense of running and going. The sailor's 'landlubber' is a man who goes on land; 'interloper' is a hybrid word, Latin and Teutonic, for one who goes between or intrudes. To 'elope' is not a hybrid, the *e* being derived from the prefix *ent* or *and* with the sense of opposition, and not from Latin *e* or *ex*. 'Outlope' is regularly formed in the same way.

Outrecuidance, unmeasured self-confidence, 479, i.: 'this outrecuidance of speech and cheerfulness of countenance giveth them the victory over the bystanders.' From French *oultre*, Latin *ultra*, beyond, and old French *cuidier*, Latin *cogitare*, to think.

P

Paillardize, dissolute idleness, 158, ii.: 'paillardise and luxurie.' Montaigne uses only *paillardise*. The French word is from *paille*, straw, and meant originally a poor person, one who has only straw to lie upon. It was then associated with immodesty.

Panike terror, 25, ii. So called because it was by the god Pan that minds were said to be troubled.

Pargettings, overlayings with parquet, 430, ii.: 'these pargettings belong only to good and sound walls,' . . . *ces incrustations*.—*M.* *Parquet*, from *par*, an enclosure. One of the many senses of the word is that here used, the arrangement upon walls or floors of a covering of pieces of wood in little compartments fitted together.

Pavesado, bucklers arranged round a ship to serve as a rampart from the combatants, 458, ii.: 'all over covered with a pavesado after the manner of a galliotte.' From *pavois*, an old word for a buckler, which Ferrari derives from *Pavia*, where large bucklers were made.

Passionate (verb), fill with passion or feeling, 108, i.

Peized, weighed, 336, i. French *peser*, to weigh.

Pepper in the nose, to take, to be angry, 67, i.; 501, i. A common proverbial phrase:

Wherewith enraged all, with pepper in the nose,
The proud Megarians came to us as to their mortal foe.
North's *Plutarch*.

Perfiable, allowing air to blow through them, 262, i.: 'Epicurus makes the gods bright-shining, transparent and perfiable,' . . . *luisants, transparents et perfiables*.—*M.* Latin *per*, through, and *flare*, to blow.

Perscrutation, thorough scrutiny, 46, ii.

Philosophie (to), to philosophize, 27, i.; 171, ii.

Pilchers, pillagers, 65, ii.

Pinnoterre, pinnothere, a small crustacean of the order of the Decapods, 241, ii. (See *Naore*.) From *pinna*, and the Greek *θηπρω*, to pursue.

Piots, magpies, 233, i.: 'we teach starlins, ravens, piots, and parrots to chat;' 234, i. From Latin *picus*, English *pie*.

Pirling, purling, 290, ii.: 'the least pirling wind.' A Scandinavian word for the soft bubbling of a stream.

Pittifoggers, pettifoggers, applied to lawyers, 47, i. Florio translates by breath-sellers and pittifoggers, Montaigne's *gens maviant les proces*. The 'foggers' in pettifoggers is associated with First English *fegan*, to join or fix, *fog*, an agreement. Old Saxon *fogjan*, old High German *fuogan*, *foagen*, *foken*, to join, bind, bring into fit order, make possible, provide. The pettifogger is the dealer in petty agreements, bonds, and the small sort of legal business.

Plausible, ready to applaud, 8, i.: 'plausible audience.' Plausible is now only used, like other words of the same formation, in a passive sense, capable of being applauded; as intelligible, capable of being understood; visible, capable of being seen.

Plod, drag on laboriously, 161, ii.:

Let him bellow
O God! good God! So God
On himself would not plod.

From Celtic *plod*, a pool; slow dragging the way through bog or water.

Plum-feeding, feeding, plump, fattening, 58, i. Montaigne's word is *grosir*, 111, ii. Florio writes *plumbcheekt*, when it is here printed plump.

Podagrees, gouty legs, 174, ii. From the Greek and Latin word for gout.

Poisseth upon, weigheth, 169, i.: 'every man poisseth upon his brother's sin.' Poises the balance, lays the weight (*poids*) in the scale. Latin *pendere*, to weigh.

Pommada, make the, walk on the hands, 171, ii.: 'to make the pommada round about a table with his thumb,' . . . *faire le tour de la table sur son poulce*.—*M.* French *paume*, the palm of the hand.

Porterly-rascall, one of the untaught who bear burdens, 97, i.: 'it is the quality of porterly-rascall, and not of vertue,' . . . *la qualité d'un portefaix, non de la vertu*.

Pottles, measures of two quarts, 170, ii.: 'five pottles of wine.'

Pourcontrell, octopus, 236, i.: 'the fish called a pourcontrell or maniefeit,' . . . *le poulpe*.—*M.* The word may be corrupted out of *poulpe*, the polyp, and *encornet*, name of the giant polyp, said to have each of his eight arms five or six feet long, and its body fifteen or eighteen feet across.

Pouts, eel pouts, 136, ii.: 'pig, pie, pike, puddings, pouts, porke, pancakes.' First English *æl-puta*, an eelpout, or jolthead.

Preallable, going before, having to be said or done before farther progress can be made, 86, i.: 'friendship requires a long and preallable conversation.' Montaigne wrote *préalable*; *pre*, before, *aller*, to go.

Presently, immediately, 375, i., &c.

Preud'hommie, wise probity, 88, i. French *preux*, valiant (which in Low Latin was always represented by *probus*), and *homme*, man.

Proditoriously, treacherously, 102, i.: 'proditoriously slaine.' Latin *prodere*, to betray. *Proditoirement* was an old French law term.

Proules, makes prey of, 426, i.: 'by retail it spoiles and proules me,' . . . *par le menu, elle me pille*.—*M.* Prof. Skeat takes *prowl* to stand for *prokle* or *progle*, a frequentative of *proke*, to thrust or poke, and suggests that it is from the Welsh *procio*, to thrust, stab, poke; adding that it is certainly not from Latin *præda*, French *proie*, which became *prey* in English.

Punies, later born, 294, ii.: *loy que les aînés succèdent à tout le bien et n'est réservé aucune part au puisné*.—*M.* Modern French *puisé*, from *puis*, after, and *né*, born.

Q

Quarie, slain game, 443, i.: to take a share of the quarie or booty.' Among old terms of the chase was *cuirée* for the entrails of the animal just slain in the hunting-field, spread out upon the skin (*cuir*), as the share of the dogs, omitting those parts eaten by man, as heart and liver, which were called the 'humbles,' and were the share of the huntsmen in service; whence 'eating humble pie' meant sharing in the kitchen the pie made for the servants of the humbles of the deer, instead of venison pasty in the hall. The last act in the professional cutting up of the game in the hunting-field was the giving of the *cuirée* to the dogs. This came to be called and written quarry, and is distinctly in the mind of Shakespeare when he makes Coriolanus treat the citizens of Rome as offal for the dogs, and say—

—let me use my sword, I'd make a quarry
With thousands of these quartered slaves, as high
As I could pick my lance.

The quarry, or bolt shot from a cross-bow, is another word, named, from its square form, *quadratus*; so also the quarry, in which stones are cut and squared. These have only an accidental likeness in name to the quarry of the hunting-field.

Questing, active search, a hunting term, 216, i.: 'after a long questing and beating for some game.'

Quoified, coified, 475, i.: 'quoified serjants.'

R

Raced out, razed out, 336, ii. French *raser*.

Ranche runner, one who runs along a straight line without turning aside for any obstacle, a steeplechaser, 348, i.: 'and sure he was a ranche runner, for where a river hindered his way he swam it over, and never went out of his way to seek for a bridge or foard.'

Randon, at, with impetuous rush, 15, i.: 'run at randon;' 90, ii.: 'goe at random.' *Randon* was an old French word for impetuous rush, as of a great downpour of rain, of blood from a wound, or of a mountain torrent.

Repugning, fighting against, 119, ii.: 'repugning Nature's design.'

Retchlessnesse, recklessness, 112, i. First English *rican*, to care for.

Reviradoes, turnings back, 478, i.: 'I have sometimes in necessity and throng of the combat employed some two or three reviradoes or turnings.' From French *virer*, to turn.

Risible, capable of laughter, 267, i.: 'hee is no more risible, nor perhaps capable of reason and societie,' . . . *il n'est plus risible*.—*M.* See **PLAUSIBLE**.

Ruin, falling down, 104, i.: 'Heav'ns ruine, and mad raging showre.' Latin *ruere*, to rush, fall down.

S

Scantlings, cut pieces of timber, 150, i.: 'scantlings taken from their main groundwork, disorderly dispersed;' 260, i.: 'scantlin.' From old French *eschantillon*, *es*, *ex*, from, and Teutonic *cant*, an edge or corner; *cantel*, a small piece.

Scowring, polishing off, 143, i.: 'he committed himselfe to a great hazard, and scapt a narrow scowring,' . . . *ce feut un grand coup de hazard, s'il est vray*.—*M.* To scour. Old French *escurer* was *ex curare*, to take extra care about. The word is here used in the sense which caused the violent rioters in London, of the days of Charles II.—who made unprovoked assaults and slit noses of unoffending wayfarers—to be called 'the Scourers.' Shadwell wrote a comedy so called. In like manner, a beating is called a dressing; but a dressing means a putting straight. There is the same vernacular use of 'polishing off' as applied to acts of violence, which I have taken as the modern equivalent to Florio's cant word in the passage quoted.

Screw, spiral staircase, 23, i.: 'the screw of the study,' . . . *la vis de l'estude*. The French *vis* for a spiral staircase is formed from the clinging tendrils of the vine, *vitis*.

Seame, connection, stitch, 547, i.: 'sifted so readily every seame and quiddity,' . . . *tant poisé chaque syllabe es peluché si primentement chaque espece de cousture*.—*M.* *Cousture*, from *coudre*, to sew together.

Seeke (to), to be wanting in, 57, i.: 'you may go seeke;' 58, i.: 'who so to seeke.'

Seely, simple, innocent, 16, i.; 25, ii.; 29, i.; 35, ii.; 51, ii.; 94, i.; 319, ii.; 350, i.; 520, ii.; 521, i. First English, *sālig*, blessed, taking the modern sense of silly, as the word blessed itself does in the vulgar phrase 'a blessed innocent.'

Seene in, skilled in, 272, ii.

Seld seene, seldom seen, 52, ii.; 102, i. The *-om* (*-um*) in seldom, is a dative plural ending.

Sellars, cellars, 8, ii. Cellar is from Latin *cella*, a cell, and the *c* belongs to the word. In *salt-cellar*, the second word is spelt originally with *s*, being old French

- salière*, whence *selar*, a salt-holder. Latin *sal*, salt. Florio confused the two words when 'salt-sellar' was customary spelling, as we confuse them now when they are both written with *c*.
- Seme**, sown; *semé* as a term in heraldry, 138, i.: 'I bear azure seme of trefoiles.' **Sent**, scent, 243, i. From French *sentir*, Latin *sentire*, to perceive. The *c* is intrusive in our modern spelling.
- Sextaine**, sacristan, 270, ii.: 'Hercules his sextaine' (the keeper of the Temple of Hercules).
- Simbolize**, compare, 235, i.: (beasts) 'have diverse qualities, which somewhat simbolize with ours.' From the Greek *συνβάλλειν*, to throw together, compare.
- Sithence**, since, 86, i.; 110, i. Originally two First English words, *sith tham*, after that. These, run into one, became afterwards *sithen*. The use of a genitive ending as adverbial sign caused this next to become *sithenes*. Habits of spelling changed the final *es* into *ce* (as 'ones' into 'once'). The tendency to drop the sound of *th* in the middle of a word of two short syllables changed finally *sithence* into *since*.
- Skonce**, fortress, 11, ii.; 203, i. German *schanz*, old French *asconcer*, to hide or cover, Latin *abscondere*, to hide.
- Slibber-sauces**, slops, 397, i.: 'since his slibber-sauces, potions, and physicke came first into use.' Montaigne wrote only *depuis l'usage de cette medecine*. 398, i.: 'slibber-slabbers and drenches.' All forms of *slip*. *Sauces* is from Latin *salsus*, salted.
- Smuggling**, adorning, 498, ii.: 'she is yet in her closet, dressing, decking, smuggling, or trimming of herself.' German *schmücken*, to adorn oneself. The preceding sense is of drawing close to oneself, intensive of creep, with the usual sense of creeping through a narrow hole. Thus, a smock, which is of the same derivation, is so called from the act of getting into it.
- Snapfig**, 565, ii.: 'the dainty bird, becaico or snapfig.'
- Snaphanse**, spring of the lock of a gun or pistol; the whole gun was sometimes called from it a snaphance, 144, i.: (parts of a pistol) 'powder, stone, locke, snaphanse, barrrell, stocke, scowring peece.' Montaigne named only *la pouldre, la pierre, le rouet*. The word *snaphance* is from the Dutch *snaphaan*; *haan* being cock.
- Snuffe in the nose, to take**, 555, ii.: 'I have a tender braine, and easie to take snuffe in the nose, or to be transported.' See PEPPER IN THE NOSE.
- Sottish**, foolish, 3, ii.; sottishnesse, 310, i. French *sot*, a fool.
- Spagnolized**, made to look like a Spaniard, 122, ii.: 'a strait spagnolized body.' . . . *un corps bien espagnolé*.—*M.*
- Spauling**, flowing, 110, ii.: 'this man, meagre-looking . . . with eyes trilling, flegmatick, squalide, and spauling,' . . . *cettuy cy, tout pituitieux, chassieux, et crassieux*.—*M.* Formed from First English *splwan*, to spit violently, to spue, which made its past *spaw*. It was commonly applied to copious expectoration.
- Spring-garden**, a nursery-garden, 383, i.: (all men since Homer have made use of) 'his books, as of a seminary, a spring-garden, or storehouse of all kinds of sufficiency or learning.' A garden in which plants spring and bud. So the time of the year in which plants begin to send forth shoots and buds is called the Spring. Jest of concealed springs in gardens that caused a jet of water to spurt over those who trod on them, gave sometimes another meaning to the term. So in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Four Plays in One*:
- Like a spring-garden, shoot his scornful blood
Into their eyes durst come to tread on him.
- Spurblind**, purblind, 469, ii.: 'they were as shortsighted or spurblind as he was.' Purblind, which means pure blind, wholly blind, but is commonly used as equivalent to spurblind, may have been confounded with that word, and

superseded it. Spur is from Teutonic *spor*, a trace or track; *spurjan*, to track, the straining of the half-blind or lame towards sight or movement. It was associated with stumbling and twitching (allied to the Greek *καλπευ*), and there was an old High German and old Saxon adjective *spurhals*, spur-lame, for a halting horse.

Sticklers, arbitrators in trials of combat, to see fair play, and determine when the fight should end, 354, i.: 'in ancient times they were woad (in duels) to employ third persons as sticklers, to see no treachery or disorder were used, and to bear witness of the combats successe.' Montaigne does not apply a name to the 'personnes tierces.' So Shakespeare in *Troilus and Cressida*:

The dragon wing of night o'erspreads the earth,
And stickler-like the armies separates.

From First English *stihlān*, to control, German *stiften*, Transition English *stighlen*, to arrange or govern.

Stockado, a thrust in fencing, a hit, 150, ii.: 'give it a stockado not the widest, but the deepest I can,' . . . *j'y donne une pointe* . . . —*M.* Stockado, 223, i.: 'a stockado on their breast.' The French name for a hit was a *venue*:

Venue, fie! most gross denomination as ever I heard;
O, the stockado, while you live, sir, note that.

Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*.

Italian *stoccata*, from *stocco*, a short sword.

Success, what succeeds or follows, 100, ii.: 'I will not omit the successe of this storie.'

Summers, supporting beams, 134, M.: 'the foundation or maine summers of our houses,' . . . *le massif*. —*M.* From *somer*, *somier*, a pack-horse, allied to Greek *σάρρευ*, to fasten on a load, *σάγμα*, a pack-saddle. Professor Skeat adds that 'the old word *summer*, a beam, was so called from its bearing a great weight. Hence English *bressomer*, familiar form of breast-summer, a beam placed breastwise to support a superincumbent wall.'

Superchieri, outrage, 354, i.: 'to say it is a superchieri, as it is indeed: as being well armed, to charge a man who hath but a piece of a sword, or, being sound and strong, to set upon a man sore hurt,' . . . *supercherie*. —*M.* This French word was from the Italian *sopercheria*, from *soperchio*, that which exceeds, is superabundant. Montaigne uses the word in its earlier sense. It passed from outrage and insult to the sense of subtle deceit.

Supererogation, beyond the common demands of duty, and so of the greater merit, 50, ii.: 'to make away so great an enemy of their religion, would be an execution full of pietie, and a work of supererogation.' Latin *rogare*, to ask, *erogare*, to expend, *super*, beyond.

T

Taste, touch, 46, ii. French *tâter*, Italian *tastare*, which Diez traces from Latin *taxare*, to touch strongly and often, through an iterative *taxitare*.

He now began

To taste the bow, the sharp shaft shook, tugged hard.

Chapman's *Odyssey*.

Temporized, intentionally delayed, 181, ii.: 'a packet . . . which he temporized to open.'

Tennons, confining bounds, 276, i.: 'let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tennons and abuttings of heat and cold,' . . . *les tenants et aboutissants*. —*M.* See **ABUTTINGS**. From French *tenir*; Latin *tenere*, to hold.

Tertian, fever or ague recurring every third day. From *tertius*, third. Opposer here to 'continued' ague, 288, ii.

Then, for than. The words are the same, and Florio commonly uses 'then'

That which is higher in comparison precedes, as better *then* what is lower. So, 296, i. : (of the gods it is said) 'to them then to himself man is more dear;' and 301, ii. :

What, then our senses, should
With us more credit hold?

Tipple-square, drink cup for cup, 169, ii. : 'by making an ambassador to tipple-square . . . he wrested all his secrets out of him,' . . . *l'ayant fait boire d'autant*.—*M.*

Tonel, funnel, 64, ii. Tunnel, diminutive from the round of a ton or tun.

Topsiturvied, topside brought down to the turf, or ground—i.e. upside down, 464, ii. : 'the fairest and the best part of the world topsiturvied, ruined, and defaced for the traffick of pearles and pepper.' Perhaps the *turvy* does not represent *turf* in an adjective form; but the verb from *turf* (*turfian*, *torvian*), of which the meaning passed from throwing turfs to throwing or hurling; and the hurling down of what was highest may give top-side-turved.

Travell, travail, labour, 27, ii. ; 66, ii. ; 135, ii. ; 346, ii. ; 395, i. ; 438, i.

Trudding, toil for bread? 438, i. : a cobbler 'all besmeared and all besmoiled through travell, labour, and trudding,' . . . *de travail et de fuim*.—*M.* *Tragan*, to bear, gave the Middle High German *truht* for a burden and also for sustenance, what is borne in for home use.

U

Ure, use, 13, i. ; 72, i. Interchange of *r* and *s*, as in *inure*.

V

Valour, value, 115, i. French *valeur*.

Venies, touches with the foil : 'as at fence, where the number of venies given gets the victory,' . . . *le nombre des touches donne gain*.—*M.* French *venu*, come : the point of the foil has come home to the body. See STOCKADO.

Verdugals, farthingales, 273, ii. : 'stiff bombasted verdugals;' 315, ii. Latin *viridis*; Spanish *verde*, green; *verdugo*, a young shoot of a tree, a rod or hoop; *verdugado*, a hooped petticoat. Old French *verdugalle*, corrupted into English farthingale.

Vertue, valour, 10, i. : 'to fight with vertue.' Latin *virtus*.

Vie, a way, 443, i. : 'will not make vie of them,' . . . *ne s'en serve d'acheminement*.—*M.* See also A *VIE*, for *à l'envi*.

W

Wallow, roll, 36, i. First English *wealwian*.

Wallowish, mawkish, as fruit that is over-ripe and beginning to wither, 95, i. : 'somewhat sweet and wallowish;' 523, ii. : 'my manners are musty, rather wallowish than sharpe;' 543, i. From *wealwian*, to roll, came, through the rolling up of leaves as they become withered, the secondary sense of to dry up, shrivel, or decay.

Wanton, having quick turns and changes, as in playfulness, 71, i. : (of philosophy) 'there is nothing more beauteous, nothing more delightful, nothing more gamesome, and, as I may say, nothing more fondly wanton, for she presenteth nothing to our eyes, and preacheth nothing to our eares, but sport and pastime.' Welsh *gwantan*, to turn, separate, or run off.

Warrant, find safety against, 15, i. : 'to warrant an extreme danger by a lie;' 105, ii. : (Aristodemus, who incurred reproach at Thermopylæ, would die bravely) 'thereby to warrant his former imputation.' Old High German *warjan*, to protect; old French *garant*.

Weald, have power over, 143, ii. : 'none could weald and manage him.' First English *woldan*, to have power over.

Weerish, shrunk, withered, 441, i. : 'yielding her pleasures weerish, and her amours tastelesse.' Is it from *werrig*, wicked or accursed, as one shrunk by evil spells? Or is 'wither' contracted into 'wier,' as 'other' into 'or'?

Wherrat, a smart blow or box on the ears, 365, ii. : 'to give his wherrat on the ear;' whirrit, 383, ii. : 'gave him a whirrit, on the ear.' Sound imitative of swift movement through the air.

Wisht, whist, silent, 557, ii. : 'quietly and wisht,' . . . *se tenant coy*.—*M.*

Whit meates, cheese, or what else is made of milk, 557, ii. : 'will any believ . . . that milke or whitmeates are hurtfull unto a mountain-dwelling people.' Whit (*i.e.* white) meats is Florio's translation of *fromage*.

Wimples, folds, wrinkles, 46, ii. : 'the frowning wimples of custom.' Old High German *wimpal*, middle High German *wimpel*, summer dress, band for the head or hair, also a small flag; middle Low German *wimpel*, a woman's veil, a ship's flag. From *wisan*, to wind and wave; old French form *guimple*.

Wince, **winching**, move quickly and repeatedly, wriggle, writhe aside, 143, i. : (horses) 'leap and wince with feet and bite with teeth;' 143, i. : 'Kir Charles his horse with kicking, winching, and flying,' . . . *d ruades et pe nades*.—*M.* 'Winking' is the quick repeated movement of the eyes. Fr. English *wincian*. The form was *winchan* as well as *winkan* in old High German.

Wotteth, knoweth, 261, ii. : 'wotteth not certainly.' *Witan*, to know. Present *ic wát, thu wást, he wát*, plural present, *we wíton*, past *ic wiste*. The *d* was pronounced like the *a* in water, and is now generally represented by an *o*. The *a* in *all* differs little from the *o* in *off*, as distinguished from *of*.

Wrimpled, folded, wrinkled, 70, ii. Montaigne's word was *renfragné*. Formed from *wringan*, to wring or twist. The word *wrimple* was applied in English to the crimping of wool.

Y

Yarke, scourge, 43, i. : 'a whip to yarke and lash.' *Yerk-jerk*, to strike with a *gyrd*, yard or rod.

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